

CENTRE D'ÉTUDES DU RELIGIEUX CONTEMPORAIN
Université de Sherbrooke

**THE 1930's PAN-AFRICANISM OF PATRIARCH BRESI-ANDO
AND THE GENESIS OF THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH
IN GHANA**

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Thèse présentée
à la Faculté du centre d'études du religieux contemporain de l' Université de Sherbrooke
comme exigence partielle du programme
du Doctorat en études du religieux contemporain
pour l'obtention du grade de Philosophiae Doctor (Ph. D.)

21 April 2021

ABSTRACT

The modern-day Orthodox Archdiocese of Accra, Ghana, belongs to the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa. The first Ghanaian parishes within this West African archdiocese trace their origin to an African independent church (AIC) begun in the British Crown Colony of the Gold Coast in 1932. Known as the *African Universal Church* (or *Ebibirpim Church*), it was started by a local uncanonical bishop named Kwamin Ntsetse Bresi-Ando (1884-1970). Extremely motivated to provide complete emancipation for the African in every area of life, the bishop launched a multi-faceted program. All across the Gold Coast and the neighboring Asante lands he started 67 churches, 21 schools, a seminary, and a huge cocoa-exporting commercial enterprise within a period of 10 years—from 1932 to 1942. His church's emancipation theme, its Africanization policy, and its Afro-American "Back-to-Africa" repatriation program attracted many locals, making it a fast-growing movement. The failure of its repatriation aspect and its inability to secure political emancipation was replaced with a spiritualized vision of independence when Bresi-Ando was consecrated as an "autocephalous Orthodox Catholic Patriarch" in London in 1935 by an *episcopus vagans* belonging to the Vilatte succession of the (fake) "Old Catholic" movement who claimed connection to the Indian Jacobites of the Oriental Syriac Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch. Believing that he had discovered the true ancient Orthodox Church, Bresi-Ando declared himself to be a "Patriarch" for all Africans and he changed the name of his AIC to the *African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church*. Adopting the ancient Monophysite ecclesiastical polemic, he considered himself to be liberated from Western colonial European Christianity. Not recognized by either the Orientals or the Eastern Orthodox as canonical, after his death Bresi-Ando's orphaned "Orthodox Catholic" church was received into the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria in 1982, becoming the foundation for the present-day Archdiocese of Accra. The research question of this thesis seeks to determine if a global perspective can be found that would unify all the seemingly disparate factors of the intricate life of this complex man. Did Bresi-Ando have an underlying vision that guided all of his different steps and transitions in life, whether they were theological, ecclesiological, commercial, political, social, cultural, or educational? The hypothesis is that Pan-Africanism was his guiding vision. It is the "key" to understand the bishop, his goals, his dreams, his actions, and how all of these providentially helped prepare the ground for the future Eastern Orthodox Church in modern-day Ghana. In order to test the hypothesis, a complete seven-layered historical and ecclesiastical background is established, over which is laid the full biography of the bishop. Bresi-Ando is seen following the teaching and examples of several great Pan-Africanists: Edward Blyden, W. E. B. Du Bois, Casely Hayford, Marcus Garvey, and Laura Kofey. It is argued that Bresi-Ando was a Pan-Africanist who was consistently guided by Pan-African principles because evidence is provided showing how he synthesized together various Pan-African concepts within five specific categories: socio-cultural, religious, educational, commercial, and political. Bresi-Ando utilized the Pan-African ideals of "blackness", "unification, empowerment, liberation," "black internationalism," "Ethiopian spectacles," "Africanization", "Ethiopianism", "African Independent Churches," "Emancipation" in all areas of life, "repatriation", "black-owned commerce," and the synthesis of a black religious denomination with "black internationalism" and "repatriation" ideology. The thesis research conclusion is that *episcopus vagans* "Patriarch" Bresi-Ando had a *Pan-Africanist determination* in all his life actions. Therefore, the preparatory groundwork that led to the founding of the present-day Eastern Orthodox Archdiocese of Accra was largely the result of the Pan-Africanist motivation of an African churchman who wanted both an *independent* and *African* expression of authentic Early Church Christianity in his homeland.

RÉSUMÉ

Le courant l'archidiocèse orthodoxe d'Accra, au Ghana, appartient au patriarcat orthodoxe grec d'Alexandrie et de toute l'Afrique. Les premières paroisses ghanéennes de cet archidiocèse ouest-africain trouvent leur origine à une église indépendante africaine (AIC) commencée dans la colonie britannique de la Côte de l'Or en 1932. Connue sous le nom d'*Église universelle africaine* (ou *Église d'Ebibirpim*), elle a été fondée par un évêque local non canonique du nom de Kwamin Ntsetse Bresi-Ando (1884-1970). Extrêmement motivé pour assurer l'émancipation complète de l'Africain dans tous les domaines de la vie, l'évêque a lancé un programme à multiples facettes. Partout sur la Côte de l'Or et les terres voisines d'Asante, il a fondé 67 églises, 21 écoles, un séminaire et une énorme entreprise commerciale d'exportation de cacao dans l'espace de 10 ans - de 1932 à 1942. Le thème de l'émancipation de son église, sa politique d'africanisation et son programme de rapatriement afro-américain « Back-to-Africa » a attiré de nombreux habitants, ce qui en fait un mouvement à croissance rapide. L'échec de son aspect rapatriement et son incapacité d'assurer l'émancipation politique a été remplacée par une vision spiritualisée de l'indépendance lorsque Bresi-Ando a été consacré comme « patriarche catholique orthodoxe autocéphale » à Londres en 1935 par un *episcopus vagans* appartenant à la succession Vilatte du (faux) mouvement « vieux catholique » qui prétendait avoir des liens avec les jacobites indiennes du patriarcat syriaque oriental orthodoxe d'Antioche. Croyant qu'il avait découvert la véritable ancienne Église orthodoxe, Bresi-Ando se considérait comme un « patriarche » pour tous les Africains et il a changé le nom de son église à *l'Église universelle africaine (orthodoxe-catholique)*. Adoptant l'ancienne polémique ecclésiastique monophysite, il se considérait comme libéré du christianisme colonial européen occidental. Pas reconnu par l'Église Orthodoxe grecque (« Eastern Orthodox ») ou par les orthodoxes orientaux (« Coptic, Jacobite ») comme canoniques, après sa mort, l'église orpheline de Bresi-Ando a été reçue dans le patriarcat orthodoxe grec d'Alexandrie en 1982, devenant ainsi la fondation du courant l'archidiocèse d'Accra. La question de recherche de cette thèse cherche à déterminer s'il est possible de trouver une perspective globale qui unifierait tous les facteurs apparemment disparates de la vie compliquée de cet homme complexe. Bresi-Ando avait-il une vision sous-jacente qui a guidé toutes les différentes étapes et transitions de sa vie, qu'elles soient théologiques, ecclésiologiques, commerciales, politiques, sociales, culturelles ou éducatives? L'hypothèse est que le panafricanisme était sa vision directrice. C'est la « clé » pour comprendre l'évêque, ses objectifs, ses rêves, ses actions et comment tout cela a aidé à préparer providentiellement le terrain pour l'avenir de l'église orthodoxe grec dans le Ghana moderne. Afin de tester cette hypothèse, un arrière-plan historique et ecclésiastique complet en sept niveaux est établi sur lequel est posée la biographie complète de l'évêque. Bresi-Ando suit l'enseignement et les exemples de plusieurs grands panafricanistes: Edward Blyden, W. E. B. Du Bois, Casely Hayford, Marcus Garvey et Laura Kofey. On fait valoir que Bresi-Ando était un panafricaniste qui a été constamment guidé par les principes panafricains parce que des preuves ont été fournies montrant comment il a synthétisé l'ensemble de divers concepts panafricains dans cinq catégories spécifiques: socioculturel, religieux, éducatif, commercial et politique. Bresi-Ando a utilisé les idéaux panafricains tels que ceux de « la race noire », de « l'unification, l'autonomisation, la libération », de « l'internationalisme noir », des « spectacles éthiopiens », de « l'africanisation », de « l'éthiopianisme », « les églises indépendantes africaines », de « l'émancipation » dans toutes les domaines de la vie, « le rapatriement », du « commerce appartenant aux noirs » et la synthèse d'une dénomination religieuse noire avec « l'internationalisme noir » et l'idéologie du « rapatriement ». La conclusion de cette thèse est que Bresi-Ando avait une vision panafricaine dans toutes ses actions de vie. Donc, les travaux préparatoires qui ont amené à la fondation de l'actuel archidiocèse orthodoxe grec d'Accra était en grande partie le résultat de la motivation panafricaniste d'un homme d'église africaine qui voulait à la fois une expression *indépendante* et *africaine* du christianisme authentique de l'Église primitive dans son pays d'origine.

DEDICATION

Lovingly dedicated to my two fathers: my dad, V. Rev. Dr. John W. Anderson, who put in me a love for Africa while showing me God's love, and for my African father-in-Christ, V. Rev. Protopresbyter Kyriakos K. Edonu, who was like a second parent to me, increasing my love for Africa and teaching me so much more about God's love.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I offer thanks to the Most Holy Trinity for giving me this U.S. Fulbright research project, for providing me a vast array of providential helpers to bring it to conclusion, and for giving me parents who loved Africa and the Orthodox Church, and raised me in both. As this project has involved so many promoters and helpers, rather than rank them, they are listed historically as the project unfolded.

To my parents, the late V. Rev. Dr. John W. Anderson, and the late Mrs. Isabel Anne Scott Anderson, who labored many years in Africa, as missionaries with Lutheran Bible Translators, and later as Orthodox missionaries within the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa. Having been raised in West Africa from the age of three, my heart was very much in love with Africa and longed for a doorway through which to return.

To Sister Margaret Gannon of Marywood University in Scranton, Pennsylvania, who helped open that door for me. As Academic Dean in 1991 she had the insight—and provided the needed encouragement—that I should apply for the U. S. Fulbright Scholarship as a junior researcher, an award that was granted for a 10-month academic year at the University of Ghana, Institute of African Studies (Sept 1992 – June 1993). I am very grateful to the U.S. Fulbright Program for giving me this fantastic educational adventure and opportunity. My Fulbright research project goal was to collect oral histories from the oldest members of the Orthodox Church of Ghana in order to document how their church was founded in their country.

To His Grace Bishop Dimitrios of Xanthos (formerly Fr. James Couchell, Executive Director of Orthodox Christian Mission Center—OCMC—in St. Augustine, Florida) who helped me determine which country in Africa should be the focus of my Fulbright research, and, more importantly, secured a second full year of funding for me to stay longer in Ghana in order to complete the large number of required field interviews and on-site research. I am grateful to the OCMC (or Archdiocesan Mission Center, as it was called at the time) and its Board of Directors for sponsoring me.

To Dr. Kofi Asare Opoku, my field research mentor at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon campus, 1992-1994, for giving me a very free hand to go about my work. To Dr. Max Assimeng of the University of Ghana, the only academic to date who had attempted any lengthy scholarly work on the Right Reverend Bishop Bresi-Ando. Dr. Assimeng provided me with his 1975 journal article on Bresi-Ando and gave me pointers as to where I could develop his research and carry it further.

To the late Patriarch Petros VII of Alexandria, who, as the current Archbishop of Accra during an archpastoral visit to Ghana in 1993, blessed me to research and write the history of the Orthodox Church of Ghana. Later as Patriarch, he continued to encourage me to complete this task.

To the late Protopresbyter V. Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, who as the nephew of Bishop Bresi-Ando and his life-long devoted assistant, was able to provide many hours of interviews (both recorded

and hand-written), detailing the life story of his late uncle. Fr. Kyriakos himself had long desired to commit it to writing, but his poor eye sight proscribed that. However, his keen, sharp memory, his former role as a school teacher in the British Colony of the Gold Coast, his mastery of English, his very good penmanship, his personal diaries, his ability as a photographer (and old photos!), all came together to be a perfect package for any researcher. I spent many months in his village of Afransi, in Ghana's Central Region, sitting by his side, interviewing and cross-checking data with him each day.

To Protopresbyter V. Rev. Kwame Joseph Ayete Labi, current senior priest in the Archdiocese of Accra, and his wife, Mama Gertrude, who enveloped me as a real member of their family as I lived for nearly two years in their rectory in Accra, when I was not in the villages. Fr. Kwame enabled this project in so many practical ways, both with his personal interviews and also with valuable contacts for the proper conducting of the interviews with all the Ghanaian clergy.

To the late V. Rev. Gregory Labi Odeng, Rev. Edonu's right-hand man and best friend, to the late Rev. Samuel Adjei-Kumi, to the late Rev. Jacob Sey, to the late Rev. Daniel B. Aidoo, to the very old Rev. John F. Sarkodie-Aidoo, and all the other Ghanaian clergy and catechists who willingly cooperated with my research interviews and facilitated my visits to their towns and villages.

Thanks goes to so many Ghanaian men and women who opened doors for this research project while on the field. To Sarpei Nunoo at the U. S. Embassy in Ghana who secured for me the interview with the late Dr. Ebenezer Ako-Adjei, one of Ghana's most famous founding fathers, a member of the "Big Six." He in turn introduced me to another of Ghana's most famous elder statesmen, Mr. Kojo Botsio, who readily took an interest in the Bresi-Ando research project, granting several personal interviews while also connecting me with his friends from Bresi-Ando's hometown of Apam. This newly opened door led me to an entire cache of additional Bresi-Ando relatives who filled in the missing "other half" of the Bresi-Ando data, which I was able to cross-examine with the details provided by Rev. Edonu and Rev. Gregory Labi Odeng.

I especially owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Emmanuel A. N. Adentwi of Apam, a Bresi-Ando relation who, like the others, took a genuine personal interest in the research project and led me to meet Bresi-Ando's Nigerian wife, Joana, who was still living in Apam. Mr. Adentwi also introduced me to Bresi-Ando's aged nephew in nearby Mumford, the late Mr. Earnest Ando-Brew, the only son of Bresi-Ando's half-brother of the same name, from whom Bresi-Ando was separated for several years. This side of the family provided critical details about the northern spread of the Bresi-Ando organization, the Kumasi Diocese, which the senior Ando-Brew had pastored.

Thanks goes to Mr. Godfried Mantey and Mr. Opoku Larbi, who as leaders of the Orthodox Youth Organization, along with Fr. Kwame Labi, factor very heavily into the history of their church as it transitioned into canonical Orthodox status in the late '70s and early '80s. I owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Mantey, who as an executive secretary at the University of Ghana used his skills over the years to write and save many files of church documents and correspondence, all of which he willingly put at the disposal of this Fulbright research project. I give thanks to these youth leaders and to all the faithful of the Orthodox Church of Ghana who have been waiting patiently since 1994 for this research project to become a printed book. What was needed was an academic

opportunity and the professional guidance to take all the amassed field interviews and research files and create a Ph.D. quality product out of it.

After a 17-year interim, that opportunity came thanks to Dr. John Hadjinicolaou and the Orthodox program offered at the time at the University of Sherbrooke, in Québec, Canada. In 2011 Dr. John reviewed my Ghana field research and enthusiastically urged me to immigrate to Canada (my wife's homeland) and enter the Ph.D. program in 2012 at Sherbrooke's Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, which later became the Centre D'Études du Religieux Contemporain (CERC). His challenge proved to be another critically important door which he helped open by introducing me and my package of Ghanaian Fulbright research to the professors at the University of Sherbrooke. Dr. John Hadjinicolaou became a member of this project's doctoral team.

Thanks goes to Dr. Pierre Noël, Dean of the Faculty of Theology in 2012, who offered to serve as the lead mentor and PhD advisor on my doctoral team. His insight and patient assistance helped guide and shape this project into its current form. Recognizing the fact that there was too much data for one book, Dr. Noël helped limit this current study to the critically important decade of the 1930's, the moment of genesis for Bresi-Ando's Ghanaian church community.

Finally, thanks to Dr. Stephen Hayes of South Africa, the other doctoral team member, for his patience and long-distance assistance. To Jules Mars Alexandre for his translation assistance. To Dr. Luke and Anna Wales of Delaware, for their love of things Ghanaian and encouragement to complete this project to God's glory. And thanks always to my wife, Karen, and daughters, Justina and Mary-Eve, for supporting and putting up with this never ending "project" that practically became a "member" of the family.

FOREWORD

To anyone who has ever walked the West African beaches, the sails of the Fante fisherman emblazoned with their large bright red crosses are a familiar sight along the coast. Unlike many other tribes, the coastal Fantes have no fear of working for a living on the sea in large open canoes. Due to their geographical position, in West African history, the Fantes were among the first to encounter the Christian Missionary, before many of their brother tribesmen who lived inland. Therefore, it is common today to see Methodist, Anglican and Roman Catholic churches (along with a huge variety of Pentecostals) dotting the Fante towns and villages. What is intriguing, however, is to come across an Eastern Orthodox church building and to discover that the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa has also gained a firm foothold in modern-day Fanteland. This fact surprises the Western visitor, who usually asks: “How on earth did the Orthodox Church get here? Who established Orthodoxy on the West Coast of Africa?” It was this very research question that initially brought me to Ghana in September of 1992 on a ten-month junior U.S. Fulbright scholarship, associated with the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana. Learning of my project, the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese Mission Center in Florida (now called OCMC) generously provided the financial support to extend my stay and keep me on the research field until November of 1994.

My initial Fulbright project was simply to locate and interview the oldest Ghanaian Orthodox clergymen, committing to writing their oral histories of how their Church started. At the outset I knew nothing of Rev. Ebenezer Johnson Anderson, better known as Mar Kwamin Ntsetse Bresi-Ando, the focus of this dissertation. Neither did I know a single thing about “Pan-Africanism”, even though I had grown up in West Africa as a child and was well aware of its colonial past. When asked by locals what was I doing in their country, I could easily elicit some humour by responding that I was conducting research on my Fante “relative”, the late Mr. Anderson. On the serious side, it was Bresi-Ando’s living nephews, especially the Very Reverend Kyriakos K. Edonu, who opened my mind to an entirely new world which has turned into this present research thesis.

The academic quest was exceedingly intriguing. Every question gave birth to several more, and the project grew exponentially. Pointed in the right direction by a couple of top scholars at the University of Ghana, by the time I had concluded my field study at the end of 1994, I had interviewed 58 individuals, accumulated 98 hours of cassette recordings, and gathered 1,614 original primary source documents and 2,184 pages of notes and transcriptions. Multiple follow-ups for fact-checking and corrections pushed the total number of interviews to 132. In my effort to unravel an increasingly interesting tale of how one man in the 1930’s tried his hardest to implement a complete African emancipationist vision on the Gold Coast—and ended up providentially preparing the way for the future establishment of the Eastern Orthodox Church in modern Ghana—I did not stop until I had interviewed two of Ghana’s national heroes, Mr. Kojo Botsio and Dr. Ebenezer Ako-Adjei. It turned out that Bresi-Ando, who was friends with all the important local politicians in the 1930’s, was intimately connected to his nation’s past. His emerging story was so large that I realized it would need the professional eye of a doctoral team to help me bring it all together. I would be writing not only Bresi-Ando’s biography and an original piece of West African church history, I would also be writing a chapter of Ghana’s national history.

Meanwhile, after I returned home to the United States in 1994, at the request of the late Patriarch Petros VII of Alexandria, I posted a modest six-page summary timeline on the internet.

The opportunity to do justice to this vast array of primary research material arrived when I was accepted into the doctoral program at the University of Sherbrooke in 2012. My mentor and team leader, Dr. Pierre Noël, helped me discern the path forward: that I should focus on examining the origins narrative and determine the foundational cause of why and how Bresi-Ando (Ebenezer Johnson Anderson) came to establish a church community in the British Colony of the Gold Coast which today is known as the Eastern Orthodox Archdiocese of Accra. As there was far too much data to include within one research thesis, we decided that this dissertation would encapsulate the decade of the 1930's and discern Bresi-Ando's interaction with the theme of Pan-Africanism, leaving the detailed study of the subsequent decades for a sequel. However, we also agreed that this present work would include Bresi-Ando's biography (d. 1970), and in this manner many important facts are revealed.

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APAM EBIBIRPIM ACADEMY, 1933-1946".....811****APPENDIX F: DESCRIPTION OF THE 1992-1994 FULBRIGHT FIELD RESEARCH
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PHOTO OF MAR KWAMIN NTSETSE BRESI-ANDO



28 March 1884 - 02 October 1970,
86 years

ABBREVIATIONS

AIC	=	African Independent Church (or, African Indigenous Church)
AJA	=	Andrew Jesse Anderson
AR	=	Ashanti Region
AOC	=	African Orthodox Church
AUC	=	African Universal Church
AUCCL	=	African Universal Church & Commercial League
AWAM	=	Association of West African Merchants
CFAO	=	Compagnie Française de l’Afrique Occidentale
CPP	=	Convention People’s Party
CR	=	Central Region
ER	=	Eastern Region
FUL	=	Fulbright
EDONU	=	V. Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu (formerly Kweku Kurafi Edonu)
FFN	=	Fulbright Field Notes
GAR	=	Greater Accra Region
GC	=	Gold Coast
GH	=	Ghana
GR	=	Ghana Research
MDCC	=	Musama Disco Christo Church
NAACP	=	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NCBWA	=	National Congress of British West African (also, NCWA)
NCNC	=	National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons
NKJV	=	New King James Version, Nashville, TN, Thomas Nelson, 1984.
NPNF	=	<i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: A Select Library of the Christian Church.</i> Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Eds.) 28 vols. in 2 series, 1886–1889. Reprinted, Peabody, MA, Hendrickson Publishers Marketing, LLC, 2012.

OYO	=	Orthodox Youth Organization (Ghana)
RI	=	Recorded Interview
SCOA	=	Société Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain
UAC	=	United Africa Company Ltd.
UGCC	=	United Gold Coast Convention
UNIA	=	Universal Negro Improvement Association
UTC	=	Union Trading Company
WR	=	Western Region

INDEX OF QUOTED SOURCES

FFN = Fulbright Field Notes, pages 1-2184. Anderson's 1992-1994 Ghana Fulbright Research Field Notes, a total of 34 log books, containing 2,184 pages. Located within Andrew Jesse Anderson's (AJA) personal research collection, inside File GR25. Written while conducting 132 personal on-field research interviews (58 tape recorded and 74 handwritten) with 58 individuals, all in Ghana. Contains multiple follow-up interviews for cross-checking and verification.

Sample: FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 52.

GR = Ghana Research files of Fulbright data. A total of 1, 614 original Primary Source documents located in 26 Files of U.S. Fulbright field research collected by Andrew J. Anderson in Ghana, between September 1992 to November 1994.

File GR1: Oldest Letters and Documents, 1927-1970 (64 documents and 15 letters)

File GR2: Oldest Documents, continued (28 documents)

File GR3: Older Diaries (1950's and 1960's) (3 diaries)

File GR4: Log Books and Later Diaries (1970's and 1980's) (7 diaries, 2 logbooks)

File GR5: Reports (13 documents and 6 letters)

File GR6: Minutes from the Council of Presbyters (CP), the Central Administrative Council (CAC), the Standing Committee (SC) (43 documents, 7 letters)

File GR7: Rev. K. K. Edonu's Diaries for 1981 and 1982 (2 diaries)

File GR8: Missionary Contacts (2C), 1979-1981 (93 letters)

File GR9: Missionary Contacts (2D), 1981-1990 (7 documents, 146 letters)

File GR10: Orthodox Youth Organization (O.Y.O.) File A, 1975-1981
(24 documents, 70 letters)

File GR11: Orthodox Youth Organization (O.Y.O.) File B, 1981-1993
(47 documents, 120 letters)

File GR12: 1970's Ghanaian Youth Correspondence with Orthodox Canonical
Authorities (2A) (164 letters)

- File GR13: 1970's Ghanaian Youth Correspondence with Orthodox Canonical Authorities (2B) (15 documents, 99 letters)
- File GR14: OCMC Binder #1 - Correspondence between Archdiocesan Mission Center, St. Augustine, Florida, and Ghana (20 documents, 151 letters)
- File GR15: OCMC Binder #2 - Correspondence between Archdiocesan Mission Center, St. Augustine, Florida, and Ghana (38 documents, 52 letters)
- File GR16: Miscellaneous items (29 documents, 21 letters)
- File GR17: Orthodox Church Ghana's 10th Anniversary Year File (1992-1994) (46 documents, 20 letters)
- File GR18: Correspondence from Ghanaians to Anderson (1995-2011) (4 documents, 69 letters)
- File GR19: Anderson's Personal Correspondence (Ghana to USA 1992-1994) (79 letters)
- File GR20: More Miscellaneous items: Important interview notes and transcriptions, timelines, lists of Bresi-Ando's churches and schools (24 items)
- File GR21: Anderson's Documents Upon Entering and Leaving Ghana, 1992-1994 (U.S. Fulbright Documents, University of Ghana Correspondence) (17 documents, 31 letters)
- File GR22: Anderson Africa (1992-1994), Letters and Souvenirs (11 documents, 10 letters)
- File GR23: Web Resources (1 letter, plus 13 secondary source items)
- File GR24: Additional Resources, Anderson's 1992-1994 Travel Diaries, etc. (6 diaries, 2 logs)
- File GR25: 34 logbooks of Anderson's Fulbright Field Notes (FFN), containing 2,184 pages. Written in Ghana, from September 1992 to November 1994.
- File GR26BOX: Anderson's 1992-1994 Ghana Fulbright Research Box of over-sized items (7 posters, 1 set architectural drawings, 98 cassettes tapes, 73 reprints of old historical photographs in 1 album, 1540 prints of color photographs in 5 albums documenting the two years of Fulbright research in Ghana, September 1992 to November 1994)

Sample document: Apam Ebibirpim Academy land survey drawing, 14 February 1936, File GR1.23.

Sample diary entry: Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary of Rev. K. K. Edonu: February 1951-May 1957, 06 March 1957 entry, p. # if available, File GR3.

Sample letter: MAR GEORGIUS. Letter to Patriarch Bresi-Ando, 11 November 1944, File GR1.35.

RI = Fulbright Fieldwork Recorded Interviews, Tapes 1-98. A total of 58 recorded field interviews of 98 hours length, with 49 individuals, conducted by Andrew J. Anderson in Ghana, from September 1992 to November 1994, in AJA's personal oral history collection. 29 hours of these tape-recorded interviews are with the chief contributor to this project, V. Rev. Protopresbyter Kyriakos K. Edonu. Interview notes and partial transcriptions are all written in the 34 log books of the Fulbright Field Notes (FFN). (Physical cassettes tapes are stored in File GR26BOX.)

Sample: RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, Ghana, 29 September 1992, Tape 1, Log 2, p. 26.

Index of Recorded Interviews – RI

- 1) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tapes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5
- 2) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Tapes 5AB, 6, 7, 8
- 3) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu and Rev. Daniel B. AIDOO, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 October 1992, Tapes 8AB
- 4) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 02 October 1992, Tapes 9, 10, 11
- 5) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 03 October 1992, Tapes 12, 13, 14
- 6) Rev. Gregory Labi Odeng, Larteh, ER, GH, 15 October 1992, Tapes 15, 16
- 7) Nana Abusuapanyin Samuel Turkson, Gomoa Fomena, CR, GH, 21 December 1992, Tapes 17, 18
- 8) Rev. Jacob Sey, Gomoa Fomena, CR, GH, 21 December 1992, Tape 18B
- 9) Mercy Ewuse, Gomoa Fomena, CR, GH, 21 December 1992, Tapes 19, 20
- 10) Mama Sarah Ankuma and Richard Amissah, Gomoa Fomena, CR, GH, 25 December 1992, Tapes 20AB, 21, 22
- 11) Stephan Assan, Gomoa Fomena, CR, GH, 26 December 1992, Tapes 22AB, 23AB
- 12) Catechist John Y. Acquah, Agona Abodom, CR, GH, 27 December 1992, Tapes 23, 24
- 13) Rev. Emmanuel Bruce, Agona Abodom, CR, GH, 27 December 1992, Tape 24AB, 25
- 14) Rev. Emmanuel Bruce, Agona Abodom, CR, GH, 28 December 1992, Tape 25B
- 15) James K. Buckson and James Quansah, Abodom Orthodox Church elders, Agona Abodom, CR, GH, 28 December 1992, Tape 26
- 16) Jacob Bruce, Akropong Orthodox Church elder, Gomoa Akropong, CR, GH, 30 December 1992, Tape 27
- 17) Catechist Francis Nkrumah, Gomoa Akropong, CR, GH, 30 December 1992, Tapes 27B, 28
- 18) Samuel Ahron, John Kojo Eshun, Francis Wilson, and John Wilson, Odina-Ogua Orthodox Church elders, Gomoa Odina-Ogua, CR, GH, 31 December 1992, Tape 28AB
- 19) Catechist Samuel Kwesi Inkoom, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 02 January 1993, Tapes 28B, 29
- 20) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 06 January 1993, Tape 30
- 21) Rev. Daniel B. Aidoo, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 06 January 1993, Tapes 31, 32, 33
- 22) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tapes 34, 35, 36, 37
- 23) Rev. Gregory Labi Odeng, Larteh, ER, GH, 12 January 1993, Tapes 38, 39
- 24) Rev. Gregory Labi Odeng, Larteh, ER, GH, 13 January 1993, Tapes 40, 41, 42
- 25) Rev. Samuel Adjei-Kumi, Larteh, ER, GH, 13 January 1993, Tapes 42AB, 43, 44, 45, 46
- 26) Rev. Gregory Labi Odeng, Larteh, ER, GH, 14 January 1993, Tapes 46AB, 47
- 27) Rev. Samuel Adjei-Kumi, Larteh, ER, GH, 14 January 1993, Tapes 47B, 48, 49, 50, 51
- 28) Samuel Larbi, Headmaster of St. Peter's Business College in Larteh, Larteh, ER, GH, 18 January 1993, Tape 52

- 29) Mrs. Agnes Kumi, Larteh, ER, GH, 18 January 1993, Tape 53
- 30) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 02 February 1993, Tape 54, 55A
- 31) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 04 February 1993, Tape 55A, 55B, 56
- 32) Mrs. Joana Bresí-Ando and Emmanuel A.N. Adentwi, Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Tapes 57, 58
- 33) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Tapes 59, 60
- 34) James Ampiah, Jacob Eshun, Benjamin Lamptey, Samuel Okyere, Breman Orthodox Church elders, Akim Breman, ER, GH, 27 March 1993, Tape 61
- 35) Samuel Apreku and friends, Domeabra Orthodox Church elders, Adeisu-Domeabra, ER, GH, 29 March 1993, Tape 62
- 36) Rev. Peter Apea-Otu Odeng, Adeisu-Domeabra, ER, GH, 29 March 1993, Tape 62B
- 37) Godfried K. Mantey, Larteh, ER, GH, 17 May 1993, Tapes 63, 64
- 38) Godfried K. Mantey, Larteh, ER, GH, 20 May 1993, Tape 64AB, 65, 66
- 39) Godfried K. Mantey, Larteh, ER, GH, 22 May 1993, Tapes 67, 68
- 40) Rev. Kwame Joseph Ayete Labi, Accra, Greater Accra Region (GAR), GH, 04 June 1993, Tapes 69, 70, 71
- 41) Rev. Kwame Joseph Ayete Labi, on highway from Kumasi to Accra, GAR, GH, 09 July 1993, Tape 72
- 42) Catechist Joseph K. Ampiah, Ejumako Essaman, CR, GH, 06 June 1993, Tape 73
- 43) Essaman Orthodox Church elders: John K. Abegyah, Yaw Amoakaa, Emmanuel Okyere, Enoch Okyere, William K. Okyere, & Catechist J. K. Ampiah, Catechist S. Inkoom, Ejumako Essaman, CR, GH, 06 June 1993, Tapes 73B, 74
- 44) Rev. John Frank Sarkodie-Aidoo, Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Tapes 75, 76, 77, 78
- 45) Mr. Kojo Botsio, Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79
- 46) Victor Nunoo, Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 29 June 1993, Tape 80A
- 47) C. B. Quansah, J. B. Quansah, with Emmanuel A. N. Adentwi, Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Tapes 80AB, 81
- 48) Earnest Ando-Brew, Elijah K. Johnson, Emmanuel A. N. Adentwi, Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Tapes 82, 83, 84
- 49) Mrs. Joana Bresí-Ando and Emmanuel A.N. Adentwi, Apam, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Tape 84+
- 50) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 24 February 1994, Tape 85A
- 51) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 13 May 1994, Tapes 85AB, 89
- 52) Andrew Lekos (of the Greek Archdiocesan Mission Center, St. Augustine, FL, USA), Accra, GAR, GH, 23 September 1993, Tape 86
- 53) Opoku Larbi and Godfried K. Mantey, Accra Orthodox Church elders, Accra, GAR, GH, 08 May 1994, Tapes 87, 88
- 54) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 27 May 1994, Tape 90
- 55) Rev. Kwame Joseph Ayete Labi, Accra, GAR, GH, 06 June 1994, Tapes 91, 92, 93, 94, 95
- 56) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 04 July 1994, Tape 96
- 57) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 July 1994, Tape 97
- 58) Antonia Paterakis, Accra, GAR, GH, 23 November 1993, Tape 98.

Index of Handwritten Interviews (74 additional interviews)

These are also located within the pages of the FFN (Fulbright Field Notes). In addition to the 58 tape recorded interviews, there were another 74 *handwritten* interviews conducted by Andrew J. Anderson over the course of two years of field research in Ghana, 1992-1994. Several of these were interviews with 9 new individuals during which time a recording device was not desired. However, most of these were follow-up interviews to double-check, cross-check, and verify information with 13 previously interviewed key persons. In fact, a total of 49 of these handwritten interviews belong to the chief contributor to this project, Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu. He completely reviewed the compiled data for accuracy and made corrections as needed prior to Anderson's departure to the United States in November of 1994.

- 59) Prof. Dr. Kofi Asare Opoku, Univ. of Ghana, Legon, GAR, GH, 09 October 1992, FFN Log 1, p. 15-16.
- 60) Prof. Dr. Max Assimeng, Univ. of Ghana, Legon, GAR, GH, 12 October 1992, FFN Log 1, p. 16-17.
- 61) Dr. Ebenezer Ako-Adjei, Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 10 June 1993, FFN Log 7, p. 355b-362.
- 62) Mr. Andreas Kyriacou, Accra, GAR, GH, 06 August 1993, FFN Log 8, p. 401b-402.
- 63) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 24 February 1994, FFN Log 10, p. 519-521, 529, Log 11, p. 601-602a, 605.
- 64) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 February 1994, FFN Log 10, p. 522, 535-537, 552-554, Log 11, p. 602b, 607-612a.
- 65) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 03 March 1994, FFN Log 10, p. 517-518, 551, 555-562, Log 11, p. 603-604, 606a, 612b-623.
- 66) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 March 1994, FFN Log 11, p. 606b, 624-632.
- 67) Rev. Peter Apea-Otu Odeng, Larteh, ER, GH, 06 April 1994, FFN Log 8, p. 404-406.
- 68) Rev. Gregory Labi Odeng, Larteh, ER, GH, 11 April 1994, FFN Log 8, p. 407-416.
- 69) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 April 1994, FFN Log 9, p. 451b.
- 70) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 April 1994, FFN Log 8, p. 418-423.
- 71) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 April 1994, FFN Log 8, p. 424-431, Log 10, p. 544-545, 563-571.
- 72) Catechist John Y. Acquah, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 April 1994, FFN Log 8, p. 432-434, Log 9, p. 437-440.
- 73) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 April 1994, FFN Log 9, p. 441-451a.
- 74) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 24 April 1994, FFN Log 9, p. 452-453.
- 75) Catechist John Y. Acquah, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 24 April 1994, FFN Log 9, p. 454-457.
- 76) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 April 1994, FFN Log 9, p. 458-464.
- 77) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 26 April 1994, FFN Log 9, p. 465-466a.
- 78) Rev. Samuel Adjei-Kumi, Larteh, ER, GH, 05 May 1994, FFN Log 9, p. 466b-467a.
- 79) Solomon Otu Abradu, Accra, GAR, GH, 08 May 1994, FFN Log 9, p. 475-477a.
- 80) Prof. Dr. Max Assimeng, Univ. of Ghana, Legon, GAR, GH, 09 May 1994, FFN Log 9, p. 477b-479.
- 81) Emmanuel A. N. Adentwi, Apam, CR, GH, 10 May 1994, FFN Log 9, p. 480-481.
- 82) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 12 May 1994, FFN Log 9, p. 482-489.
- 83) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 14 May 1994, FFN Log 9, p. 500-503.

- 84) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 17 May 1994, FFN Log 23, p. 1452-1454a.
- 85) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 18 May 1994, FFN Log 23, p. 1454b-1456.
- 86) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 19 May 1994, FFN Log 23, p. 1457-1460.
- 87) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 May 1994, FFN Log 23, p. 1464-1472.
- 88) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 May 1994, FFN Log 23, p. 1473-1479a.
- 89) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 May 1994, FFN Log 11, p. 633.
- 90) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 May 1994, FFN Log 11, p. 633-635a, Log 23, p. 1479b-1481.
- 91) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 24 May 1994, FFN Log 11, p. 636a, Log 23, p. 1482-1483a.
- 92) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 May 1994, FFN Log 23, p. 1483b-1489a.
- 93) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 28 May 1994, FFN Log 23, p. 1493-1494.
- 94) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 May 1994, FFN Log 11, p. 623, 635, 637-645, Log 23, p. 1495-1509.
- 95) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, FFN Log 11, p. 636c, 644a, Log 23, p. 1510-1517.
- 96) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, FFN Log 11, p. 636b, 642b, Log 23, p. 1518-1527, Log 24, p. 1532 - 1544a.
- 97) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 03 June 1994, FFN Log 24, p. 1544b-1546.
- 98) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 04 June 1994, FFN Log 24, p. 1547-1552.
- 99) Gerasimos Panayiotopoulos, Accra, GAR, GH, 05 June 1994, FFN Log 24, p. 1553-1554.
- 100) Mrs. Joana Bresi-Ando and Emmanuel A.N. Adentwi, Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, FFN Log 24, p. 1580-1594.
- 101) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 June 1994, FFN Log 24, p. 1595a, 1596b-1598a.
- 102) Rev. Daniel B. Aidoo, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 June 1994, FFN Log 24, p. 1595b-1596a.
- 103) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 11 June 1994, FFN Log 24, p. 1598b-1604a.
- 104) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 12 June 1994, FFN Log 24, p. 1604b-1605a.
- 105) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 15 June 1994, FFN Log 24, p. 1605b.
- 106) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 16 June 1994, FFN Log 24, p. 1607.
- 107) Joseph Abradu Amoah and Solomon Otu Abradu, Accra, GAR, GH, 18 June 1994, Abradu file, GR20.
- 108) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 June 1994, FFN Log 25, p. 1640-1644.
- 109) Catechists Samuel K. Inkoom and Francis Nkrumah, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 28 June 1994, FFN Log 25, p. 1645.
- 110) Rev. John Frank Sarkodie-Aidoo, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 28 June 1994, FFN Log 25, p. 1646.
- 111) Emmanuel A. N. Adentwi, Bresi-Ando tomb visit in Ebibirpim Cemetery, Apam, CR, GH, 29 June 1994, FFN Log 25, p. 1647-1648.
- 112) Isaac Mensah of Nkoransa, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 June 1994, FFN Log 25, p. 1649.
- 113) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 June 1994, FFN Log 26, p. 1663-1668.
- 114) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 03 July 1994, FFN Log 26, p. 1669-1675.
- 115) Elijah K. Johnson, Emmanuel A. N. Adentwi, Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, FFN Log 26, p. 1680-1693a.
- 116) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 15 July 1994, FFN Log 26, p. 1701a.
- 117) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 16 July 1994, FFN Log 26, p. 1701b-1703.
- 118) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 July 1994, FFN Log 29, p. 1794-1833.

- 119) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 July 1994, FFN Log 26, p. 1704-1705.
- 120) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 July 1994, FFN Log 26, p. 1706-1714, Log 27, p. 1715 – 1716.
- 121) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 July 1994, FFN Log 27, p. 1717-1728.
- 122) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 28 July 1994, FFN Log 27, p. 1729a.
- 123) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 July 1994, FFN Log 27, p. 1729b-1730a.
- 124) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 09 August 1994, FFN Log 27, p. 1730b-1731.
- 125) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 11 August 1994, FFN Log 27, p. 1732-1740.
- 126) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 17 August 1994, FFN Log 31, p. 1975-2011.
- 127) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 08 September 1994, FFN Log 27, p. 1741-1742.
- 128) Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 13 October 1994, verification of Story Board Timelines 1-6, Logs 29-34, p. 1794-2184.
- 129) Rev. John Frank Sarkodie-Aidoo, Accra, GAR, GH, 15 October 1994, data verification.
- 130) Rev. Peter Amadi (visiting from the Orthodox Archdiocese of Nigeria) Accra, GAR, GH, 28 October 1994, FFN Log 27, p. 1743-1748.
- 131) Rev. Samuel Adjei-Kumi, Accra, GAR, GH, 29 October 1994, FFN Log 27, p. 1750-1760a.
- 132) Mr. Kojo Botsio, Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 15 November 1994, FFN Log 27, p. 1760b.

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- Chronology Timeline A - 1883-1970 History of Orthodox Church of Ghana, FFN Log 12, p. 661-746.
- Chronology Timeline B - 1880-1966 History of Orthodox Church of Ghana, FFN Log 13, p. 747-825.
- Chronology Timeline C - 1967-1982 History of Orthodox Church of Ghana, FFN Log 14, p. 826-904.

- Story Board Timeline 1, 1935-1943, FFN Log 29, p. 1794-1874.
- Story Board Timeline 2, 1944-1955, FFN Log 30, p. 1875-1953.
- Story Board Timeline 3, 1955-1958, FFN Log 31, p. 1954-2033.
- Story Board Timeline 4, 1958-1973, FFN Log 32, p. 2034-2093.
- Story Board Timeline 5, 1970-1979, FFN Log 33, p. 2094-2173.
- Story Board Timeline 6, 1980-1992, FFN Log 34, p. 2174-2184.

Annotated List of Church Documents, FFN Log 25, p. 1611-1639.

Lists of Parishes and Schools, FFN Log 28, p. 1761-1793.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

- 28 March 1884 --- Kwamin Ntsetse Bresi-Ando is born at Cape Coast in the British Colony of the Gold Coast.
- 31 March 1926 --- Bresi-Ando starts the United Free Church of Africa in eastern Nigeria.
- 25 Sept 1927 --- The African Universal Church and Commercial League is founded in the U.S. by Gold Coaster Laura Adorkor Kofey. Its Garveyite aim is to repatriate Afro-Americans back to Africa.
- 08 March 1928 --- Laura Kofey is assassinated while preaching in Miami, Florida.
- 1929 --- Bresi-Ando's United Free Church is re-designated The Primitive Apostolic Church (still only in Nigeria).
- 22 Sept 1931 --- Merger of Bresi-Ando's Primitive Apostolic African Church with the Kofey African Universal Church into The African Universal Church, with Bresi-Ando as "Supreme Pontiff." The Repatriation plan becomes a key plank in his church's platform.
- 1932 --- Bresi-Ando's half-brother, Rev. Earnest Ando-Brew, is ordained by Bresi-Ando in Nigeria.
- 1932 --- Rev. Earnest Ando-Brew is sent to the Gold Coast to launch his brother's new church there. He founds the Apam parish with help of Aunt Molly Brew.
- 1932 --- Bresi-Ando and American Missionary Carey H. Jones arrive in Apam from Nigeria. The aim of their new church is to help emancipate the African in all areas of life and to prepare for the advent of the repatriated Afro-Americans. Bresi-Ando translates the name of the church into his native Fante tongue: the Ebibirpim Church.
- 1932 --- The Ebibirpim Church spreads quickly. Chief R. H. Adams takes the new church to Gomoa Fomena. Many surrounding Gomoa and Agona towns take the church as well. The Afransi parish of St. James is opened. Apam Ebibirpim Academy opens.
- 1932/early '33 --- Rev. Ando-Brew is sent to the Asante and opens the church in the city of Kumasi.

- 1932/early '33 --- Rev. Ando-Brew opens Prempeh Memorial Institute in Kumasi, one of many Ebibirpim Schools that are springing up beside the new mission stations and parishes.
- 02 March 1933 --- Teacher Charles Adentwi Selby Junior (later known as Rev. K. D. Nyaako-Adentwi) joins the staff of Apam Ebibirpim Academy.
- 03 April 1933 --- Teacher J. B. Edonu (later known as V. Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu) joins the staff of Apam Ebibirpim Academy.
- 31 July 1933 --- Teacher Adentwi is transferred to the Kumasi Prempeh Memorial Institute.
- 1933,1934,1935 --- Church and school growth escalate, with 44 parishes being opened in the first three years of the Ebibirpim's existence in the Gold Coast and Asante.
- Early 1935 --- The Ebibirpim Church sends Bresi-Ando to America to see why the African-Americans are delaying their repatriation to Africa.
- 1935 --- In London Bresi-Ando learns via mail that the American branch of his African Universal Church organization has dissolved its national cohesiveness. He does not proceed on to the U.S.
- 1935 --- In London Bresi-Ando meets up with the "Old Catholic Movement" of *episcopi vagantes* (with alleged Syrian-Jacobite Orthodox connections).
- 08 March 1935 --- In London Old Catholic hierarch Archbishop Churchill Sibley consecrates Bresi-Ando "Mar Kwamin I" and Prince-Patriarch of Africa.
- 01 Sept 1935 --- Patriarch Bresi-Ando consecrates Archbishop Frederic Harrington, in London.
- 1935 --- Prince-Patriarch Bresi-Ando returns to his native Gold Coast to re-organize his church along Old Catholic lines. He uses the name of the African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church. He begins to drop his church's Protestant practices and starts to use Roman Catholic-style practices.
- 1935 - 1939 --- The African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church continues to expand, opening new stations, yet not as fast as the first three years.

- 1935 --- Accra parish is organized. Bresi-Ando, upon returning, bases himself there.
- 1936 --- Accra Ebibirpim Academy is opened.
- 1936 --- Larteh parish of St. Peter is opened.
- 1937 --- The Year of the Cocoa Crisis. Foreign export companies form a “Pool” in an effort to control prices.
- 1937 --- Bresi-Ando plays a key role in organizing farmers at a huge Farmers’ Meeting at Suhum which galvanizes the “Anti-Pool” as a response to the “Pool”, yet gains no ground—only a stalemate.
- 1937 --- Stalemate results in the angry burning of stock-piled cocoa by farmers, who would rather burn than sell at the low price.
- 1937 --- Bresi-Ando has gained some notoriety from his involvement in the organizing of the “Anti-Pool.” As a result, some of the famous chiefs, such as Nana Ofori Atta I and Sir Tsibu Darku become Bresi-Ando’s friends.
- 1937 --- Bresi-Ando uses the cocoa crisis as his opportunity to form his church-run company, “Ebibirpim Limited,” with the aim to export cocoa to Europe. He sells his idea to the Gold Coast farmers through his church network. His dream of commercial emancipation for the African on the Gold Coast seems achievable.
- 08 May 1938 --- Ebibirpim Ltd. is incorporated. Then, it begins to collect cocoa from farmers.
- 1939 --- Shipping license is granted. Initial shipments are made.
- 1939 --- Trouble between the two brothers leads Bresi-Ando to dismiss Rev. Ando-Brew. The entire Asante Diocese follows Ando-Brew into schism away from Bresi-Ando.
- 02 April 1939 --- In an effort to win control of the Asante parishes, Bresi-Ando consecrates Jones as bishop, posting him to be in charge of all the Asante. Jones, quickly, quietly, up in Asante begins to cooperate with Rev. Ando-Brew instead.
- 15 March 1939 --- Bresi-Ando’s Nigerian flock, feeling neglected, cries for help. Bresi-Ando sends Rev. Abradu there as his representative.

- 1939 --- The Gold Coast Colonial authorities, with the foreign Association of West African Merchants (AWAM), maneuver to successfully obstruct Bresi-Ando's attempt to enter the lucrative cocoa exporting business. Ebibirpim Ltd. is forced to try a new commodity. Bresi-Ando chooses the exportation of cassava starch powder.
- 1939 --- Many angered cocoa farmers leave the Ebibirpim Church feeling betrayed by Bresi-Ando and Ando-Brew. A number of Asante parishes close as a result. There is a general decline in church membership as those members who entered because of Bresi-Ando's preaching of commercial emancipation leave his church as their financial hopes are deflated.
- 22 June 1939 --- Earthquake spoils the facility of the Accra Ebibirpim Academy. The school closes.
- 09 Feb 1940 --- Rev. K. D. Nyaako-Adentwi, Education Secretary for the church, is suspended by Bresi-Ando (reason not known.) Rev. Adentwi resigns and forms his own Liberal Catholic Church and School in Apam. The Apam Ebibirpim Academy suffers as a result.
- 1940 --- Ando-Brew's Kumasi school tries to become a secondary institution with name of Prempeh High School; the Headteacher is E. O. Amankwatia.
- 1940 --- Ebibirpim Ltd. successfully exports cassava starch.
- 1941 --- The Colonial Government succeeds in blocking Ebibirpim Limited's further exportation of cassava starch. The company, though still legally alive, ceases to function in the Gold Coast Colony.
- 1941 --- Bresi-Ando leaves Accra for Cape Coast and sets up a school and church there.
- 1942 --- In Kumasi, Headteacher Amankwatia forms his own new school. Ando-Brew's own Prempeh High School closes as a result.
- 1942 --- Ando-Brew's Kumasi parish goes defunct, yet a number of outlying stations remain faithful to him.
- 1942 --- Bresi-Ando is summoned by his Nigerian flock. The Patriarch leaves the Gold Coast for Aba, eastern Nigeria. His emancipation dreams for the Gold Coast have crumbled to pieces.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

When one desires to investigate the complex origin of the Eastern Orthodox Church within Ghana, West Africa, one must start at the beginning and examine the life of “Patriarch” Kwamin Ntsetse Bresi-Ando (1884-1970), who in some fashion can be called its “forerunner” on the Gold Coast in 1932. His vision of an autocephalous “Orthodox-Catholic” African-run church with its specific integrative ecclesial conception went far beyond what Eastern Orthodoxy was doing in Africa in the 1st half of the 20th Century. It can be argued that Bresi-Ando was an ecclesiastical pioneer for “Orthodoxy” in West Africa in the 1930’s, trailblazing a path down which the canonical Church would later enter the nation and get established. His unique place in history—his ecclesiastical context wedging him between an Eastern Orthodox missionary vacuum and the often-prejudiced Western colonial missionary thrust which he so much disliked, combined with the growing socio-political emancipationist desire for self-rule and liberation from the white imperialist colonial context—situated Bresi-Ando within a moment in time within which he could be prophetic, if not a pioneer. This man’s historic contribution to Eastern Orthodoxy in the West African region as well as to the history of his own modern nation of Ghana needs to be lauded, as he has been obscured by lack of research and misunderstanding. Accused by some as being a man of contradiction and misguided selfishness, this brilliant thinker, preacher, educator, and entrepreneur appeared to use a unique emancipationist determination to be his global guiding principle in all that he tried to accomplish. His vision of life that manifested itself through his independent African church (AIC)¹ embraced every aspect of life—religious, socio-cultural, educational, political, and commercial. It is impossible to separate this bishop’s vision from his actions in life and from the church he founded—the ecclesial community which 50 years later (in 1982) was canonically received into the bosom of the Eastern (Greek) Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa, becoming today’s Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of Accra—the local Ghanaian branch of the global Eastern Orthodox Church. This research project seeks to illuminate the unique

¹ AIC = African Independent Church (or, African Indigenous Church)

motivating determination of Bresi-Ando as he lived and worked within the British Crown Colony of the Gold Coast in the decade of the 1930's. As such, it will serve as the origin narrative of the larger story of Bresi-Ando, his African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church, and the present-day Orthodox Archdiocese of Accra. This hermeneutical research will offer a comprehensive understanding of the absolutely unique origin of this West African church, which remains to this day unstudied.

STATE OF THE RESEARCH

Very little has been written on “Patriarch” Kwamin N. Bresi-Ando and the “Orthodox-Catholic” church that he founded, beyond the single existing 30-page pamphlet penned by the man himself. No books have yet been authored. Lacking in the scanty research that does exist is any complete global understanding of Bresi-Ando and how his all-inclusive emancipationist vision controlled and guided every step of his complicated life, especially through the critical 1930's, manifesting itself in the founding of his own independent “Orthodox” church, and through this church, expressing itself in many concrete areas of life. Instead of holding this global perspective, the few researchers pick up some scattered individual facts about this man and his church, often disparate and contrary, and then make extrapolations, conjectures, and educated guesses, even arriving at times at varying conclusions. Exacerbating their efforts is the fact that so very little research has been conducted on Bresi-Ando and his church. Only one scholarly article exists—26 pages by Assimeng—written 45 years ago (1975). Several paragraphs about Bresi-Ando are scattered in a handful of scholarly writings: Brandreth (1947) gives three sentences and a footnote; Anson (1964) allots one page and a half; Debrunner (1967) two pages; Newman (1983) four paragraphs and a footnote; his 1996 article allows one paragraph and a footnote; Opoku (1990) provides three sentences; Kimble (1965) donates a solitary footnote. Brokensha's 1966 masterpiece makes minor references to Bresi-Ando's single parish in the town of Larteh, Ghana, but says nothing of the man himself. Hayes' (1998) Ph.D. manuscript is yet unpublished and utilizes material drawn from

earlier writers—Anson and Brokensha—as well as information provided by myself in a 1995 interview. Sadly, this lack of research (totaling only 35 pages) is in complete contradiction in regard to Bresi-Ando’s importance in Ghanaian religious and political history, as well as in the history of Eastern Orthodox Christian mission in Africa during the modern-era. Much needs to be done to correct this, and this research project proposes to do just that. It will focus more on him—as the founder of his own independent African church—than on the contemporary Orthodox Church of Ghana, which trailed along behind in his shadow, blossoming out of his impulse which he planted in the lives of his followers.

The original primary source printed document—*The Apostolic Succession of the African Universal Church (Orthodox-Catholic)*—was written by Bresi-Ando himself after his episcopal consecration in London in 1935. Using both theological and ecclesiological perspectives, the new “Patriarch” describes his newly-found religious convictions pertaining to his claim of having “canonically” joined the Jacobite Syrian Orthodox communion. Bresi-Ando explains his newly-adopted “Monophysite” theological convictions, announces his “canonical” ordination to the office of bishop (and “Patriarch”), and defends the complete “autocephaly” of his African church community. There is no political slant apparent in this document, but it does offer a view of Bresi-Ando’s “Pan-African” ideology.

Dr. Max Assimeng, Head of the Sociology Department at the University of Ghana in 1993, is the *only* academic to date who has written anything at length on the life of Bishop Bresi-Ando. In his *twenty-six* page 1975 journal article on the bishop, “Methodological Africanism: Bresi-Ando as an Episcopus Vagans,” *CONCH*, vol. VII, n° 1 & 2, p. 54-79, Assimeng called for other academics to do a more thorough and exhaustive *follow-up* work on the subject in the future, noting the *lack of scholarship on Bresi-Ando*². His later work, *Saints and Social Structures*, (1986), mentions Bresi-Ando in a ½ page and in several footnotes.

Using the limited information that he was able to assemble, Assimeng coined a term, “methodological Africanism,” in order to define Bresi-Ando as he understood him³. This means

² Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism: Bresi-Ando as an Episcopus Vagans,” *CONCH*, vol. VII, n° 1 & 2, 1975, p. 56-61.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

that “Africa and Africans’ interest” and “blackness” becomes for Africans the judge of “the appropriateness or otherwise of belief and conduct with respect to Africa”⁴. This principle guided Bresi-Ando, whom Assimeng describes as a “highly individualistic” *episcopus vagans* (“wandering/stray bishop”), who with “charisma” and “initiative” defied usual African stereotypes and colonial constraints as he actively sought Pan-African emancipation for the entire continent⁵.

Assimeng claims that Bresi-Ando would define himself as “an authentic African, dedicated to the continent’s total self-fulfillment and emancipation,” not being limited to one category or domain⁶. However, that being stated, Assimeng then puts Bresi-Ando into the category of African natives in the early 20th Century, prior to decolonization, who were seeking “a deflected self-realization” of “status, social mobility, and self-expression [...] and social eminence” through aspiring to high ecclesiastical rank⁷. An ex-Methodist minister, Bresi-Ando participated in the “Ethiopian” movement by starting his own African indigenous church (AIC), with its accompanying schools, first in Nigeria (1920’s), and later in the Gold Coast (1930’s)⁸. Assimeng records that Bresi-Ando’s church changed its names a few times until it merged with the Kofey African Universal Church (AUC)⁹, an African-American movement based in the U.S. which was promoting an African-American “back-to-Africa” repatriation program and had ideas that “bordered very much on the teachings of Marcus Garvey”¹⁰. Opoku pegged Bresi-Ando as a religious separatist whose independent African denomination “shared most of the ideas of Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association in America”¹¹. Debrunner cautiously hints at a “slight” relationship between Bresi-Ando’s movement in Ghana to that of Marcus Garvey in the United States, while Brokensha unwittingly confuses the matter by simply asserting that Bresi-Ando’s church in Ghana was an extension of the Marcus Garvey movement itself. Newman minimizes Bresi-Ando’s role in the African Universal Church (AUC), at one point suggesting that he was a “fraud” bishop

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 54-55, 63, 71.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 56, 58.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 56, 66-69.

⁹ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, Tema, Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1986, p. 243.

¹⁰ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 68-69.

¹¹ Kofi Asare OPOKU. “A Brief History of Independent Church Movements in Ghana since 1862,” *The Rise of Independent Churches in Ghana*, Accra, Ghana, Asempa Publishers Christian Council of Ghana, 1990, p. 18.

without clergy or parishes¹², a point which Anson disputes, noting the existence of actual photographs of Bresi-Ando's numerous churches on the Gold Coast¹³. Newman stresses more the role of AUC African-American missionary Carey Harold Jones, a colleague of Bresi-Ando, while to the contrary, Assimeng writes clearly of Bresi-Ando's active, dominant leadership role during this period of cooperation with the Kofey African Universal Church and fails to even mention the name of Jones¹⁴. In this disagreement, Anson's research disputes Newman's hasty conclusions, while validating Assimeng.

Anson and Brandreth, the two authorities on modern-era *episcopi vagantes*, identify Bresi-Ando as becoming an "*episcopus vagans*" of the Archbishop Vilatte succession in London in March 1935¹⁵. Assimeng's research revealed that from this point in time Bresi-Ando began to portray himself as a "Prince-Patriarch" and "Primate of Africa"¹⁶, a virtual autocephalous "Pope" ("Patriarch") of all Africa who considered both the Roman Catholic Pope and the Eastern Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria (also known as the Orthodox "Pope" for Africa) to be *apostates* in need of *reunion* with his Monophysite Jacobite church¹⁷.

According to Assimeng, although Bresi-Ando was a "religious leader" and "politician", it was as a "pioneer businessman" that Bresi-Ando reached a level of notoriety due to his attempted church-run company¹⁸. Anson explains that Bresi-Ando owned and ran the "African Church Stores, Ltd." which imported African raw goods to London and claimed to export British/European manufactured items back to Africa, but ran into financial difficulties in paying for the imports¹⁹. This business aspect led Assimeng to venture that financial gain might have been Bresi-Ando's underlying primary motivation²⁰.

¹² Richard NEWMAN. "Archbishop Daniel William Alexander and the African Orthodox Church," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 16, n° 4, 1983, p. 629 footnote 59.

¹³ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, Berkeley, CA, The Apocryphile Press, 2006 [1964], p. 279.

¹⁴ Max ASSIMENG. "Methodological Africanism [...]," p. 69.

¹⁵ Henry R. T. BRANDRETH. *Episcopi Vagantes and the Anglican Church*, Berkeley, CA, Apocryphile Press, 2006 [1947], p. 43; Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 278.

¹⁶ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 243.

¹⁷ Max ASSIMENG. "Methodological Africanism [...]," p. 63; Kwamin BRESI-ANDO. Patriarch of Umuagbaghi. *The Apostolic Succession of the African Universal Church (Orthodox-Catholic)*, Coll. "Orthodox-Catholic Literature", n° 2, [s.l.], The Publication Department of Ebibirpim, Ltd., [s.d.], p. 27.

¹⁸ Max ASSIMENG. "Methodological Africanism [...]," p. 58-59.

¹⁹ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 278-279.

²⁰ Max ASSIMENG. "Methodological Africanism [...]," p. 61.

After reviewing the literature provided on the subject of Bresi-Ando and his AIC by these famous researchers, one can see where their efforts are limited by use of partial sources and lack of information. Thus, their descriptions and opinions of the bishop lack the satisfaction of a fully researched and integrated story. For example, back in the Gold Coast Colony in the mid-1930's, the reasons and timing of Bresi-Ando's breakup with his former missionary colleague, Rev. Carey H. Jones, are not clear by any researcher's account. Assimeng admits to having failed to establish a true chronology, having had great difficulty working with Bresi-Ando's scant biographical information²¹. He stated that he could not "closely follow his religious and commercial fortunes," since the Nigerian Civil War (the Biafran War) destroyed Bresi-Ando's personal files²². Having worked intensely for all his various emancipation goals on the Gold Coast throughout the decade of the 1930's, by 1943 Bresi-Ando had returned to Nigeria to carry on the work of his church there, virtually abandoning his Gold Coast flock for the next three decades, until shortly before his death in 1970²³. He died and was buried in his homeland of Ghana²⁴. The virtual abandonment by Bresi-Ando of his Gold Coast work is a fact which puzzled researcher Assimeng who demands an answer²⁵. Church historian Debrunner, on the other hand, did not notice any "abandonment", but observed that Bresi-Ando's organization in the new independent nation of Ghana had continued to operate as best it could "according to its own lights," having shortened its name to the "Orthodox Catholic Church" in 1958²⁶. However, he did notice that its member census had reduced vastly since its numerical strength of the 1930's²⁷. When Bresi-Ando died in 1970, his church community was left leaderless and orphaned, clinging to their "Orthodox Catholic" self-identity bequeathed to them by their founder, without a clue that they were actually uncanonical. None of the above cited sources mention the intriguing saga of how Bresi-Ando's faithful ecclesial community pressed on alone until they actualized their founder's dream of true Orthodox Catholic canonicity and formed the nucleus of today's Archdiocese of Accra, within the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 60-61.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 62, 72-73.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 61, 75-76.

²⁶ Hans W. DEBRUNNER. *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, Accra, Waterville Publishing House, 1967, p. 331-332.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

Despite the fact that the very useful data he provides on Bresi-Ando, his life, and his church appears disjointed, out of order, and incomplete, Assimeng demonstrated the best attempt to grasp an understanding of Bresi-Ando, especially with his employment of the term “methodological Africanism” to describe the bishop’s pro-African-orientation in his “thoughts about religion, politics, commerce, and culture in general”²⁸. Assimeng is on the right track with this philosophical term but fails to apply it systematically to every aspect of Bresi-Ando’s actual life work—his commercial, educational, ecclesiastical and political actions. Thus, Assimeng falls short of establishing a full global perspective on Bresi-Ando when he suggests that the bishop’s primary motive may have just been financial²⁹.

Further, by lumping Bresi-Ando into the category of 20th Century pre-independence Africans who were simply tempted to seek glory and fame via the high office of bishop, Assimeng—like the hand-full of other researchers—fails to see in Bresi-Ando’s actions an *integrated unity* which was guided by his all-inclusive vision of *emancipation* which he sought to promote and *realize* in *every* area of life via the vehicle of his own ecclesial organization. Assimeng mentions but under-reports the full extent of Bresi-Ando’s popular repatriation plan. He fails to report how this expectation led to rapid church growth for Bresi-Ando’s AIC within a very short period of time on the Gold Coast, becoming, as one senior Ghanaian politician noted, “a movement” in the 1930’s³⁰. Assimeng notes Bresi-Ando’s ecclesial wanderings and theological twists and turns, but does not describe any integral unifying vision behind the shifting sands of life’s interesting details. Bresi-Ando’s amazing attempt at a nationalist-run educational system is dismissed as a paper pipe dream³¹, due perhaps to the fact that, as he admits, Assimeng did not do enough personal interviewing out in the field³². Similarly, the political intrigue surrounding Bresi-Ando’s endeavors on the Gold Coast (Ghana) is over-looked by Assimeng, who only mentions the man’s Nigerian politics³³.

²⁸ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 54, 73, 74.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

³⁰ FFN, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1189, 1193, 1202.

³¹ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 69-70.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 61.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 66, 74.

Yet despite his failure to pull it all together, Assimeng, among all the researchers, was most on track and came to the positive conclusion—which he stated in a personal letter to Bresi-Ando’s nephew and “Deputy Bishop,” the Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu—that his uncle, the late Patriarch Bresi-Ando, was a great African who had made an “immense contribution” to “African cultural renaissance in the twentieth century”³⁴. Therefore, Assimeng wanted future studies to fill in the blanks about Patriarch Bresi-Ando³⁵. To be fair to Professor Assimeng, he had clarified that his academic goal had been *limited* more to “*sociological thresholds* and incidences, *rather* than on historical sequences and chronology”³⁶. He stated that “works on the commercial, nationalist, and educational thoughts and activities of Bresi-Ando would probably have to *await the future*,” acknowledging that “a future and more detailed study of Bresi-Ando would, of course, have to utilize more *oral data* in order to strengthen the historical origins of the Bishop”³⁷.

Unlike Assimeng’s 26 page attempt, the other eminent scholars—Anson (1964), Brandreth (1947), Brokensha (1966), Debrunner (1967), Kimble (1965), Newman (1983, 1996), and Opoku (1990)—provide in total *less* than ten (10) pages of attention to Bresi-Ando in all their writings. This lack of information is their greatest weakness and limitation, and contributes greatly to their often ill-formed opinion of Bresi-Ando.

It is very important to note that *none* of these famous researchers linked Bresi-Ando’s 1930’s ecclesial community to the contemporary Eastern Orthodox Archdiocese of Accra. Their academic portrait of Bresi-Ando did not extend into the 1980’s era when Bresi-Ando’s residual community in Ghana was finally canonically integrated into the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria.

Therefore, what is lacking today is a complete academic portrait of the Orthodox Church of Ghana detailing its un-canonical genesis in the 1930’s under the guidance of Bishop Bresi-Ando and relating its subsequent complex theological and ecclesiastical trail which led it 50 years later into the bosom of the Eastern Orthodoxy. This absence from the scholarly literature was the motivation

³⁴ J. M. ASSIMENG. Letter to Bishop K. Edonu, 10 June 1975, File GR16.463.

³⁵ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 58-59.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 61—italics added.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 58, 61—italics added.

for me to conduct a unique field research program in Ghana from 1992-1994 on this topic, sponsored by the U.S. Fulbright program.

It is true that since the late 1970's and early 1980's one can find here and there a few news articles and mission magazine press releases on this subject, but not scholarly journal articles (other than that of Assimeng). Some of the newsprint makes briefest mention of Bresi-Ando, but offers no real new information, and certainly provides no real depth of analysis of the logic of Bresi-Ando's guiding ideological perspective, which is the goal of this present doctoral thesis.

The one scholarly work that briefly mentions the history of the Orthodox Church of Ghana is that of Dr. Stephen Hayes, who wrote his 1998 dissertation on Orthodox missiology in Africa, *Orthodox Mission Methods: a comparative study*, at the University of South Africa (Pretoria)³⁸. In five paragraphs he offers concepts taken from Anson and Brokensha, as well as information provided by me in an interview in 1995 after I had completed my two years in Ghana (1992-1994) researching the origins of Eastern Orthodoxy in that country. Hayes partly relied on my fieldwork to help build his three page summary in which he quickly connects Bresi-Ando's church to the contemporary Eastern Orthodox Archdiocese of Accra.

Shortly afterwards I myself summarized some of my 1992-1994 research findings into a brief six-page format which I posted on the Patriarch of Alexandria's official website at the personal request of the late Patriarch, His Beatitude Petros VII. This limited listing of facts on Bresi-Ando and the Orthodox Church of Ghana has floated on the web for twenty years on various sites and is the only noticeable amount of information on the subject since the work of Assimeng in 1975³⁹. Bishop Panteleimon, the first canonical Eastern Orthodox bishop of Accra to actually reside in Ghana (1999-2004), translated into Greek and re-printed my six-page web summary as the first chapter for his work, *Ierapostolika Xronika: Ieras Orthodoxou Episkopis Ghanas Etous 2000*, in which he relates his first full year of missionary work in Ghana (the year of 2000)⁴⁰. The fact that he utilized

³⁸ Stephen HAYES. *Orthodox Mission Methods: a comparative study*, Dissertation on Missiology (DTh), Faculty of Theology, University of South Africa (Pretoria), 1998, 492 p.

³⁹ Andrew J. ANDERSON. "A Brief History of the Orthodox Church in Ghana: A Chronology of Events, 1884-1982," *Orthodox Research Institute*, put online 1994, (page consulted 24 January 2020), http://www.orthodoxresearchinstitute.org/articles/church_history/anderson_ghana.htm.

⁴⁰ Bishop PANTELEIMON. *Ierapostolika Xronika: Ieras Orthodoxou Episkopis Ghanas Etous 2000*, Accra, Ghana, The Holy Diocese of Ghana, 2000, p. 9-17.

my limited six-page summary as the *only available* pre-history for his Ghanaian diocese underscores the total lack of scholarly work on the subject, both in Greek and in English. Other than my summary, he printed nothing about what had preceded his missionary presence in Ghana. The academic footprint of the history of the Eastern Orthodox Church in Ghana to date is indeed very small.

The fact that there is no substantial academic portrait of Eastern Orthodox mission work on the Gold Coast in the first half of the 20th Century has a very simple explanation. This ancient Patriarchate of Alexandria did no work in the Colony of the Gold Coast (Ghana) prior to its independence from Great Britain in 1957. There was no Eastern Orthodox missionary presence on the Coast during the decade of the 1930's when Bresi-Ando was operating his "Orthodox-Catholic" dioceses, even though the Orthodox Church has been on the African continent since the 1st Century, and despite the fact that since at least 1927 the Patriarch has claimed pastoral responsibility among the Eastern Orthodox for "All Africa"⁴¹. It was only in 1959 that the Patriarchate of Alexandria inaugurated its Archdiocese of Accra and All West Africa (covering 20 West African nations), placing its headquarters in Yaoundé, Cameroon⁴². For decades, the Greek Orthodox archbishop of Accra lived in Cameroon and limited his pastoral work primarily to Greek expatriates located within his huge West African archdiocesan region, as Dr. Hayes explains in his article, "Orthodox Mission in Tropical Africa"⁴³. Even though a Greek businessman in Ghana finally completed the construction of the Church of St. George in Accra in 1967, it was never consecrated and was soon sold in 1970, as Greeks fled the country due economic and political turmoil⁴⁴. As there was no resident canonical Eastern Orthodox priest in Ghana until 1982, during the 1960's and 1970's a traveling clergyman from the Patriarchate would fly into Ghana to perform Baptisms and weddings solely for the expatriates⁴⁵.

⁴¹ Matthew NAMEE. "A Brief Life of Meletios Metaxakis," *Orthodox History*, put online 24 August 2020, (page consulted on 26 February 2021), <https://orthodoxhistory.org/2020/08/24/a-brief-life-of-meletios-metaxakis>, par. 27.

⁴² "The Coming of the Orthodox Church in Central-West Africa," *Metropolis of Cameroon* archived website. (Page consulted on 28 April 2015), <https://web.archive.org/web/20181019091541/http://www.metropolisofcameroon.org/gr/el/the-metropolis>, par. 1-2.; *Orthodox Calendar 1990: Archdiocese of Accra and All West Africa*, [s.l.], The Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa, 1990, p. 7. This official document of the Archdiocese of Accra specifically lists 20 countries by name.

⁴³ Stephen HAYES. "Orthodox Mission in Tropical Africa," *Missionalia*, vol. 24, n° 3, November 1996, p. 394.

⁴⁴ Andrew J. ANDERSON. "A Brief History of the Orthodox Church in Ghana [...]," p. 1.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

There was absolutely no contact between representatives of the Archdiocese of Accra and the members of Bresi-Ando's ecclesial organization until the mid-1970's when Bresi-Ando's youth members went actively searching for the global Eastern Orthodox Church⁴⁶. This complete lack of Eastern Orthodox indigenous mission activity in Ghana prior to the mid-1970's explains the void of articles and books on the subject. After the youth of Bresi-Ando's community established contact with the Alexandrian Patriarchate in 1974, some articles began to appear in print. These often contain interviews with Fr. Joseph Kwame Labi, a key youth leader who helped spearhead the Bresi-Ando church's search for canonical Orthodoxy. While briefly outlining the shape of some key historical events, these articles lack a full comprehensive presentation of Bresi-Ando and his emancipationist motivation.

To this day, there is *not one single* book specifically dedicated to my research subject. No one has presented a deep and systematic understanding of Bresi-Ando's life, values, beliefs and work, and how this contributed to the establishment of the contemporary Eastern Orthodox presence in modern Ghana. Therefore, the need truly *exists* in the academic world for a book—a single monograph—dedicated to the person of Bresi-Ando and the Orthodox Church of Ghana. Such a work will be an absolutely *original* academic contribution, both to the religious and political history of Ghana as well as to the contemporary history of the renaissance of mission work within the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria. I conducted my Fulbright field research in Ghana (September 1992 to November 1994) and gathered valuable source materials in order to facilitate such a book, which will be for the Orthodox Christians in Ghana *their* book, their history, their story. It hopes to serve for the Ghanaian Orthodox Christian community what “East African Rebels” (by F. B. Welbourn) has been for the Ugandan Orthodox community—to be an academic foundation stone upon which other scholars in this subject area may build.

Finally, in the scope of this project, the portion of the state of the research which is much easier to document is the Gold Coast Colony's socio-political context as well as the Western missionary ecclesial context within which Bresi-Ando worked in the 1930's. Understanding these two contexts is critically necessary to gain a full understanding of the bishop and why his Pan-Africanism energized him to such a degree. Much has been written about these two contexts,

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

offering me a wealth of volumes from which to choose. As much as possible (but not exclusively) the writings of Gold Coast era politicians, Pan-Africanists, and missionary researchers, as well as contemporary modern Ghanaian historians, theologians, and academics will be utilized.

PROBLEM

Having reviewed the contributions and weaknesses of the small group of Bresi-Ando specific researchers (Assimeng, Anson, Debrunner, etc.), the most glaring problem is a *missing global perspective* of the man and his works. This is due to problems at two levels: data and interpretation. Concerning the more foundational level of biographical data, the basic problem plaguing all the researchers is lack of information. Extensive fieldwork utilizing personal interviews with old men and women who knew the late Bresi-Ando is needed to supplement the few facts that have already been established.

Other lower-level problems are the direct result of this missing information. Researchers have compiled disjointed facts from separate aspects of Bresi-Ando's complex life work and do not provide a whole picture, whose analysis requires the context of a more complete biography. Sometimes researchers, in their attempt to make up for missing data, have extrapolated information, made educated guesses, and at times arrived at opposite conclusions. Sometimes certain information is blatantly wrong and needs to be corrected.

These lower-level problems of missing and misconstrued data result in the higher-level problem: how to interpret the complex story emerging from the data about the origin of the Orthodox Church in Ghana. How do we make any sense out of this complicated man's life, his work and his church? This is the *historiographical problem*. What tool can we use to uncover—if possible—any fundamental foundational guiding vision? Or, does Bresi-Ando lack a unified inner cohesiveness and merely bounce from idea to idea, from place to place, from project to project?

Second, seeing the unusual facts of this clergyman's diverse religious choices and steps in life, we arrive at a *theological problem*. Is there a tool—perhaps the same as before—that we can employ to figure out what motivated the bishop to embrace so many ecclesiological transformations and varying theological positionings, as we seek to discern if there is any cohesiveness in all of his choices? Can this tool help us identify Bresi-Ando's full missionary vision which he tried to effect through his independent African church?

Handicapped at this higher level by lack of information at the lower level, the researchers have presented Bresi-Ando in alternative lights, as either a marginal man or an African emancipationist hero. Bresi-Ando, for the most part is demoted into footnote status as an interesting, even amusing, but unimportant individual. Yet Professor Assimeng, who has done the most research to date, though outnumbered, weighs in with a heavy opposition opinion. He holds Bresi-Ando to be an under-researched but very important African in the area of modern Pan-African history. I intend to follow Dr. Max Assimeng, whom I had the pleasure of meeting in Ghana in 1993 in his office at the University of Ghana and from whom I received guidance and encouragement to further his Bresi-Ando research.

Dr. Assimeng gave me insight into the extent of his own previous research on Bresi-Ando, informing *how far* his research had probed, where his research had *concluded*, and where I could *begin* making an *original contribution* in research efforts on the topic of Bresi-Ando and the genesis of the Orthodox Church in Ghana. As the leading researcher (and only real academic one to date) on Bresi-Ando, Assimeng gave me a copy of his 1975 article in which he admitted his problem. He had difficulty establishing a biographical chronology. He placed facts that appear to be out-of-order and disjointed (when looking at the dates given in his footnotes) and acknowledged that much information was missing, as Bresi-Ando's personal correspondence files were destroyed in Nigeria's Biafran War. Thus, Assimeng recommended that the best and only secure way to correct his work on the Gold Coast portion of Bresi-Ando's life was to do extensive *interviewing* of old people who personally knew the late Bresi-Ando and could speak with firsthand knowledge of his emancipationist efforts in the 1930's. Only when I have his biographical data *complete* and in proper *order* can I then begin to analyze Bresi-Ando and his church and discuss both his historiographical problem and his theological problem. I will take a good hard look to see if I can identify beyond a shadow of a doubt that Bresi-Ando had a guiding vision all throughout his life.

I want to discern if all these historiographical and theological problems actually find their solution in a *Pan-Africanist determination*.

My present thesis, then, will be *original* in that I will strive to flesh out a deep understanding of Bresi-Ando, his life, his values, his beliefs, his life mission, his vision, seeking to discover what it was that made Bresi-Ando so valuable to modern-era West African history, as well as to the contemporary mission history of the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa. This misunderstood and misinterpreted Patriarch Bresi-Ando needs to be shown to the world for who he really was, as Dr. Assimeng concluded: “no book of African cultural renaissance in the twentieth century can be deemed complete without an appreciation of the immense contribution of the late Patriarch”⁴⁷. The *goal* of this present research project is to solve both the lower-level problem of missing data as well as the higher-level problem of interpretation. It aims to be that “future and more detailed study of Bresi-Ando” that Professor Assimeng called for in 1975. Having first gathered enough facts to complete a proper biographical sketch of the bishop, I intend to attack the problems of interpretation, hopefully presenting a satisfying answer to the historiographical and theological problems of the Patriarch and his church.

PRINCIPAL QUESTION

Acknowledging the historiographical and theological problems of interpreting Bresi-Ando’s immensely complicated life story, and acknowledging the lack of biographical information and poor chronology, plus the confusion and *varying* opinions of the handful of other writers who have tried to write anything about Bresi-Ando, I propose that my research will seek to identify an answer to this MAIN QUESTION:

⁴⁷ J. M. ASSIMENG. Letter to Bishop K. Edonu, 10 June 1975, File GR16.463.

In the life and actions of Bresi-Ando in the Colony of the Gold Coast during the 1930's, can a *global perspective* be found that can *unify* all the seemingly disparate factors of the complicated life of this complex man, Patriarch Kwamin Ntsetse Bresi-Ando? In other words, is there an underlying vision which guided all of Bresi-Ando's different steps in life, whether they were theological, ecclesiological, commercial, political, social, cultural, or educational?

Can such a *single perspective* be identified which will help us pull together and understand Bresi-Ando's purposes and choices and actions which caused him to start his own independent Orthodox Catholic church—and through it to providentially prepare the ground for the eventual establishment of the modern-day Eastern Orthodox Church in Ghana—while attempting a huge multi-faceted emancipationist effort? Or, was this “Patriarch of Apam” simply a strange man full of contradictions—an ideological opportunist unstable as the waves of the sea?

HYPOTHESIS

My *hypothesis* is that “Pan-Africanism” will be the “*key*” to help us understand Patriarch Bresi-Ando, his goals, his dreams, his actions, and how all of these providentially helped prepare the ground for the future Eastern Orthodox Church in Ghana, West Africa. I hypothesize that Bresi-Ando was not a man of contradiction but *a brilliant man of vision*, as summarized in his own words when he said that he had “been inspired to found his own church to liberate the African”⁴⁸. I hypothesize that he is more as Professor Assimeng described him in his 1975 letter to Rev. Edonu, as a great Pan-Africanist leader in African emancipation, who really was trying to implement a full cadre of all-inclusive emancipationist dreams on the Gold Coast in the 1930's. For Patriarch Bresi-Ando, “Pan-Africanism” was his *complete vision* for the African, which he defined as “the *emancipation of the African in all areas of life: religious, political, social, cultural, economical,*

⁴⁸ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 3, Log 2, p. 54.

*and educational*⁴⁹. I believe that after careful analysis one will see that all of Bresi-Ando's theological and ecclesiological choices and various actions in life were directly related to and guided by a Pan-Africanist vision—his dream of a *full-fledged emancipation* for the African which he worked hard to realize *through his church* on the Gold Coast in the 1930's. Thus, I will argue that in terms of interpretation of data, both the historiographical problem and the theological problem find their solution in the Pan-Africanist determination of the bishop.

Answering my MAIN QUESTION will either *validate* or *invalidate* my hypothesis, that Pan-Africanism is the key to understanding Bresi-Ando and all his efforts on the Gold Coast in the 1930's, which providentially prepared and opened the way for the establishment of the present-day Orthodox Church in Ghana, within the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria.

OBJECTIVES

To attain my goal and thus answer my main question, I will try to achieve four (4) objectives (three vertical and one transversal):

Objective 1: To contextualize the history of Bresi-Ando and the genesis of the Orthodox Church of Ghana.

This objective requires that I search out and describe the socio-political context of colonial Africa (specifically, the British Colony of the Gold Coast) at the eve of Bresi-Ando's work in the early 1930's. Equally, I must identify and relate the ecclesiastical and missionary context within which the bishop found himself—both the Eastern Orthodox Christian mission in Africa, and the white Protestant and Roman Catholic missions operating throughout the Gold Coast in the 1930's.

⁴⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1513-1517—italics added.

Critical to understand is the religious missionary vacuum that was operating within the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa within the same decade, compared to the integrated, active mission work being conducted by the Protestants and Roman Catholics on the Gold Coast at that time.

Objective 2: To build a complete biography of the late Bishop Bresi-Ando, informed by his ideology drawn from his corpus of teachings.

This objective requires me to develop sources that I can utilize in my methodological steps, which will result in a more complete biography of the man, set in proper chronological order. The compiling of his written and oral teachings (via interviews with eye-witnesses) will demonstrate Bresi-Ando's emancipationist mindset, which in turn will inform a well thought out presentation of his biography, as I will be able to cross biographical facts and life actions with his ideology and teachings. This will set the stage for the 3rd objective.

Objective 3: To discern if Bresi-Ando's visionary goal was to achieve Pan-Africanist emancipation in every area of life—socio-cultural, religious, educational, commercial, political—via his own independent church.

This is the *main objective* of my thesis. Seeing Bresi-Ando situated in his particular social, political, historical and religious contexts, and informed by a more complete biographical sketch, I will use Bresi-Ando's definition of Pan-Africanism as *the key to open his entire emancipation program* for analysis. My objective here is to determine if/how/when/where Bresi-Ando, through his own independent church, globally applied a Pan-Africanist emancipationist vision in every area of life across the Gold Coast in the 1930's—whether it be socio-cultural, religious, educational, commercial, or political.

Objective 4: To see if Bresi-Ando was a Pan-Africanist pioneer or a scatter-minded, self-absorbed opportunist.

My single transversal objective—running horizontally through the entire research project—will seek to solve the historiographical problem of interpreting the complicated life and acts of the

Patriarch which resulted ultimately in the emergence of the contemporary Eastern Orthodox Church of Ghana. By using Bresi-Ando's understanding and application of the term "Pan-Africanism," throughout the dissertation I will always be looking to see if he was a marginal man—a simple selfish seeker of status and money, belonging only to footnotes—or an early 20th Century pioneer and hero of Pan-Africanist liberation, imbued with genuine religious and ideological motivations, seeking emancipation at all levels—socio-cultural, religious, educational, commercial, and political—through his church. I will strive to validate what Professor Assimeng recognized—that Bresi-Ando needs his proper place in every book on the subject of Pan-Africanism in Africa, being very important to its history. Further, I will search for the significance of Bresi-Ando's leadership role and visionary quest in light of the contemporary history of Eastern Orthodox mission within the Patriarchate of Alexandria.

LIMITS OF THIS RESEARCH PROJECT

My research project proposal and doctoral thesis is *limited* to the *precise emancipationist acts of Bishop Bresi-Ando via his church in the Gold Coast Colony in the 1930's*. This is only the *origin* story of a much longer tale: the first 75 years of history of Bresi-Ando's church community, from its beginning in 1926 in Nigeria up until the year 2000 when a canonical Eastern Orthodox bishop first took up residence in Ghana. This entire odyssey is much too large for one dissertation, and, in fact, is logically divided into *several eras* which will require a sequel volume:

- a) 1926-1932—Nigerian origins narrative: beginning of Bresi-Ando's AIC in Nigeria
- b) 1932-1942—Gold Coast origins narrative: beginnings, development and crisis in Bresi-Ando's emancipationist ventures in the Gold Coast Colony & Asante
- c) 1942-1956—Time of Troubles, schisms, divisions, and failed reunions
- d) 1956-1970—Era of ecclesiastical abandonment and theological confusion

- e) 1970-1982—Quest for canonical link with the global Eastern Orthodox Church
- f) 1982-2000—Transition into Eastern Orthodoxy, in ecclesiology, theology, liturgics and sacramental life
- g) 2000-present-Arrival of first residential bishop, resulting in an era of physical development, building programs, and integrated mission, being an example of the renaissance of mission work within the Patriarchate

This present research project is designed to focus primarily on the *origin narrative* of the Gold Coast branch of Bresi-Ando's church (specifically, the years 1932-1942). The amount of archival material demands that I leave the other eras for another book, aside from the data to be used in Section Two, the Biography of Bresi-Ando. 1932 is the critical start date, since that is when Bresi-Ando brought his African Universal Church (AUC) from Nigeria and planted it on the Gold Coast. However, as part of the required historical background to set the stage for the transplanting of Bresi-Ando's AUC from Nigeria to the Gold Coast in 1932, I will have to also provide some initial biographical information on Bresi-Ando's prior attempt to plant African-run schools and churches in the Colony of Nigeria in the late 1920's.

Working and residing in his native Gold Coast Colony throughout the decade of the 1930's, Bresi-Ando re-located back to Nigeria in 1942 after most of his Gold Coast emancipationist efforts (i.e. the African-American repatriation program, his nationalist school system, and his indigenous commercial ventures) were crushed by overwhelming opposition and obstacles. 1942, therefore, is a natural break-point in Bresi-Ando's West African story, being the date for the end of his personal leadership presence in the Gold Coast organization that he had worked so hard to establish for ten years. It was in reality the end of a chapter of his life work. Bresi-Ando, however, did try to carry on his comprehensive emancipationist dream in Nigeria, where he remained for the next three decades. From 1942-1970 Bresi-Ando refused to return to the Gold Coast, except for a brief visit during the Christmas holidays of 1955. He only returned to Ghana in 1970 to die at the age of 86.

Time and space does not afford me the opportunity to dive into detail into Bresi-Ando's post-1942 Nigerian story, other than providing sufficient landmark facts in order to flesh out his biography. Therefore, my present thesis is *further limited*, in that it focuses primarily on the *Gold Coast branch* of Bresi-Ando's multi-national church organization in the 1930's. Another researcher will

have the challenge of digging up the complete *Nigerian* story of Bresi-Ando and his Nigerian parishes (a story dating from 1926-1970). That research should start at the Ibadan Archives (File CSO.41392) in Nigeria, as old newspaper articles on file there relate the colorful Nigerian religious activities of Bresi-Ando, according to Assimeng⁵⁰.

SOURCES

Before explaining my methodology and methodological steps, I need to describe the unique set of *sources* that I have developed as *research tools* that I will bring to bear on this present research project. These tools are:

- 1) a pool of existing scholarship from secondary sources,
- 2) a database of written primary sources documents,
- 3) a systematized classification of oral primary sources (taped interviews of eye-witnesses),
- 4) a corpus of Bresi-Ando's teachings,
- 5) a complete biography of Bresi-Ando, and,
- 6) photo documentation of people and sites in Ghana pertinent to this research.

1) a pool of existing scholarship from *secondary* sources

In my State of the Research I delineated the limited amount of secondary scholarship on the subject of Bresi-Ando and his AIC. In addition to the work of scholars like Assimeng and Anson, I have gathered various news articles; however, their lack of depth requires huge augmentation through original field work to collect primary source materials. A bit difficult to gather was the documentation on the contemporary Eastern Orthodox missionary activity in Africa, yet this has been pulled together utilizing primarily an array of missionary websites and periodicals. Easy to

⁵⁰ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 270 footnote 29.

find were books on the Gold Coast's socio-political context, as well as those describing the European missions of the colonial era.

2) an Excel database of written *primary sources* documents

While in Ghana in 1992-1994 I gathered, copied, and brought home 1,614 primary source documents on Bresi-Ando, his life work, and his church (i.e. church archival materials, correspondence files, church and school log books, diaries, copies of important legal documents, etc.). As part of my University of Sherbrooke Ph.D. formation, I built a 96-page Excel spreadsheet as an annotated bibliography organizing and *classifying* all these documents, which arranges facts from 1884 to 2014. This powerful tool enables me to conduct searches, crossing information with specific dates and precise events.

3) a systematized *classification* of oral primary sources (taped *interviews* of eye-witnesses)

While on field study in Ghana in 1992-1994 as a U.S. Fulbright scholar I conducted an extensive interview program with individuals who knew the late Bresi-Ando and his church intimately (i.e. his wife, family members, colleagues, his former Deputy Bishop, and others of the oldest living clergymen who had partnered with Bresi-Ando in his work). I recorded *98 hours* of taped *interviews* on 32 *research visits* to 14 locations within Ghana and one in Nigeria, producing a total of 132 separate *interviews* of 58 different individuals. There were multiple fact-checking follow-ups. I exhaustively interviewed the 85-year-old *co-founder* of the Orthodox Church in Ghana—the V. Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, nephew of Bresi-Ando and former Deputy Bishop (29 of the above 98 recorded hours belong to him alone). In the interview process and the re-verification and cross-examination procedures, I sought as much biographical data as I could gather about Bresi-Ando's life and work (his churches, schools, businesses, etc.). I desired to gain an understanding of his ideas and teachings in order to achieve as full a comprehension of the man as possible. The critical interviews I then transcribed in order to develop a powerful research tool: a systematized classification of data drawn from the transcriptions. Through the use of a painstakingly manual chronological story-boarding process and subsequent classification into user-friendly notebooks, a complete history of Bresi-Ando's life and church emerged before my very eyes. All these chronological facts are cross-referenced and identified by tape number and transcription page.

This research tool was completed on the field in Africa and entirely re-verified by my main interviewee—Rev. K. Edonu—prior to my leaving Ghana in 1994.

4) a *corpus* of Bresi-Ando's teachings

From my collection of primary source documents, I have identified Bishop Bresi-Ando's extant writings. From the field interview process I learned about Bresi-Ando's orally-delivered ideology and teachings, as heard by eye-witnesses who knew him intimately, especially his loyal senior clergymen whose job it was to promote Bresi-Ando's vision and teachings to their fellow countrymen. These I have compiled to serve as a research tool conveying Bresi-Ando's personal ideology.

5) a complete *biography* of Bresi-Ando

Using my primary and secondary source materials, the transcribed interviews, and the corpus of teachings (Tools 1, 2, 3, & 4), I have been able to build a complete biography of Bresi-Ando. This I did by comparing the transcribed oral testimony of the interviewees with the primary source documents and the scholars' scant secondary sources, and then synthesizing all this data into proper chronological order.

6) *photo documentation* of people and sites in Ghana pertinent to this research

While on research visits to sites in Ghana in 1992-1994, I gathered and copied 73 old historical photographs. I also took 1540 colored photographs documenting people and sites important to the life of Bresi-Ando and his church. These photos have been printed and placed into six albums, while important black-and-white historical photographs have been scanned into the computer for future use in my dissertation and publications.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

“Pan-Africanism” will serve as my *theoretical framework*. However, as this term is rather large and slippery and was re-shaped and re-defined several times over the course of the last 150 years, I must contain my understanding of the term to that classic definition and usage which was popular in the early 20th Century, as represented by Marcus Garvey, the global giant of Pan-Africanism in the 1920’s and 1930’s. As Garvey was a contemporary of Bresi-Ando, I hope to demonstrate how he, along with other famous Pan-Africanists, such as Edward Blyden, W. E. B. Du Bois, Casely Hayford, and Laura Adorkor Kofey, contributed to Bresi-Ando’s understanding of the term. With this in view, my *theoretical framework* will be shaped by applying my research hypothesis (i.e. that Pan-Africanism is the “key” to understand Bresi-Ando) to the bishop’s own *complete vision for the African*, which he described as “the emancipation of the African in all areas of life: religious, political, social, cultural, economical, and educational”⁵¹.

METHODOLOGY

For my *methodology* I plan to follow a *hermeneutical method of historical theology*. This deals with the context of reception which colors how one interprets his work. Bresi-Ando was a man operating within a specific time and place—in a moment in time. If we understand that moment and place, we may better appreciate who Bresi-Ando was and what he attempted to do on the Gold Coast in the 1930’s. In the vein of Marcus Garvey who would speak of his black “spectacles of Ethiopia,” Bresi-Ando would use the expression “African spectacles” to describe how he wanted

⁵¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1513-1517.

to view his life and his life's work⁵². I will now outline four *methodological steps* to systemize my logical journey to understand Bresi-Ando, his "African spectacles", and everything he said and did.

Step One. My Tool Box: Collection and Classification.

This initial aspect of "Collection" was practical and has been completed. It was the preparing of my research tools: the gathering of primary source documents (church archives, diaries, photographs, etc.) in Ghana, the interviewing of eye-witnesses, the meeting with previous researchers (i.e. Professor Assimeng), the gathering of secondary materials, etc. Then followed the "Classification" aspect which developed more powerful tools: the building of the 96-page Excel spreadsheet which enables a person to isolate from all written source documents certain events and dates; plus, the preparation of notebooks of biographical and historical data drawn from transcribed interviews and classified in a chronological manner. This classification of data in a scientific way has enabled me see an emerging portrait of Bresi-Ando and his church. I am now able to distinguish a clear set of moments within the life of the bishop and within the history of his church. There are the eras of: origins, schisms, theological confusion, the quest for canonical link, transition, and renaissance. By using my tools to understand moments, I arrive at an emerging history.

Step Two. Portrait of History: Distinguishing a moment of history to serve as my research focus.

My Tool Box (Step One) made it possible for me to identify and isolate one decade—one era—which will serve as the logical place and focus of my doctoral thesis. The *origin* narrative of 1932-1942 appeared. By isolating this moment, some key concepts have also emerged, the most important of which is the *concept of Pan-Africanism*. This seems to have penetrated Bresi-Ando's global vision. A multi-dimensional concept in Bresi-Ando's line of thinking appeared in his life, actions, work, and conception of church: "the emancipation of the African in all areas of life: religious, political, social, cultural, economical, and educational"⁵³. By isolating a moment, one

⁵² Max ASSIMENG. "Methodological Africanism [...]," p. 74.

⁵³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1513-1517.

sees emerging concepts which need further examination. These concepts can only be fully understood by resorting to their particular context, which logically carries one to the next step.

Step Three. Contextualization.

Bresi-Ando and his brand of emancipationist reasoning needs to be studied from the viewpoint of the Pan-Africanism that was dominant in the 1920's and 1930's—that of Marcus Garvey, Casely Hayford, and Laura Adorkor Kofey (who linked Garvey with Bresí-Ando). This Pan-Africanism itself needs to be placed into the 1930's socio-political colonial context of the Gold Coast. Then, the ingredients of the void of Eastern Orthodox missionary work in early 20th Century Africa, the integrative white European missions in colonial West Africa, and Bresí-Ando's own response to all of this needs to be put into dialogue and added into the recipe of the contextual blend of ingredients. A complete understanding of Bresí-Ando's full context leads us logically to the last methodological step.

Step Four. Full analysis of Bresí-Ando's Pan-Africanism as demonstrated in his church and life actions.

Only after following the above three methodological steps can one arrive at the “meat” of my thesis—a full panoramic analysis of Bresí-Ando's ideology in action. Because facts have been gathered and classified, a portrait of Bresí-Ando's life and church history emerged. From this historical sketch, a moment in history—the 1930's—was isolated and came to the foreground. From this moment emerged concepts of Pan-Africanism which require full historical contextualization. Finally, by following this logical journey, we can arrive at the place where we can begin to see and understand who Bresí-Ando really was. We can now interpret him in Pan-Africanist determination. Only at this point are we able to make an integrated analysis of the five dimensions of Bresí-Ando's emancipationist efforts—his socio-cultural stance, his educational policy, his religious transformations, his political views, and his commercial adventures. This process will hopefully bring us to a deep understanding of Bresí-Ando's life, actions, values, and beliefs. We will achieve our cognitive goal of making the bishop a comprehensible person. This will hopefully help us fully appreciate why researcher Dr. Max Assimeng believed that Patriarch Bresí-Ando was a great African who had made an “immense contribution” to “African cultural

renaissance in the twentieth century” (10 June 1975 Letter from Prof. Max Assimeng, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana, to Bp. Edonu, Afransi, Central Region, Ghana).

PLAN OF WORK

Since I follow a hermeneutical method of historical theology, my project involves a great deal of original historical research. I will have to analyze the vast array of sources (primary and secondary) that I previously gathered while conducting field work as a U.S. Fulbrighter in Africa in 1992-1994 searching for the origins of the Eastern Orthodox Church in Ghana. This material was not properly analyzed and was never published. It will be a huge data bank for me to utilize in order to conduct my present analysis on the Pan-African determination of Bresi-Ando. The six research tools that I developed (my sources) will help me to be able to discern and demonstrate who Bresi-Ando was and how his vision (via his church) led to the ultimate formation of the contemporary Eastern Orthodox presence within modern day Ghana.

Therefore, the dissertation is divided into three sections, one per Objectives 1-3.

SECTION ONE: BRESI-ANDO’S ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT WITHIN THE 1930’S GOLD COAST COLONY

The purpose of this section is to meet Objective 1: To contextualize the history of Bresi-Ando and the genesis of the Orthodox Church of Ghana.

1. Eastern Orthodox missionary void in early 20th Century Africa
2. The ancient Monophysite polemic: Bresi-Ando’s theological cornerstone
3. Colonialism’s contributions in early 20th Century Gold Coast: contextual background and history
4. Colonialism’s liabilities and the beginnings of nationalism on the Gold Coast in the early 20th century
5. Pioneers of Pan-Africanism who, as an African response to colonialism, paved the road for Bresi-Ando

6. Pan-African Theology and African Independent Churches (AICs)
7. The link between Garvey and Bresi-Ando: Gold Coast Garveyist Princess Laura Adorkor Kofey and the African Universal Church and Commercial League (AUCCL)

SECTION TWO: THE LIFE OF REV. KWAMIN N. BRESI-ANDO (1884-1970)

The goal of this section is to solve Objective 2: To build a complete biography of the late Bishop Bresi-Ando, informed by his ideology drawn from his corpus of teachings.

8. Biography Part A: Building a Pan-African Program, 1884-1935
9. Biography Part B: Implementing a full Pan-African Program, 1935-1939
10. Biography Part C: Disintegration of the Program, 1939-1942
11. Biography Part D: Survival of pieces of the Program, 1942-1956
12. Biography Part E: Abandonment and Death, 1956-1970

SECTION THREE: SPECIFIC ANALYSIS OF THE “PAN-AFRICANISM” OF BRESI-ANDO DURING THE 1930’s.

The design and function of this section is to thoroughly address Objective 3: To discern if Bresi-Ando’s visionary goal was to achieve Pan-Africanist emancipation in every area of life—socio-cultural, religious, educational, commercial, political—via his own independent church.

13. Bresi-Ando’s *socio-cultural* emancipation
14. Bresi-Ando’s *religious* emancipation
15. Bresi-Ando’s *educational* emancipation
16. Bresi-Ando’s *commercial* emancipation
17. Bresi-Ando’s *political* emancipation

These five chapters of Section Three have been arranged according to their chronological sequence. This is the order in which the bishop attempted to bring his multi-faceted emancipationist dream into life. By the time this section is concluded, it will be apparent whether or not the hypothesis has been validated.

SECTION ONE

BRESI-ANDO'S ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT WITHIN THE 1930's GOLD COAST COLONY

SECTION ONE: BRESI-ANDO'S ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT WITHIN THE 1930's GOLD COAST COLONY

Introduction to Section One: Background Context

The 1st Objective of this present research project is to contextualize the history of Bresi-Ando and the genesis of the Orthodox Church of Ghana. To provide such a complete background contextualization, we will have to survey in consecutive order several overlapping contexts, whose accumulative effect bore down on Bresi-Ando and his generation on the Gold Coast in the late 1920's and throughout the decade of the 1930's. Bresi-Ando's actions and way of thinking needs to be studied from the viewpoint of the Pan-Africanism that was dominant in the 1920's and 1930's—that of Marcus Garvey, Casely Hayford, and Laura Adorkor Kofey (who linked Garvey and Bresi-Ando). This Pan-Africanism itself needs to be placed into the 1930's socio-political colonial framework of the Gold Coast. Moreover, the ingredients of the void of Eastern Orthodox missionary work in early 20th Century Africa, the integrative approach of the white European missions in colonial Africa, and Bresi-Ando's own response to all of this needs to be put into dialogue and added into the recipe of the contextual blend of ingredients. This will require *seven chapters* to establish the full combined historical, social, political, philosophical, theological, ecclesiastical, and economic setting. Gaining a complete understanding of Bresi-Ando's comprehensive background context will logically demand a second objective, that of accomplishing his biography, which will be the focus of Section Two. There we will take a much closer look at the person of Bresi-Ando in order to see exactly how he himself fit into the larger background colonial context described in this first section.

Since Patriarch Bresi-Ando on the Gold Coast in the 1930's claimed to be a “valid” Orthodox hierarch of the Eastern Christian Church, we will start Section One by examining the actual void

of missionary work in West Africa by the Eastern Orthodox Church during the early 20th Century. As there was no Eastern Orthodox mission operating in the Colonies of the Gold Coast and Nigeria during the 1930's, Bresi-Ando's effort to start what he called his "African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church" was a pioneering effort, which—in an interesting twist of historical events—eventually led to his Ghanaian church community becoming the foundation stone of the contemporary canonical Archdiocese of Accra within the Eastern (Greek) Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa. Bresi-Ando's religious anti-colonial emancipationist movement thus became a part of the revival of the indigenous mission of this ancient Patriarchate in the later portion of the 20th Century, as various independent African "pseudo-Orthodox" communities such as his began to notice the historical Patriarchate of Alexandria and started knocking on its doors, asking to be let in. This in turn has re-ignited the Eastern Orthodox missionary work all across Africa in the last decades of the 20th Century and into the 21st.

***SECTION ONE: BRESI-ANDO'S ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT
WITHIN THE 1930's GOLD COAST COLONY***

CHAPTER 1 EASTERN ORTHODOX MISSIONARY VOID IN EARLY 20th CENTURY AFRICA

Purpose

Though not widely known, to Rt. Rev. Bishop Kwamin Ntsetse Bresi-Ando goes the credit for helping establish the ancient Orthodox Church (Patriarchate of Alexandria) within the modern nation of Ghana. While Bresi-Ando never lived to see the actual day, he started an independent African church organization on the Gold Coast in 1932, initiating a process which later, in the hands of his faithful followers, led matters to where they stand today—their church community having been finally officially accepted into full membership within the global family of canonical Eastern Orthodox Churches in 1982. In order to grasp the significance of Bresi-Ando's achievement and to fully appreciate his vision lies a historiographic challenge. His story, and that of his church organization, needs to be placed within the full 20th Century ecclesiastical African framework in order to be properly understood. And then, this 20th Century setting itself must be viewed within the much larger ecclesiastical context of the entire Orthodox Church on the continent of Africa over the last twenty centuries. Having done so, one will be enabled to appreciate the pioneering work that Bresi-Ando did for the establishment and growth of Orthodox missionary work in Ghana, West Africa.

Africa is reported to have “the fastest growing Christian population in the world”¹. This time period of contemporary church history has witnessed a tremendous renaissance of the missionary spirit within the Greek (Eastern) Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria. Not since the ancient days of the Christianized Roman Empire has Africa had so many of her children as members of the Orthodox Catholic Church². Countries like Congo, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania, and the island of Madagascar (among many others) have all witnessed the birth of Eastern Orthodox Christianity within their national boundaries within the last 100 years, and for many, this has

¹ Shola ADENEKAN. “Patriarch Petros VII, Greek Orthodox leader who revitalised his church in Africa,” *The Guardian*, put online 14 September 2004, (page consulted on 31 March 2014), www.theguardian.com/news/2004/sep/14/guardianobituaries.religion, par. 8.

² *Ibid.*, par. 4.

occurred within the last four decades³. At this present moment, the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria is experiencing fast growth, and the current Patriarch, His Beatitude Theodoros II, who began his rule in 2004, is enthusiastically a supporter of “[t]he remarkable missionary outreach into the black, sub-Saharan Africa [*that*] has turned the Patriarchate of Alexandria into one of the fastest growing and most actively evangelizing churches in the world”⁴. But not everybody outside of Africa is aware of this fact. “[I]f the Western Christian mission in Africa has been vividly described, vastly romanticized on the one hand, and criticized as a part of the European colonialism on the other, the Eastern Christian mission, both by the Greeks and by the Copts, both taking place largely in the late colonial and post-colonial era and to a large extent based on indigenous quest by native Africans, remains tremendously under-researched and underreported,” reported Andrei Zolotov Jr., in *Ria Novosti*⁵. Patriarch Theodoros II is committed to advancing the missionary revival begun by his immediate predecessor, His Beatitude Petros VII (1997-2004)⁶. Theodoros recently expressed his wish to be remembered in history “as a missionary Patriarch”⁷. A new black African bishop, His Grace Neofitos (Kongai) of Nitrias (ordained 2014), recently sang the praises of the Patriarch: “the spirit of Mission for the Church of Africa and love for Africa and Africans in him is an extinguishable fire! [...] Its unconsumable spirit of love, joy, respect and appreciation of what God is doing in him and through him [...] great apostolic mission [...] Africa is you and you are Africa!”⁸

The missionary zeal of these two recent Alexandrian Patriarchs (Petros VII and Theodoros II) is set in *stark* contrast to the centuries of Eastern Orthodox missionary *void* within the Africa. There

³ “Holy Archdioceses,” *The official website of Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa*. (Page consulted on 15 August 2019), <http://www.patriarchateofalexandria.com/index.php?module=content&cid=004001>; “Holy Dioceses,” *The official website of Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa*. (Page consulted on 15 August 2019), <http://www.patriarchateofalexandria.com/index.php?module=content&cid=004002>.

⁴ Andrei ZOLOTOV, Jr. “The Missionary Patriarchate of Alexandria,” *Ria Novosti*, in *Silouan*, put online 30 July 2012, (page consulted on 28 April 2015), <https://web.archive.org/web/20151204174041/http://silouanthompson.net/2012/07/the-missionary-patriarchate-of-alexandria>, par. 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, par. 4.

⁶ Shola ADENEKAN. “Patriarch Petros VII [...],” par. 2 & 11.

⁷ Andrei ZOLOTOV, Jr. “The Missionary Patriarchate of Alexandria” [...], par. 7.

⁸ Nitrias Neofitos KONGAI. “The Spirit of Mission for the Church of Africa and Love for Africa and Africans,” *In Orthodox Vineyards of Africa*, put online 27 April 2015, (page consulted on 29 April 2015), <http://ampelonas-trygetes.blogspot.ca>, p. 1.

are historical reasons for this decline of mission work on the continent, as well as fascinating reasons for her modern-day revival. It is the purpose of this chapter to rise to the challenge of providing these reasons, without which it would be hard to gain a complete understanding of the importance and value of Bresi-Ando's particular "Orthodox Catholic" missionary endeavors on the Gold Coast that took place *before* the official involvement of the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria in its contemporary missionary renaissance.

This first chapter is very broad in its scope, reviewing missionary work in Africa over 20 centuries. It functions as the beginning chapter of a series of *seven* context chapters (comprising Section One) which refine the focus of this thesis until Bresi-Ando emerges into view on the missionary scene of early 20th Century West Africa.

Sources

A wide spectrum of secondary historical, missionary, and statistical sources were consulted to build this chapter. At this introductory level, primary sources are unnecessary, but they will come into play heavily in later chapters.

For general church history, the works of well-known Eastern and Western church historians were consulted—Roland H. Bainton, Jaroslav Pelikan, Timothy (Kallistos) Ware, and Nicolas Zernov. Specialists in their fields helped describe the historical mission work in various parts of Africa: Andrew C. Wheeler for Nubia and the Sudan, Aziz S. Atiya for Coptic Egypt, and Sergew H. Selassie for Ethiopia.

For more specific works on contemporary 19th and 20th Century missionary work in Africa, information was found in the works of Kenneth Scott Latourette, Stephen Hayes, and David B. Barrett, as well as in the official website of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa. Helping narrow the focus of the thesis were the modern Ghanaian historians Ebenezer O. Addo and Kofi N. Awoonor, and the contemporary Ghanaian theologians Jones D. Amanor and Emmanuel Martey.

Finally, statistics on the amazing growth in contemporary 20th Century African Christianity were gathered from the CIA's *World Fact Book*, the Pew Research Centre, the BBC News, J. D. Y. Peel's "Reviews" in the journal *Africa*, and the writings of Dr. Ebenezer O. Addo.

Structure

It was within the void of Orthodox missionary activity on the African continent that "Patriarch" Breski-Ando sought to establish his (albeit uncanonical) "Orthodox Catholic" church in the Colony of the Gold Coast in the 1930's. In order to properly understand his wide ecclesiastical framework, this *first* chapter of context Section One is divided into *seven* parts, following a historical sequence:

- 1) The Alexandrian Patriarchate in ancient times
- 2) The decline of ancient Christian missionary efforts on the continent
- 3) Western missions arrive in Africa
- 4) European denominations get missionary foundations on the Gold Coast
- 5) African Independent Churches (AICs)
- 6) The 20th Century Alexandrian Patriarchate was not ready to receive a wave of converts
- 7) The contemporary renaissance of the Alexandrian Patriarchate

This first chapter is a quick review of Church history on the continent of Africa. Part one begins with the founding of the Apostolic Church of Alexandria in the 1st Century by the Holy Apostle Mark, later known as the Patriarchate of Alexandria. As the ancient Orthodox Catholic Faith spread and flourished in those first centuries, the continent of Africa played a central role in the Early Church, producing some of its greatest saints, such as St. Athanasius, who defended the Nicene Creed and helped establish the Canon of Holy Scripture. Sadly, the same continent also produced some of the worst heretics (such as Arius and Origen). After the Monophysite challenge in the 5th Century, two rival Patriarchates have existed in Egypt down to the present: Greek and Coptic.

Part two relates the decline of ancient Christian missionary efforts within northern and eastern Africa, as it became a persecuted Church with the advent of Islam in the 7th Century. Survival mode replaced evangelism in Egypt and Ethiopia, while the churches in Nubia and the Maghreb (northwestern Africa) resisted Islam to the best of their ability, until they ultimately vanished. Orthodox evangelism in Africa was completely stalemated by AD 1500.

Part three describes the dynamic establishment of the Western missions in 19th Century colonial West Africa, with the arrival of European traders, colonialists, and Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries (whose 15th-18th Century efforts bore little lasting fruit). As the focus of this thesis is on West Africa, European mission planting in Central and South Africa during this same time frame is not examined.

It was particularly difficult to get a permanent Christian mission started on the Gold Coast, but part four introduces those European denominations who were finally able to lay the first successful missionary foundations there: the Basel Mission, the Methodist Mission, the Bremen Mission, the Roman Catholic Mission, and much later, the Pentecostal and Charismatic denominations.

Part five introduces the African Independent Churches (AICs), noting that some of them began searching for Africa's earliest Christian roots, and ended up knocking on the door of the Eastern/Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria.

Part six shows how this Alexandrian Patriarchate in the early to mid-20th Century was not ready to receive a huge influx of African converts, but was focusing its pastoral efforts on the new Greek and Syrian Diaspora which had recently "repopulated" the Patriarchate. However, slow steps towards the re-structuring of the Patriarchate for mission began its transition from the pastoral care of the Diaspora to the evangelization of nationals.

Part seven announces the recent amazing contemporary renaissance of the Eastern/Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria within the *new* Africa: the Christian continent of the 21st Century. Hopefully this short review of its Church history, beginning in ancient days and refining its focus until the 20th Century Gold Coast Colony comes into view, will begin to prepare the reader to understand and appreciate the pioneering efforts of Bishop Bresi-Ando in the 1930's.

1. The Alexandrian Patriarchate in ancient times

When one studies history, one can see that the Church—which in time came to be known as the Orthodox Catholic Church—has existed in parts of Africa (particularly in the north, the northeast, and east) ever since the 1st Century AD, having been planted on the continent of Africa by the Apostles themselves. In other words, Orthodoxy has been in Africa as long as it has been in Greece. To be academically precise, and avoid any anachronism, in the Roman Empire of the 1st Century, “Africa” at that time normally referred to the Roman Province of Africa (area of Carthage, Tunisia)⁹, while the land along the Nile was known as the Roman Province of “Egypt”¹⁰. However, in the mindset of the 20th Century Pan-African movement, “Africa” came to be seen as comprising the entire continent, Egypt included. This fact will be borne out in later chapters which will discuss the great 20th Century Pan-Africanist leaders whose influence produced a continent full of independent modern nations and organizations such as the OAU (Organization of African Unity), which pulled all peoples and countries on the continent together, regardless of color, language, tribe, ethnicity, and nationality¹¹. One must bear in mind that it is common today for Egyptians to consider themselves “Africans”, and it is common for contemporary Africans who are seeking the oldest Christian Church established on their continent to look to ancient Egypt and Ethiopia for inspiration.

According to the most revered and strongest Holy Tradition of the Church, and recorded for all posterity by Eusebius in the 300’s in his *Ecclesiastical History*, St. Mark traveled south to bring the brand-new Church to Egypt and established Christianity in the huge Roman City of

⁹ The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica. “Africa,” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 29 March 2018, (page consulted on 05 April 2021), <https://www.britannica.com/place/Africa-Roman-territory>, par. 1-3.

¹⁰ Alan K. BOWMAN. “Roman And Byzantine Egypt (30 BCE– 642 CE),” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 22 October 2020, (page consulted 06 April 2021), <https://www.britannica.com/place/ancient-Egypt/Roman-and-Byzantine-Egypt-30-bce-642-ce>, par. 1.

¹¹ Marc MATERA. “Pan-Africanism”, *New Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, vol. 4, Maryanne Cline Horowitz (Editor in chief), Detroit, Michigan, Thomson Gale, 2005, put online [s.d.], (page consulted on 24 May 2019), https://archive.org/stream/NewDictionaryOfTheHistoryOfIdeas/New+Dictionary+of+the+History+of+Ideas+2005_djvu.txt, p. 1704-1706.

Alexandria¹², in the year AD 43¹³, where he served as its first bishop for two decades before martyring there¹⁴. As the second largest metropolis of the Roman Empire at the time¹⁵, with a far-ranging influence throughout North Africa and beyond, Alexandria was the logical place to become the ancient episcopal See for all Egypt and the northeast corner of the continent¹⁶, and much later, for the whole Eastern Orthodox Church in Africa¹⁷. For centuries Alexandria had already been established as the most renowned center of learning in the ancient world, with a world-famous library and the world's oldest university of Greek philosophy¹⁸. This great city's ancient Apostolic See still exists to this day as the Patriarchate of Alexandria¹⁹. Initially its bishopric was not called a "patriarchate" (it gained that title in the 400's), but was at first a See ruled by a metropolitan, and then as it expanded it was ruled by an arch-metropolitan, then by a patriarch²⁰. In the Early Church era the Church of Alexandria was one of the strongest and oldest patriarchates, whose leadership naturally influenced bishops far and wide²¹.

Modern academics have made it fashionable to try to disparage the idea of the founding of the Church of Alexandria by St. Mark²², yet in doing so they resist the strong witness of both Church Tradition and ancient written historical texts. The old Holy Tradition that the Evangelist planted Christianity in Egypt in the 1st Century is commonly held in both the East and the West by the Eastern Orthodox Church, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Oriental Orthodox Churches,

¹² EUSEBIUS. *Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History*, Translated from Greek by C. F. Cruse, Peabody, Massachusetts, Hendrickson Publishers, 1998, p. 50-51, *Book. 2.*, chapters 15-16.

¹³ "The Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa," *The official website of Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa*. Put online 22 October 2012, (page consulted on 09 September 2019), <http://www.patriarchateofalexandria.com/index.php?module=content&cid=002010>, par. 3.

¹⁴ NUNS of Holy Apostles Convent and MONKS of Dormition Skete (Eds.). "The Holy Apostle Mark the Evangelist," *April*, Coll. "The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church," Translated from the Greek, Buena Vista, CO, Holy Apostles Convent and Dormition Skete, 2005, p. 927 footnote 29, and p. 939 footnote 47.

¹⁵ Sharon OMONDI. "5 Important Cities Of The Roman Empire," *World Atlas*, put online 01 August 2017, (page consulted on 16 April 2019), <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/5-important-cities-of-the-roman-empire.html>, point 4.

¹⁶ Andrew PHILLIPS. "The Last Christians of North-West Africa: Some Lessons for Orthodox Today," *Orthodox England on the Net*, (page consulted on 16 April 2019), orthodoxengland.org.uk/maghreb.htm, par. 7-8.

¹⁷ "The Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa," *The official website [...]*, par. 1.

¹⁸ Susan KARLIN. "Oldest University Unearthed in Egypt," *Discover*, put online 02 January 2005, (page consulted on 18 October 2013), <http://discovermagazine.com/2005/jan/oldest-university-unearthed-in-egypt>, par. 2 & 5.

¹⁹ "The Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa," *The official website [...]*, par. 3.

²⁰ Joseph WOODS. "The Church of Alexandria," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, New York, Robert Appleton Company, 1907, put online 2020, (page consulted on 05 April 2021), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01300b.htm>, par. 1.

²¹ *Ibid.*, par. 1-2; Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, London, Penguin Books Ltd., 1987 [1963], p. 30-32, 34.

²² L. W. BARNARD. "St. Mark and Alexandria," *The Harvard Theological Review*, Cambridge University Press, vol. 57, n° 2, April 1964, p. 145-150.

especially by the Coptics of Egypt, who in 1968 celebrated the 1900th anniversary of St. Mark's AD 68 martyrdom by receiving back from Pope Paul VI of Rome the holy relics of the Apostle himself²³. Respected writers in antiquity recognized St. Mark as being the original church planter in Egypt. In the early 300's, early church historian Eusebius wrote of St. Mark's immediate evangelical success as being so impressive that it caught the eye and pen of the famous 1st Century writer and philosopher, Philo Judaeus of Alexandria, whom Eusebius mentions as a recorded witness of the fruit of the labor of the Evangelist:

That same Mark, they also say, being the first sent to Egypt, proclaimed the gospel there which he had written and first established churches at the city of Alexandria. So great a multitude of believers, both of men and women, were collected there at the very outset, that in consequence of their extreme philosophical discipline and austerity, Philo considered their pursuits, their assemblies, and entertainments, and in short their whole manner of life, as deserving a place in his descriptions.²⁴

Eusebius writes in detail in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Book 2, Chapter 17, how Philo was very observant of the 1st Century Alexandrian Christians' religious customs and practices, ascetic style of fasting, prayers, psalmody and vigils, and also their "ecclesiastical services" and "deacons" and higher offices of "the presidencies of the episcopate"²⁵. Eusebius notes that "[a]ll these the above-mentioned author has accurately described and stated in his writings and are the *same customs* that are *observed by us alone* at the present day"²⁶. Eusebius concludes: "That Philo, when he wrote

²³ Modern scholars have tried to dismiss the idea of the founding of the Church of Alexandria by St. Mark. However, the ancient Holy Tradition that the Apostle and Evangelist Mark planted Christianity in Egypt in the 1st Century (as attested to by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Book 2, chapters 15-17, and described by the philosopher Philo of Alexandria in his writings, *On a Contemplative Life* or *Those Who Lead a Life of Prayer*, as cited by Eusebius in Book 2, chapter 17) is commonly held in both the East and the West by the Eastern Orthodox Church, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Oriental Orthodox Churches, especially by the Coptics of Egypt. A testimony to this fact was the Coptic's 1968 celebration of the 1900th Anniversary of the martyrdom of St. Mark in Alexandria in AD 68, during which event the Roman Catholic Pope Paul VI officially returned the relics of St. Mark to Pope Kyrillos VI of the Coptic Orthodox Church, who placed them in his new Cathedral of St. Mark in Cairo. A video of this return of the holy relics can be easily viewed online. (See: "The return of St. Mark's relics to Egypt in the era of H.H. Pope Kyrillos the sixth, 24 June 1968," *Christian Youth Channel*. Put online [s.d.], (page consulted on 31 March 2021), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xujjBzoyRuY>; and, "The Return of the Relics of the Great St. Mark to the New St. Mark Cathedral," St-Takla.org Coptic Orthodox Church Heritage: *Saint Takla Haymanout Website*: General Portal for the Coptic Orthodox Church Faith, Egypt. Put online [s.d.], (page consulted on 31 March 2021), <https://st-takla.org/books/en/church/synaxarium/10-bawoonah/17-paona-mark.html>.)

²⁴ EUSEBIUS. *Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History*, p. 50, Book. 2.16.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 51-54, Book 2.17.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 54—italics added.

these statements, had in view the *first heralds* of the gospel and the *original practices handed down from the apostles*, must be obvious to all”²⁷.

1.1. The spreading of the Faith

After Alexandria, the whole of Roman North Africa was evangelized and converted, from the Nile River in Egypt to the shores of the North Atlantic in the far west. Bishops were placed in the various cities along the Mediterranean shoreline of the continent, with those in the northeast looking to Alexandria for leadership, while those in the northwest (the Maghreb) looked to Carthage and Rome²⁸. While the Sahara Desert served as a natural border blocking the spread of the Faith for centuries into sub-Saharan Africa, the Church did spread south of Egypt down the Nile River into Sudan. Roman Imperial persecution and the new monastic movement helped relocate Christian emigrants into the Kingdom of Nubia (Sudan) by the 4th Century, while the ancient Kingdom of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) officially embraced Orthodox Christianity in the mid-300’s²⁹. These areas looked to Alexandria for spiritual leadership³⁰.

1.2. Ancient saints on the continent of Africa

In the early centuries of the Church era, the continent produced some of the Orthodox Catholic Church’s greatest saints, some of her most famous bishops, and some of her most ardent defenders of the Apostolic teachings. Among those were the famous St. Clement of Alexandria (d. ca. 215), St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage (d. 258), St. Anthony the Great of Egypt (d. 356), St. Athanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria (hero and defender of the 1st Ecumenical Council, d. 373), St. Pachomios the Great (d. 346), St. Makarios the Great of Egypt (d. 391), St. Moses the Ethiopian (also called “the Black”, d. 407), Blessed Augustine, Bishop of Hippo (d. 430), St. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, (hero of the 3rd Ecumenical Council, d. 444)³¹. And the list goes on and on. It is a

²⁷ *Ibid.*—italics added.

²⁸ Aziz S. ATIYA. “The Copts and Christian Civilization,” *Coptologia Studia Coptica Orthodoxa: A Research Publication in Coptic Orthodox Studies*, vol. 1, Aziz S. Atiya, Fr. Marcos Marcos, Fr. Gabriel Abdel-Sayed, Fayek M. Ishak (Eds.), Scarborough, Ontario, St. Mark’s Coptic Canadian Cultural Centre, 1981, p. 26; Andrew PHILLIPS. “The Last Christians of North-West Africa [...],” par. 7-8.

²⁹ Aziz S. ATIYA. “The Copts and Christian Civilization,” p. 27-29.

³⁰ *Ibid.*; Andrew C. WHEELER. “Christianity in Sudan—The Church in Ancient Nubia (543-1504),” *Dictionary of African Christian Biography*, (page consulted on 17 April 2019), <https://dacb.org/histories/sudan-christianity>, par. 7.

³¹ Jaroslav PELIKAN. *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600)*, Coll: “The Christian Tradition—A History of the Development of Doctrine,” vol. 1, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1971, p. 380-384;

well-established fact that heroes of the Faith from this part of the world definitely made a mark in Early Church history.

1.3. Ancient heretics from the continent

On the other hand, the continent of Africa was also the source of some of Orthodoxy's greatest disappointments and worst heretics. The famous Early Church writer Tertullian of Carthage, North Africa, died a Montanist heretic in AD 225³². The super-intellectual teacher of philosophy in Alexandria, the infamous Origen—the creator of the heretical Origenistic ideas—taught at the famous Catechetical School in Alexandria, Egypt. He died in 254 but his heretical concepts lived on and plagued the Church for several centuries³³. Next there was the Egyptian priest named Arius who—in the early 300's—started spreading his own heretical notions. Coming out of Egypt, the Arian heresy spread like a huge flood and nearly swallowed up the entire Roman Empire during the 300's³⁴. Two great Ecumenical Councils were called as a result, as bishops from the far-flung ends of the Empire gathered, first in the city of Nicaea in 325, and later again in Constantinople in 381, to put into writing the uniform teaching of the Apostles—the Symbol of Faith (the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed)³⁵.

1.4. St. Athanasius of Alexandria and the Nicene Creed

To combat Arius' false teachings, the Apostolic Traditions were carefully put into writing, stating that the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is fully God and fully man (“true God of true God”, *homoousios*, “of one Essence with the Father”), and that the Holy Spirit is also God, the Third Person of the Most Holy Trinity—(“the Lord, the Giver of Life, Who proceeds from the Father;

Milton WALSH. *Witness of the Saints*, San Francisco, Ignatius Press, 2012, p. 68, 94; NUNS of Holy Apostles Convent and MONKS of Dormition Skete (Eds.). “Saint Makarios the Great,” *January*, Coll. “The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church,” Translated from the Greek, Buena Vista, CO, Holy Apostles Convent and Dormition Skete, 2003, p. 648; NUNS of Holy Apostles Convent and MONKS of Dormition Skete (Eds.). “Saint Moses the Ethiopian,” *August*, Coll. “The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church,” Translated from the Greek, Buena Vista, CO, Holy Apostles Convent and Dormition Skete, 2009, p. 1245; NUNS of Holy Apostles Convent (Eds.). “Saint Pachomios the Great,” *May*, Coll. “The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church,” Translated from the Greek, Buena Vista, CO, Holy Apostles Convent, 2006, p. 787.

³² Timothy David BARNES. *Tertullian: a literary and historical study*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1985, p. 58.

³³ Milton WALSH. *Witness of the Saints*, p. 141-142.

³⁴ Roland H. BAINTON. *Christianity*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964, p. 95-99.

³⁵ Clark CARLTON. *The Faith*, Salisbury, MA, Regina Orthodox Press, 1997, p. 174.

Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified.”)³⁶ Saint Athanasius, the illustrious Patriarch of Alexandria for 46 years³⁷, was one of the greatest defenders of the Nicene Creed at the time³⁸, ever since the day he had personally propounded its concepts so eloquently at the 1st Ecumenical Council at Nicaea in 325³⁹. He was so strong a leader that a famous phrase was coined about him: *Athanasius contra mundum*—“Athanasius against the world”⁴⁰. Arianism—in its peak—seemed so all-pervasive that for a while it looked like the whole Roman world was following this heresy. But not Patriarch Athanasius of Alexandria, who stood like a rock, defending the Nicene Creed against the Arian heresy⁴¹. He prevailed. All Orthodox Christians today profess the Nicene Creed, largely thanks to a stubbornly persistent hierarch in Egypt. This most important Church creed—in a sense—is the direct result of the friction between Alexandrian Orthodoxy and Alexandrian heresy. It can be viewed as a contribution of the Alexandrian Orthodox Catholic community—and the continent of Africa—to the entire Church and to the entire history of mankind.

1.5. Africa and the Canon of Holy Scripture

Another colossal contribution that came out of ancient Christianity on the continent of Africa was the New Testament Canon of Holy Scripture. It was the faithful effort of St. Athanasius of Alexandria, together with the bishops of North Africa in the 300’s, which definitively for all time put the covers on the Holy Bible. First, St. Athanasius provided the complete list of New Testament books that we use today in his *Thirty-Ninth Festal Epistle*, written in AD 367⁴². Pope Damasus I followed and decreed this same list of books at his Council of Rome in 382⁴³. Over a decade later, the bishops in North Africa at the 3rd Council of Carthage in 397 listed all 27 books of the New Testament that were to be canonically recognized as being the authoritative inspired

³⁶ Nicolas ZERNOV. *Eastern Christendom: A Study of the Origin and Development of the Eastern Orthodox Church*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1961, p. 43; Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 29-31; Clark CARLTON. *The Faith*, p. 174.

³⁷ Nicolas ZERNOV. *Eastern Christendom* [...], p. 46.

³⁸ Roland H. BAINTON. *Christianity*, p. 99.

³⁹ Nicolas ZERNOV. *Eastern Christendom* [...], p. 43.

⁴⁰ ATHANASIUS. “Letter of Saint Athanasius to His Flock,” *Our Lady of the Rosary Library*, put online [s.d.], (page consulted on 22 October 2013), http://www.ohl.org/snt_docs/athanasus.shtml, par. 1.

⁴¹ Roland H. BAINTON. *Christianity*, p. 97, 99, 100.

⁴² “Athanasius on the Canon.” *Bible Research—Internet Resources for Students of Scripture*, put online [s.d.], (page consulted on 22 October 2013), <http://www.bible-researcher.com/athanasius.html>, par. 1.

⁴³ F. L. CROSS and E. A. LIVINGSTON. “Bible”, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 200.

Word of God⁴⁴, providing the same list as St. Athanasius and Pope Damasus. This listing was then reiterated in 419 at the 17th Council of Carthage, North Africa⁴⁵, whose canons were quickly accepted by all the Eastern and Western bishops—forever settling the matter⁴⁶. Thus, the New Testament which we use today exists in part because African bishops and an Egyptian patriarch helped build the Church-wide consensus that told us which books were recognized as inspired and canonical, and which were not. This was another amazing gift of the ancient Orthodox Catholic community on the continent of Africa to the entire history of the Church. The monumental contributions of St. Athanasius to the Orthodoxy of the Nicene Creed and the Canon of Holy Scripture helped established the Patriarchate of Alexandria and African Christianity as a bastion of Orthodox Catholicism within the Early Church. This Alexandrian and African identity within early Christianity was very appealing to modern Africans like Bresi-Ando, as we shall soon discover.

1.6. Alexandrian Orthodoxy defeats Nestorianism

When Archbishop Nestorius of Constantinople started his heresy of Nestorianism in the early 400's and attempted to falsely divide Jesus Christ into two persons (this was how his opponents understood him)⁴⁷, it was the Alexandrian Orthodox community, led by St. Cyril, another great Patriarch of Egypt, that saved the theological day⁴⁸. St. Cyril proved himself to be the guiding star of the 3rd Ecumenical Council in AD 431 at Ephesus⁴⁹. Once again, the Orthodoxy of the continent had made a huge contribution to the Early Church.

⁴⁴ Glenn DAVIS. "Canon 24," in "The Canon approved by the third Synod of Carthage (397 CE)," *The Development of the Canon of the New Testament*, put online 25 July 2008, (page consulted on 18 Oct 2013), <http://www.ntcanon.org/Carthage.canon.shtml>, par. 2.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, par. 4; "Canon XXIV," *The Canons of the CCXVII Blessed Fathers Who Assembled at Carthage, Commonly Called, The Code of Canons of the African Church, A.D. 419, NPNF*, series II, vol. 14, p. 453-454. "Canon 24" is re-numbered as "Canon 32" in *The Rudder*, which contains the code of canons of the Eastern Orthodox Church. See: Saints NICODEMUS and AGAPIUS (compilers). "Canon XXXII" of "The 141 Canons of the Holy Regional Council Held in Carthage" [AD 419], *The Rudder of the Orthodox Catholic Church*, Translated from Greek by D. Cummings, Chicago, IL, The Orthodox Christian Educational Society, 1983 [1800], p. 623-624.

⁴⁶ Ladislav M. ÖRSY, Peter J. HUIZING, et al., "Canon Law, Development of Canon Law in the West," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 05 December 2018, (page consulted on 18 April 2019), <https://www.britannica.com/topic/canon-law>, par. 1.

⁴⁷ Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 29, 32.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁴⁹ Clark CARLTON. *The Faith*, p. 174.

1.7. Chalcedon and the Monophysite challenge

However, shortly thereafter, the Monophysite controversy broke out, and once more the continent of Africa found itself in the middle of the theological arena. The majority of the Egyptian bishops and their followers took issue with the decisions of the 4th Ecumenical Council at Chalcedon in AD 451⁵⁰. This huge disagreement led to the first major schism in church history, when sadly the Egyptians (today known as Coptics) and their southern neighbors (the Ethiopians) broke communion from the rest of the Orthodox Catholic bishops of the Empire⁵¹. The Egyptians still had a bad taste of Nestorianism in their mouth and they feared that the Empire's Christians in Constantinople and Rome were secret Nestorians (which was not the case). This tragic "Monophysite schism" (to use Nicolas Zernov's words) kept Egypt and all of northern and eastern Africa in the historical ecclesiastical lime-light⁵². In the mid-500's the Monophysite hierarch Jacob Baradaeus traveled through Egypt, Syria, Armenia and all the Middle East, spreading and strengthening the anti-Chalcedonian cause by ordaining Monophysite clergy who were labeled "Jacobites"—followers of Jacob—by their Orthodox Catholic opponents (who themselves were pejoratively labeled "Melkites"—the "Royalists"—the King's men of the Imperial party)⁵³. Thus, "Jacobite" became the synonym for "Monophysite". Bresi-Ando himself was drawn into this Chalcedonian/Anti-Chalcedonian debate (i.e. Melkite vs Jacobite) and he quite vocally—for a period of time (i.e. the 1930's)—advocated for the latter, considering it *necessary* for one's personal salvation. A complete explanation of the explosive disagreement over the definition of the term "Monophysite" is reserved for Chapter 2. Most 21st Century Non-Chalcedonian theologians eschew the term "Monophysite" in favor of another—"Miaphysite"—whereas the term "Monophysite" has been utilized by theologians and church historians for centuries. Due to the importance of this debate in the life of Bresi-Ando's African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic)

⁵⁰ Nicolas ZERNOV. *Eastern Christendom* [...], p. 63-65.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 67; Roland H. BAINTON. *Christianity*, p. 106.

⁵² Nicolas ZERNOV. *Eastern Christendom* [...], p. 67, 69; Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 33-34, 36-37.

⁵³ Ignatius Aphrem BARSOUM. *The Scattered Pearls: A History of Syriac Literature and Sciences*, 2nd ed., Matti Moosa (Ed.), Translated from Arabic by M. Moosa, Pueblo, CO, Passeggiata Press, 2000 [1943], p. 100; The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica. "Syriac Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch and All the East," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 14 February 2018, (page consulted on 06 September 2019), <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Syriac-Orthodox-Patriarchate-of-Antioch-and-All-the-East>, par. 2; Joseph WOODS. "The Church of Alexandria," par. 4.

Church, the entirety of Chapter 2—“The Ancient Monophysite Polemic: Bresi-Ando’s Theological Cornerstone”—is dedicated to building an understanding of this theological context.

1.8. Two rival Patriarchates in Egypt

The theological arena on the continent of Africa continued to play a dominant role in church history over the next two centuries, as the 5th and 6th Ecumenical Councils (AD 553 and AD 681) involved unsuccessful attempts to reunite the “Monophysite” Egyptians and Ethiopians with the global Orthodoxy of the Empire⁵⁴. As a result of the disappointing Monophysite schism, two parallel Patriarchates in Alexandria came into existence (since the 500’s) both tracing their roots to St. Mark⁵⁵. In Egypt, the more populated one is the Coptic Patriarchate (which until 1959 included Ethiopia)⁵⁶. The other one—which remained loyal to their Orthodox Catholic brothers within the Empire, and more importantly, stayed loyal to the decisions of the 4th, 5th, and 6th, and 7th Ecumenical Councils—is known as the “Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa”⁵⁷, and outside of Egypt and Ethiopia, it today has far more parishes across the continent⁵⁸. The Jacobite Monophysite ecclesiastical cause was greatly enhanced, first by Jacob Baradaeus, and then in Coptic Egypt by an anti-Chalcedonian cleric with the name of Peter who was ordained in secret in AD 575 as the alternate “Patriarch of Alexandria” and managed himself to ordain over

⁵⁴ Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 36-37; Roland H. BAINTON. *Christianity*, p. 107, 109-112; Clark CARLTON. *The Faith*, p. 175.

⁵⁵ Stephen HAYES. “Orthodox Mission in Tropical Africa,” *Missionalia*, vol. 24, n° 3, November 1996, p. 384; “The Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa: Previous Patriarchs,” *The official website of Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa*. (Page consulted on 24 July 2019), <http://www.patriarchateofalexandria.com/index.php?module=content&cid=001003>, list of previous patriarchs; “Popes chronology,” *Coptic Orthodox Church Network*. Put online 2014, (page consulted on 08 May 2019), <http://www.copticchurch.net/topics/synexarion/popets-of-alexandria-chron.html>, list of Coptic popes.

⁵⁶ The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica. “Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church,” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 03 January 2020, (page consulted on 20 February 2021), <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Ethiopian-Orthodox-Tewahedo-Church>, par. 5.

⁵⁷ Stephen HAYES. “Orthodox Mission in Tropical Africa,” p. 384; “The Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa: Previous Patriarchs,” *The official website of Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa* [...], list of patriarchs.

⁵⁸ Today, excluding Egypt (where Copts are vastly more numerous than Greeks and Syrians), the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa is geographically far more widespread across the continent than the Coptic Patriarchate, with many more missionary dioceses and hierarchs operating in sub-Saharan black Africa, with over 1,000 parishes. See: *Nihov’s Worldwide Coptic Directory*. Put online 2019, (page consulted 03 December 2019), <http://directory.nihov.org>; and for comparison, see: “Holy Archdioceses,” *The official website of Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa*. (Page consulted on 15 August 2019), <http://www.patriarchateofalexandria.com/index.php?module=content&cid=004001>, and, “Holy Dioceses,” *The official website of Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa*. (Page consulted on 15 August 2019), <http://www.patriarchateofalexandria.com/index.php?module=content&cid=004002>.

70 anti-Chalcedonian bishops for his parallel “Patriarchate” who were not in communion with the Empire’s majority group of Orthodox Catholic hierarchs—the “Melkites” (the “King’s men”) of the Empire⁵⁹. (Do not confuse these Orthodox Catholics—“Melkites” or “Melchites”—with the modern group of Lebanese/Syrian Roman Catholic Uniates who today happen to use this same name⁶⁰.) Most of Egypt’s indigenous population followed the anti-Chalcedonian bishops, except for Imperial government officials, administrators, soldiers, and the minority non-indigenous “Greek” population living and working in Egypt⁶¹. These loyalist “Melkites” followed their Empire’s Patriarch of Alexandria. For a while, the two rival Alexandrian Patriarchates sent competing evangelical missions south into Nubia (modern Sudan) in the 6th Century, with Non-Chalcedonian “Monophysitism” eventually gaining the upper hand in getting established there within the local kingdoms⁶². There is not enough time or space to examine in detail Professor Zernov’s thesis that the budding Egyptian and Syrian nationalistic resistance to the central government of the Roman Empire, using the ecclesiastical arena as its first place to manifest, impacted and fanned the flames of the famous Christological debate⁶³. However, a later comparison will show similarities between Bresi-Ando’s rejection of British colonial imperial authority and the Monophysite rejection of the Roman Empire’s Orthodoxy. Sadly, Christianity on the African continent—which had given rise to many of the Early Church’s best bishops and greatest theologians, not to mention some of her most infamous heretics—was greatly hurt by the divisive Monophysite debate and resulting schism. But this sadness quickly took a backseat to a greater problem which arose in the 7th Century—the rapid rise and spread of Islam across Africa.

⁵⁹ Nicolas ZERNOV. *Eastern Christendom* [...], p. 68.

⁶⁰ Note: The original “Melkites” are the Orthodox Catholics of the Roman Empire in ancient days who resisted the innovations of the Jacobites. They are not to be confused with the modern-day Lebanese/Syrian “Greek Catholic” Uniate denomination, also known as “Melkites”, who are presently in communion with the Roman Catholic Church. These went into schism from the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch and All the East in 1724 and were subsequently received into communion with the Pope of Rome. (Ken PARRY and David MELLING (Eds.). *The Blackwell Dictionary of Eastern Christianity*, Malden, Massachusetts, Blackwell Publishing, 1999, p. 312.)

⁶¹ Nicolas ZERNOV. *Eastern Christendom* [...], p. 68.

⁶² Ibrahim OMER. “History: the Christianization of Nubia,” *Ancient Sudan–Kush*, put online 2008, (page consulted on 14 May 2015), http://www.ancientsudan.org/history_13_christianization.htm, par. 1-5; Aziz S. ATIYA. “The Copts and Christian Civilization,” p. 27.

⁶³ Nicolas ZERNOV. *Eastern Christendom* [...], p. 64, 71-72.

2. The decline of ancient Christian missionary efforts on the continent

The chief reason for the decline of missionary work within Africa in the early period of church history was the rise of the religion of Islam in the 7th Century. As the new Muslim armies quickly invaded and conquered Christian North Africa, Christianity took a back seat to the new Arabic empire.

2.1. The persecuted Church in Africa

Fighting its way into the Middle East and all across North Africa, in one hundred years the new Muslim Empire extended from Persia in the East to Spain in the West⁶⁴. Islamic armies pillaged, plundered, and massacred the Christian populations as Christians fled, were martyred, enslaved, at times were raped, or influenced by the sword to apostatize and join Islam⁶⁵. Some Christians were allowed to live, as long as they paid the humbling jizya head-tax⁶⁶. Churches were burnt, desecrated and turned into mosques, as icons and mosaics were scratched out or painted over⁶⁷. Christianity in North Africa was reduced to the state of a second-class, persecuted, hated, minority population for the next thirteen centuries, a state in which it still exists to this day⁶⁸. “Forbidden to construct houses of worship or repair extant ones, economically crippled by the jizya, socially humiliated, legally discriminated against, and generally kept in a permanent state of weakness and vulnerability by the Muslim overlords, it should not be surprising that their numbers [*of remaining Christians*] dwindled, in many places to the point of extinction”⁶⁹.

This reduction was especially evident within the numerically smaller Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria, which saw its flock shrink and its financial resources dry up⁷⁰. With the Roman

⁶⁴ Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 37.

⁶⁵ Bat YE'OR. *The Decline of Eastern Christianity Under Islam: From Jihad to Dhimmitude*, Translated from French by Miriam Kochan and David Littman, Madison, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1996, p. 276-277, 281-282; Sura 2:193, 8:39, 9:11, *The Koran*. Translated from Arabic by N. J. Dawood, London, Penguin Books, 1999, p. 29, 129, 134.

⁶⁶ Surah 9:29, *The Koran*, p. 136.

⁶⁷ Bat YE'OR. *The Decline of Eastern Christianity Under Islam* [...], p. 276-277; Nicolas ZERNOV. *Eastern Christendom* [...], p. 84; “The Story of Africa—Islam: North Africa and Ethiopia,” *BBC World Service*. (Page consulted on 13 May 2019), www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/africa/features/storyofafrica/7chapter3.shtml, par. 14.

⁶⁸ Nicolas ZERNOV. *Eastern Christendom* [...], p. 85.

⁶⁹ Gregory M. DAVIS. “Islam 101,” *Jihad Watch*, (page consulted on 18 October 2013), <https://web.archive.org/web/20120509093040/http://www.jihadwatch.org/islam-101.html>, Section e, “Dhimmitude”, p. 29.

⁷⁰ “The Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa,” *The official website* [...], par. 5.

(i.e. “Melkite”, “Greek”, “Byzantine”) power politically ousted from Egypt by the Muslim Arab army, and the majority of the remaining Egyptian Christians being both “Monophysite” in religion and anti-Byzantine in political mentality (as Zernov notes⁷¹), Christianity in Egypt became overwhelmingly Coptic, while its Chalcedonian flock dwindled drastically⁷². Zernov points out that due to the area’s long history of extreme religious-nationalist tension between anti-Chalcedonian Copts and the pro-Chalcedonian Orthodox Empire, when the Islamic armies invaded Egypt, “the Monophysites welcomed them as liberators and opened the gates of their cities to these enemies of Christianity”⁷³. The well-known Coptologist Aziz S. Atiya, however, holds that the Coptic locals had not conspired with the invaders, but had opted for a “neutral position,” passively allowing the Muslims to oust the despised Chalcedonian Roman Imperial troops, while accepting the taxed second-class social status in order to be free of the Empire’s own oppressive control and anti-Monophysite persecution⁷⁴. The actions of the Coptic population, however one nuances it (whether treason or self-preservation), did allow for some measure of coexistence in Egypt between the Muslims and the Copts, as the Muslim leadership turned over many confiscated Imperial (Orthodox-Chalcedonian) church buildings to the local Coptic hierarchy and offered protection to the Coptic Pope who had been hiding as a fugitive from Imperial persecution⁷⁵. By AD 727 the physical situation of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria was “deplorable” as it struggled to regain and maintain a foothold of a presence on the continent, while the Coptic community itself paid a high price by enduring numerous bouts of Islamic persecution—with some apostasies—over the centuries⁷⁶.

Meanwhile, in northwest Africa (known as the Maghreb), the Orthodox Catholic population was vastly reduced in the face of the invading 7th Century Muslim armies, with many of its Roman citizens emigrating to other parts of the Empire in order to escape Islamic taxation⁷⁷. After Carthage fell in 698, the following decades witnessed a massive relocation of its non-Berber

⁷¹ Nicolas ZERNOV. *Eastern Christendom* [...], p. 64, 65, 68, 71-72.

⁷² Andrew C. WHEELER. “Christianity in Sudan—The Church in Ancient Nubia [...],” par. 5-6; “The Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa,” *The official website* [...], par. 5.

⁷³ Nicolas ZERNOV. *Eastern Christendom* [...], p. 69, see also 83.

⁷⁴ Aziz S. ATIYA. “The Copts and Christian Civilization,” p. 37.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 38; Joseph WOODS. “The Church of Alexandria,” par. 5.

⁷⁶ Joseph WOODS. “The Church of Alexandria,” par. 6. Through the hard work of Greek Orthodox Patriarch Cosmas of Alexandria, beginning in AD 727, a good number of the formerly confiscated church properties were returned to the control of his Patriarchate.

⁷⁷ Andrew PHILLIPS. “The Last Christians of North-West Africa [...],” par. 6.

population to Sicily, Spain, and other sites in the Mediterranean, even as far away as Germany⁷⁸. Remaining behind, some locals (Berbers) who had not apostatized to Islam held onto their Chalcedonian Orthodox Catholic Faith for several hundred years until renewed Islamic wars sparked more waves of emigration between 1046 to 1160⁷⁹. Isolated tiny pockets of enduring Berber Christianity continued until the early 1400's when assimilation into Islam swallowed the last of them⁸⁰. Through the centuries, the Muslim Berbers then spread their new Islamic faith southwards over the desert, as they “propagated it among the Northern Negro peoples by the weighty argument of the sword”⁸¹.

2.2. Survival mode replaces evangelism

Saddled by the muzzle and yoke of oppressive anti-Christian Islamic governments, Christians all across Africa were forbidden to spread their Faith⁸². It was illegal for a Muslim to convert to Christianity, often on pain of death for the Muslim who had “apostatized” to Christianity⁸³. Thus, the Muslim invasion greatly limited the missionary advance of the Christian Church on the continent. This point cannot be under-stated. Instead of evangelizing, the Church in Africa was forced to try to barely *survive* wherever and however it could⁸⁴. Thus, limited by the yoke of Islam and blocked by the huge barrier of the Saharan Desert to the south, the reduced Christian population in Egypt and across North Africa went into survival mode—not evangelization mode. Generally speaking, the advent of Islam in North Africa in the 7th Century, along with the physical barrier of the Sahara, kept the Orthodox Church from penetrating sub-Saharan Africa for the next millennium⁸⁵. Meanwhile, their Islamic overlords, enjoying the privilege of political superiority and free commerce, used the caravan trade routes to cross the desert, and managed to implant Islam

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, par. 7-9.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, par. 10-13.

⁸¹ J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa: A Missionary Survey of French, British, Spanish and Portuguese West Africa, with Liberia*, Coll. “World Dominion Survey Series,” London, New York, Toronto, World Dominion Press, 1931, p. 13.

⁸² Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 97.

⁸³ *Ibid.*; Surah 4:89, *The Koran*, p. 70; “Afghanistan MP—‘Execute Afghan Christian Convert,’” *The Voice of the Martyrs*. Put online 12 September 2013, (page consulted on 13 May 2019), <https://vom.com.au/afghanistan-mp-execute-afghan-christian-converts>, par. 1-2.

⁸⁴ Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 100; Stephen HAYES. “Orthodox Mission in Tropical Africa,” p. 384.

⁸⁵ Stephen HAYES. “Orthodox Mission in Tropical Africa,” p. 384-385.

in the sub-Saharan regions, such as Mali, northern Nigeria, and many other places⁸⁶. It was particularly in the 11th Century that many rulers in these black African lands embraced Islam, after which Islamic “trader-missionaries” began to push farther south among the tribes of the forested regions⁸⁷.

2.3. The Ethiopian and Nubian Churches resist Islam

In the rising tide of Islam, the exceptions were Ethiopia and—for a time—nearby Nubia (today known as Sudan). Despite the threat of Islam, Ethiopia remained firmly Orthodox Christian (“Monophysite” variety). This East African sub-Saharan nation enjoyed a long and enduring contact with the Holy Scriptures which helped it resist Islamification.

2.3.1. Ethiopia in the Bible

According to ancient Ethiopian tradition, the Queen of Sheba, after her famous visit to King Solomon, bore him a son, Menelik I of Ethiopia, who later grew up and visited his father in Jerusalem⁸⁸. This son then returned to his home in Ethiopia bringing with him many Israelites, thereby planting the Hebrew faith in East Africa⁸⁹. Although this traditional account is promoted by Professor Sergew Selassie, one of Ethiopia’s most eminent historians, it is challenged by other eminent modern scholars as most likely “legendary”⁹⁰. In his defense, Selassie points out that there exists to this very day a form of Judaism practiced by northern Ethiopian tribes who claim to be Israelite descendants, a historic reality that cannot be easily dismissed⁹¹.

Based on Scripture, the Hebrew faith existed in Ethiopia in the time of the Apostles. St. Philip baptized the Ethiopian Eunuch, a high official in the court of Queen Candace of Ethiopia, who believed in the God of the Hebrews and had traveled to the Temple in Jerusalem to pray (Acts

⁸⁶ Basil DAVIDSON and F. K. BUAH. *A History of West Africa, 1000-1800*, Coll. “The Growth of African Civilization Series,” Harlow, Essex, U.K., Longman Group Ltd., 1977, p. 48-49, 70-71, 98-99.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁸⁸ Aziz S. ATIYA. “The Copts and Christian Civilization,” p. 28.

⁸⁹ Sergew Hable SELASSIE. “The Establishment of the Ethiopian Church,” in Sergew Hable SELASSIE and Tadesse TAMERAT, *The Church of Ethiopia: A Panorama of History and Spiritual Life*, Addis Ababa, Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church, 1970, 97 p., in *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Faith and Order*, put online 2003, (page consulted on 16 October 2013), <http://www.ethiopianorthodox.org/english/ethiopian/prechristian.html>, par. 5.

⁹⁰ Aziz S. ATIYA. “The Copts and Christian Civilization,” p. 28.

⁹¹ Sergew Hable SELASSIE. “The Establishment of the Ethiopian Church” [...], par. 5.

8:26-40). According to Ethiopian tradition, he returned home and began evangelizing⁹². How wide-spread or lasting this initial work was is unknown. To the contrary, Coptic scholar Aziz S. Atiya follows modern Oxford scholarship which indicates that Ethiopia was pagan until its official conversion to Christianity in the 4th Century, and therefore he is of the opinion that “Queen Candace” was really a Nubian queen, as it was common for the ancient Greeks to refer to Upper Nubia as “Ethiopia”⁹³.

2.3.2. The conversion of Ethiopia to Christ

After Pentecost, the Apostles decided which of them should go to each particular country to preach Christ. By lot, it was given to the Holy Apostle Matthew that one of the countries he should evangelize was Ethiopia. According to the St. Dimitry of Rostov’s *Lives of the Saints*, St. Matthew traveled through that land proclaiming the Gospel of Jesus Christ, prior to his martyrdom in another part of Africa⁹⁴. The Ethiopian scholar Sergew Selassie is of the opinion that some witness of Orthodox Christian Faith was kept alive in the homes of Christian Roman merchants living and working there (in the Aksumite region) long before the official adoption of the Faith by the Ethiopian king as the state religion three centuries later⁹⁵. Coptic scholar Atiya differs, maintaining the stance that Ethiopia was staunchly pagan until the mid-300’s⁹⁶.

Despite these differing opinions, the consensus states that the conversion of the entire country to Christianity took place when St. Frumentius converted the “Ethiopian” Emperor Ezana (ancient Kingdom of Aksum), who officially abolished idol worship and made Orthodox Christianity the state religion around AD 330⁹⁷. During the Arian controversy of the 300’s, Ethiopia followed the Orthodox Catholic teachings of St. Athanasius and the Nicene Creed⁹⁸. However, after the Council

⁹² *Ibid.*, par. 6.

⁹³ Aziz S. ATIYA. “The Copts and Christian Civilization,” p. 28; The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. “Nubia”, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 05 July 2016 (page consulted on 13 May 2019), <https://www.britannica.com/place/Nubia>, par. 1.

⁹⁴ “The Life and Passion of the Holy Apostle and Evangelist Matthew,” *November*, Coll. “The Great Collection of the Lives of the Saints,” vol. III, Translated from the Slavonic edition compiled by St. Demetrius of Rostov by T. Marretta, 1st English ed., House Springs, Missouri, Chrysostom Press, 1997, p. 361-367.

⁹⁵ Sergew Hable SELASSIE. “The Establishment of the Ethiopian Church” [...], par. 6-7.

⁹⁶ Aziz S. ATIYA. “The Copts and Christian Civilization,” p. 28.

⁹⁷ Sergew Hable SELASSIE. “The Establishment of the Ethiopian Church” [...], par. 6-9; Aziz S. ATIYA. “The Copts and Christian Civilization,” p. 28-29.

⁹⁸ Sergew Hable SELASSIE. “The Establishment of the Ethiopian Church” [...], par. 11.

of Chalcedon (451), Ethiopia followed Egypt into Non-Chalcedonian “Monophysitism” since their bishops were always being imported from Egypt⁹⁹. Anti-Chalcedonian missionaries from the Roman Empire, fleeing imperial persecution, went to Ethiopia via Egypt around AD 480 and worked hard to spread their version of the faith into all the corners of Ethiopia, obliterating its remaining paganism¹⁰⁰.

2.3.3. Ethiopia keeps its Faith

By the time Islam arrived in North Africa in the 600’s, the kingdom of Ethiopia was an entirely independent Christian African nation which firmly resisted Islamification. However, over time, the spread of Islam gradually encircled and isolated Ethiopia, as the Muslims gained control of the Red Sea, the Nile trade routes, and the neighboring country of Nubia¹⁰¹. This forced the Christian Ethiopian kingdom into isolation, with its population retreating inland and south into the mountainous central highlands for protection from their Islamic neighbors, a process which did Christianize some of the mountain tribes¹⁰². Ethiopian emperors led strong successful military campaigns against Islamic invaders who were coming at them from all sides, especially in the 1300’s, 1400’s, and 1500’s¹⁰³. However, the fierce jihad led by Ahmad the Left-Handed into Ethiopia’s central highlands during the mid-1500’s took a huge toll on the Ethiopian Church. It introduced a significant Islamic percentage into the Christian nation’s population as large numbers of Ethiopians apostatized during the terrible atrocities which decimated towns, churches and monasteries before the invaders were driven out¹⁰⁴. Though hard pressed through the centuries, the Ethiopians defended themselves and were able to preserve both their Christian faith and state down to the present day, remaining part of the Coptic Patriarchate of Alexandria until they obtained their own autocephaly in 1959¹⁰⁵.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, par. 12, 16.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, par. 12.

¹⁰¹ Donald Edward CRUMMEY, Harold G. MARCUS, et al. “Ethiopia—History”, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 27 November 2019, (page consulted on 05 December 2019), <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ethiopia>, par. 5-8.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, par. 6.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, par. 8-10.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, par. 10-11.

¹⁰⁵ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. “Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church,” par. 5.

2.3.4. Nubia stays Christian for 1000 years

The situation was not the same for Ethiopia's Christian Nubian neighbors. Nubia did its best to hold onto its ancient Christian faith for a full millennium (from AD 543 to AD 1504) before submitting to Islam¹⁰⁶. Located immediately south of Egypt, the competing Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian missions had converted several Nubian kingdoms in the 6th Century, and the entire Nile Valley became Christian, all the way to the borders of Ethiopia¹⁰⁷. Eventually, over time, Monophysitism prevailed¹⁰⁸.

When 7th Century Islam arrived, strong Nubian armies kept the Arabic armies at bay¹⁰⁹. A lasting treaty was signed which preserved Christian Nubia intact and enabled Nubian Christianity to blossom unmolested by Islamic Egypt throughout a golden era which lasted for the next 500 years, during which time hundreds of churches dotted the land¹¹⁰. However, politically things started turning sour when Salah ad-Din overthrew the Fatimids in Egypt in 1172, set his eyes south towards Nubia, and began making trouble there¹¹¹. Next, the Islamic Mamluk dynasty (which followed in 1272) engaged Nubia in a series of wars, and one by one the various Nubian-area Christian kingdoms fell to Islam, from 1323 to 1504, yet individual pockets of Christians were reported to have existed until the 18th Century¹¹². Aiding this slow transition to Islam were nomadic Islamic Bedouins who kept moving south from Egypt into Sudan¹¹³. Thus, Nubia's experience in summary was "not the rapid replacement of Christianity by Islam, but a long period of decline in the face of political confusion, Muslim immigration and isolation from the outside Christian world—a vacuum, in effect, which Islam in the end came to fill"¹¹⁴.

¹⁰⁶ Andrew C. WHEELER. "Christianity in Sudan —The Church in Ancient Nubia [...]," par. 1.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, par. 4.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, par. 5.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, par. 8.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, par. 8-11.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, par. 16.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, par. 17-18, 20-21, 26.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, par. 19.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, par. 27.

2.4. Orthodox evangelism in Africa is completely stalemated by AD 1500

In the Middle Ages, what remained of Christianity on the continent of Africa—in the northeast and in the east—went into survival mode, hiding from the Islamic sword. Since conversions of Muslims to Christianity were prohibited, evangelization ground to a halt as Christian parents focused on survival—primarily trying to keep their children within their ancestral Orthodox Faith. In Ethiopia, the high mountains offered some refuge and political freedom, but also a hard way of life. In Egypt, the Christians had the delicate task of living as second-class citizens under an Islamic government, plus the burden of extra taxation. This situation became the same throughout the entire Middle East, Syria, Persia, and Asia Minor. After the great Imperial City of Constantinople fell to the Turks in AD 1453, even Greece and the Balkans came to experience the difficulties of living under Islam’s yoke in “a place of guaranteed inferiority”¹¹⁵. Under the Muslim Ottoman Turks, Christian missionary work remained impossible, as the church was strictly forbidden to evangelize. Converting a Muslim to Christianity was a punishable crime¹¹⁶. Thus, the mouths of the missionaries were gagged. Instead, the very survival of the Christian communities was at stake. Thus, for centuries, outside of Ethiopia, there was no evangelization effort by Orthodox Christians—or by any Christians—in sub-Saharan Africa. The situation remained a stalemate for centuries. It was the Europeans—living outside the sphere of Islam—who later on in time would make their way to sub-Saharan Africa and start massive Christian evangelization efforts there¹¹⁷.

Under the Turks, the non-Muslim religious minorities (Greek Orthodox, Syrian Jacobites, Egyptian Coptics, etc.) were organized and ruled as “Millet”, (“religious communities” or “nations”), in a sort of plurality-of-religions concept in which the separate identity of each spiritual/religious ethnic nation existed within the larger Turkish Empire¹¹⁸. The linguistic, ethnic, and religious identities of each group were merged into one combined identity. A by-product of the struggle to maintain a “Greek Orthodox” culture within a Turkish Muslim empire was that for

¹¹⁵ Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 96-97.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

¹¹⁷ Stephen HAYES. “Orthodox Mission in Tropical Africa,” p. 384-385.

¹¹⁸ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. “Millet”, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 07 September 2010, (page consulted on 14 May 2019), <https://www.britannica.com/topic/millet-religious-group>, par. 1.

many Greeks, by the 20th Century, the terms “Greek” and “Orthodox” had become synonyms, just as for them the word “Turk” had come to mean “Islamic”. With this confusion of sacred and secular identity, scholar Timothy Ware of Oxford points out, “it became all but impossible for the Greeks to distinguish between Church and nation”¹¹⁹. The “Rum Millet” (“Roman nation”) phenomenon contributed to a blended nationalistic and parochial attitude among Greek Orthodox emigrants in modern times, severely limiting (and usually disabling) their missionary vision in the new lands of their “Diaspora”¹²⁰. All of this factored into the thread of the story of the revival of the missionary spirit within the Greek Orthodox world in the 20th Century, as we shall see later.

3. Western missions arrive in Africa

As the missionary work of the ancient Eastern Orthodox and Oriental dioceses in northern and eastern Africa had long since been curtailed by the advent of Islam, and were therefore unable to obey Christ’s Great Commission of preaching the Gospel to all nations (and especially to all their neighboring tribes in Africa), it was the foreign missionaries from Europe who made the next move in the evangelization of the great continent. There were no repressive Islamic governments in their native England, Germany, Italy, or France to prevent them from proclaiming the Christian Gospel. Into the Eastern Christian mission void poured the Western Christians who initiated their evangelical thrusts into sub-Saharan Africa several centuries prior to the Alexandrian Patriarchate’s 20th Century revival¹²¹. Although their mission growth was *extremely slow* at first (during the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries)¹²², they launched what eventually grew in size and intensity to make Africa the place where Christianity is currently experiencing the *quickest* growth¹²³. By 2010, 63% of sub-Saharan Africans had confessed Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour¹²⁴. At this rate, Pew Research Center projects that by 2050 over 1.1 billion Africans will adhere to some form of Christianity, making Africa by far the *most* Christian continent with the

¹¹⁹ Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 98.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana: An African Reformation,” [PDF file], *Cyberjournal for Pentecostal-Charismatic Research*, vol. 13, put online April 2004, (page consulted on 28 March 2011), <http://www.pctii.org/cyberj/cyberj13/amanor.html>, p. 2-4.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹²³ Shola ADENEKAN. “Patriarch Petros VII [...],” par. 8.

¹²⁴ “World Christian Population by Region, 2010 and 2050,” in Conrad HACKETT et al., “The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010-2050—Christians,” *Pew Research Center*, put online 02 April 2015, (page consulted on 16 May 2019), <https://www.pewforum.org/2015/04/02/christians>, p. 4, chart.

largest Christian population¹²⁵, as “[f]our out of every 10 Christians in the world will live in sub-Saharan Africa”¹²⁶.

3.1. European traders, colonialists, and Roman Catholic missionaries arrive

At first it was not the Gospel but thirst for gold, ivory, slaves, and a trade route around Africa to India that brought the Europeans to West Africa, beginning in the early 15th century with the famous Portuguese navigators¹²⁷. Their Portuguese Roman Catholic priests tried but failed to plant Christianity in any lasting form on the Gold Coast¹²⁸, however, Roman Catholic missions began to take root farther down the coast of Africa—in the Congo in the late 1400’s by Portuguese priests, and in neighboring Angola in 1645 by Italian Capuchin friars¹²⁹. The famous Portuguese explorers and priests were followed by the sea-going Dutch traders, then the English, Danes, Swedes, Germans, and French who all contended for a piece of the economy of Africa’s rich coasts¹³⁰. Eventually the African continent was carved up into multiple colonies by the competing European imperialist empires at the Berlin Conference in 1884-1885¹³¹.

3.2. European Protestant missionaries arrive later

Into these new Western colonies poured the new evangelical Western missionaries, inspired by an ardent *renewed* zeal for *evangelism* of “unprecedented magnitude” that engulfed Europe and America following the Napoleonic Wars¹³². Not to be ignored is the massive Russian Orthodox

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ Conrad HACKETT et al. “The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010-2050,” *Pew Research Center*, put online 02 April 2015, (page consulted on 16 May 2019), <https://www.pewforum.org/2015/04/02/religious-projections-2010-2050>, p. 1.

¹²⁷ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, Oxford, Macmillan, 1998, p. 65.

¹²⁸ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 2, 4.

¹²⁹ John THORNTON. “The Development of an African Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Kongo, 1491-1750,” *Journal of African History*, vol. 25, 1984, p. 147. The Roman Catholic mission in Congo declined due to various political and sociological reasons, and by the beginning of the 19th Century was very much in need of a great reinvigoration, having become very syncretistic. In fact, the new Roman Catholic priests who came to the Portuguese colonial Congo in the late 1800’s rejected the existing indigenous church as being so theologically compromised that it was not even “Christian”. Basically, the Catholic missionaries in Congo had to launch a huge re-start (see Abstract of the article, par. 1).

¹³⁰ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History from Pre-European to Modern Times*, Accra, Ghana, Sedco Pub. Ltd. & Woeli Pub. Services, 1990, p. 51-55; F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 68-69.

¹³¹ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 97, 100.

¹³² Kenneth Scott LATOURETTE. “The Christian Missionary Movement of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Some Peculiar and General Characteristics,” *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 23, n° 2, July 1937, p. 153.

mission which stretched across Asia and the Far East to Alaska and the United States during this same time period¹³³. The huge wave of Christian missionaries traveling to Africa, South America, India, the Far East and other far-flung corners of the world throughout the 1800's is known in church history as the great "19th Century Missionary Movement"—"the missionary century"¹³⁴—a super-sized "religious achievement" that carried right through into the 20th Century as well and "has turned the world upside down"¹³⁵. *Christianity Today's Christian History* magazine reported: "Only 200 years ago, Protestant Christianity was almost exclusively Western. Now Protestants are strongest in Asia, Africa, and Latin America [...] No message has been communicated so widely by so many people of so many races, languages, and cultures as the Christian message today."¹³⁶

Church historian Latourette observed that *never* in Church history have so many missionaries been sent to cover so much of the globe¹³⁷. From Protestant Great Britain was birthed the Baptist Missionary Society (1792), the London Missionary Society (1795, interdenominational but mainly Congregationalist), the Church Missionary Society (1799, evangelical Anglican), the Presbyterian Missionary Society of the Church of Scotland (1799), the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (1701, Anglican), the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804), and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (1817)¹³⁸.

¹³³ For an example of outstanding 19th Century Russian Orthodox missionary effort, see Paul D. GARRETT's work documenting the life of one of Russia's greatest missionaries who labored for 40 years in the Far East and Alaska: *St. Innocent, Apostle to America*, Crestwood, NY, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1979, 345 p.

¹³⁴ Lex LOIZIDES. "The Nineteenth Century Missionary Movement," *Church History Blog*, put online 07 June 2010 (page consulted on 17 October 2013), <http://lexloiz.wordpress.com/2010/06/07/the-nineteenth-century-missionary-movement>, par. 6.

¹³⁵ Kenneth Scott LATOURETTE. "The Christian Missionary Movement [...]," p. 153; Paul A. PIERSON. "Why Did the 1800s Explode with Missions?" 01 October 1992, *Christian History*, Issue 36, (vol. XI, n° 4), 1992, (page consulted on 14 May 2019), <https://www.christianitytoday.com/history/issues/issue-36/why-did-1800s-explode-with-missions.html>, p. 20.

¹³⁶ Paul A. PIERSON. "Why Did the 1800s Explode with Missions?" p. 20, 21-22.

¹³⁷ Kenneth Scott LATOURETTE. "The Christian Missionary Movement [...]," p. 153.

¹³⁸ Nwando ACHEBE, Samuel ADU-GYAMFI, Joe ALIE, Hassoum CEESAY, Toby GREEN, Vincent HIRIBARREN, and Ben KYE-AMPADU. *History Textbook: West African Senior School Certificate Examination*, put online 2018, (page consulted on 15 May 2019), <https://wasscehistorytextbook.com>, chapter 6, p. 3; Emmanuel AKYEAMPONG. *Introduction to Visual Interpretation of the Basel Mission Archive Photo Project*, Harvard University, put online [s.d.], (page consulted on 23 May 2019), http://lib-app5-2.usc.edu/bmpix/visip_emmanuel/introduction.htm, par. 1; Travis GLASSON. "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," *Oxford Bibliographies*, put online 08 June 2017, (page consulted on 15 May 2019), <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199730414/obo-9780199730414-0067.xml>, DOI: 10.1093/OBO/9780199730414-0067, par. 1; Stephen NEILL. *A History of Christian Missions*, 2nd ed., Coll. "The Penguin History of the Church," vol. 6, Owen Chadwick (Gen. Ed.), London, Penguin Books, 1990, p. 214; Viera

In German-speaking northern Switzerland was born the Basel Missionary Society (1815, Evangelical Pietist), while in Paris zealous Reformed French Protestants organized their Paris Evangelical Mission Society (1822) which had affiliates in French-speaking Switzerland¹³⁹. From Germany came missionaries from the Berlin Missionary Society (1824, Evangelical), the Bremen Mission/North German Mission Society (1836, Evangelical Reformed and Lutheran Pietists), and the Leipzig Mission (1836, Lutheran Pietist)¹⁴⁰.

Out of North America sailed missionaries from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810, primarily Congregational), American Baptist Missionary Board (1814), and the Nova Scotian Methodists, among many others¹⁴¹. From the Scandinavian lands came missionaries from their new societies: Denmark (1821), Sweden (1835), and Norway (1842)¹⁴². Christian mission historian Stephen Neill states that by the dawn of the 20th Century, most denominations in every Christian country had started missionary work somewhere in the world¹⁴³.

3.3. More European Roman Catholic missionaries arrive

Not to be out done by the Protestants evangelizing Africa, the Roman Catholics *reignited* their own missionary activity on the continent with the formation of two French missionary

PAWLIKOVÁ-VILHANOVÁ. "Christian Missions in Africa and their Role in the Transformation of African Societies," *Asian and African Studies*, vol. 16, n° 2, 2007, p. 250; Richard V. PIERARD. "Foreword", in Jon MILLER, *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control: Organizational Contradictions in the Basel Mission on the Gold Coast, 1828-1917*, Coll. "Studies in the History of Christian Missions," R. E. Frykenberg and Brian Stanley (Eds.), Grand Rapids, Michigan, Eerdmans, 2003, p. x; "Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society," United Church of Canada Archives, *Archeion Archives Association of Ontario*. (Page consulted on 11 October 2018), <https://www.archeion.ca/wesleyan-methodist-missionary-society-2>, par. 1.

¹³⁹ Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control: Organizational Contradictions in the Basel Mission on the Gold Coast, 1828-1917*, Coll. "Studies in the History of Christian Missions," R. E. Frykenberg and Brian Stanley (Eds.), Grand Rapids, Michigan, Eerdmans, 2003, p. 14; Gordon MELTON. "Paris Evangelical Mission Society," *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, put online 2005, (page consulted on 15 May 2019), http://protestantism.enacademic.com/464/Paris_Evangelical_Mission_Society, par. 1.

¹⁴⁰ Nwando ACHEBE et al. *History Textbook [...]*, chapter 6, p. 3; Viera PAWLIKOVÁ-VILHANOVÁ. "Christian Missions in Africa [...]", p. 250 footnote 3; Joachim SCHUBERT. "The Berlin Missionary Society in South Africa," *German South African Resource Page*, (page consulted on 15 May 2019), http://www.safrika.org/berlin_en.html, par. 1 & 13; "History of Bremen Mission (Norddeutsche Mission)," *Brücke Für Afrika—Norddeutsche Mission*. Put online 2019, (page consulted on 15 May 2019), <http://www.norddeutschemission.de/en/ueber-uns/history-of-bremen-mission-norddeutsche-mission>, par. 1; Ulrich VAN DER HEYDEN. "Leipzig Mission," *Religion Past and Present*, put online 2011, (page consulted on 16 May 2019), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1877-5888_rpp_SIM_12876, par. 1.

¹⁴¹ Stephen NEILL. *A History of Christian Missions*, p. 214-215; Nwando ACHEBE et al. *History Textbook [...]*, chapter 6, p. 3.

¹⁴² Stephen NEILL. *A History of Christian Missions*, p. 214.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

congregations in the mid-1800's whose work grew to engulf the East coast, the West coast, Central and Southern Africa: the Congregation of the Holy Ghost (the "Holy Ghost Fathers"), and The Society of African Missions (the "SMA Fathers")¹⁴⁴. In the 1860's the Italian Verona Fathers launched their work in Egypt, while the "White Fathers" of the Society of Missionaries of Africa began their work in North Africa, which later spread to the interior of East and West Africa¹⁴⁵. Due to the political divide within colonial Africa, Roman Catholicism tended to gain the upper hand within the Francophone colonies (French Guinea, Ivory Coast, Senegal, etc.) as a result of the French Catholic missions, while Africans in the Anglophone British colonies (Gold Coast, Nigeria, Kenya, South Africa, etc.), were exposed to the wide variety of English-speaking Protestant missions—Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, etc.—in addition to the presence of English-speaking Roman Catholic missionaries¹⁴⁶.

These 19th Century missionaries penetrated every country and colony in Africa. Beyond Africa, these modern evangelists traveled to the Near East, the Far East, India, Central Asia, and many Pacific Islands¹⁴⁷. On the Gold Coast, the missionaries worked their way inland from the coastal towns, following the roads (and later, railways) to other larger urban areas, before fanning out into the less populated rural areas¹⁴⁸. Thus, Africans were evangelized by the thousands and became Christians: Anglicans, Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, etc. By 1910, 9% of Africa had converted to Christ¹⁴⁹. Meanwhile, these same colonial missions established churches, schools, clinics, and hospitals, exposing the sub-Saharan Africans to the Christian Gospel (as interpreted by Western denominations), while introducing Western civilization, education, medicine and philanthropic/humanitarian efforts¹⁵⁰.

¹⁴⁴ Viera PAWLIKOVÁ-VILHANOVÁ. "Christian Missions in Africa [...]", p. 250-251.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. "Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]", p. 2-7.

¹⁴⁷ Kenneth Scott LATOURETTE. "The Christian Missionary Movement [...]", p. 154.

¹⁴⁸ Felix MEIER ZU SELHAUSEN. "Tracing the origins and consequences of Christian missionary activities in Africa," Colonial Africa in official statistics, 1821-1953, *British Online Archives*, (page consulted on 16 May 2019), <https://microform.digital/boa/collections/39/articles/5/tracing-the-origins-and-consequences-of-christian-missionary-activities-in-africa%0D>, par. 4.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, par. 1.

¹⁵⁰ Kenneth Scott LATOURETTE. "The Christian Missionary Movement [...]", p. 155.

4. European denominations get missionary foundations on the Gold Coast

As the focus of this research is on the West African Gold Coast, it is not possible to examine the scope and impact of the Western missions in other parts of Africa. The first missionary work on the Gold Coast was done by Portuguese Roman Catholic priests in the beginning of the 1500's, but these Catholics failed to have any lasting effect for nearly four centuries¹⁵¹. Attempts by the Moravian (Pietist) Mission in the early 1700's also failed as missionary after missionary in this pre-quinine era was buried in the "White Man's Grave" of Africa¹⁵². Similarly, 18th Century efforts by the Church of England's Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) met with negative results, but the Anglicans eventually got established and grew much later in time under the influence of the British Colonial Administration¹⁵³.

4.1. The Basel Mission, the first success on the Gold Coast

The first missionaries to actually produce a lasting—and profound—evangelical effect on the Gold Coast, beginning in 1828, were Pietist missionaries from the Basel Evangelical Missionary Society (Evangelische Missionsgesellschaft Basel) in Basel, Switzerland¹⁵⁴. Since this Swiss city borders Germany and France, and its official language is German, it was a great centralized location to gather like-minded Pietists from various European countries for foreign missionary training. The Basel Missionaries (Baslers) were comprised of Germans, Danes and Swiss Pietists from German Lutheran, Danish, and Swiss Reformed churches¹⁵⁵. Despite multiple martyric deaths due to tropical diseases early on (pre-quinine), their work took root and grew, especially after two important events. First, they re-located their initial Gold Coast mission base from the terribly hot coast (with its malaria-bearing mosquitoes) into the higher, cooler region of the Akuapem mountains (which had less mosquitoes)¹⁵⁶. And, second, they effectively convinced the local Akropong chief and his tribal elders that Christianity and Bible reading were not only a white

¹⁵¹ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. "Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]," p. 2.

¹⁵² J. S. ROSS. "The First Hundred Years of Modern Missions," *Methodist Magazine*, vol. 36, October 1892, Toronto, William Briggs, Methodist Publishing House, p. 362; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. "Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]," p. 5.

¹⁵³ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. "Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]," p. 5.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5-6.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*; Richard V. PIERARD. "Foreword", in Jon MILLER, *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. xiii.

¹⁵⁶ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah: A Case Study of Religion and Politics in Ghana*, Lanham, MD, University Press of America, Inc., 1999, p. 125.

man's affair, but were meant for the black man as well¹⁵⁷. This was accomplished by bringing in eight black Jamaican freed slave families as missionaries in the 1840's to assist the white Basel missionaries¹⁵⁸. This strategy worked well and the Basel mission took root, grew and spread. World War I politics forced the British authorities to eject the German Basel missionaries out of the colony, who were replaced by Scottish reformed missionaries from the U.K. (the United Free Church of Scotland)¹⁵⁹. Thus, the foundations of the large Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast were laid by the Basel reformed mission¹⁶⁰.

4.2. The Methodist Mission, the second success on the Gold Coast

The second missionary success was made by the pietist-influenced evangelical Wesleyan Methodists, beginning around 1835¹⁶¹. (The Wesley brothers—John and Charles—were greatly inspired by the Pietist Moravians and through contact with them were awakened to evangelical zeal¹⁶².) Despite the untimely deaths of their first missionaries on the Gold Coast, the Methodist Mission spread from the sea coast inland through the effort of a tremendous mulatto missionary, Thomas Birth Freeman, the “Father of Methodism” in Ghana¹⁶³. Mission-trained native evangelist James Hayford carried this church to the Asante State by the mid-1800's¹⁶⁴. This Methodist evangelization of the Gold Coast was greatly aided by a Liberian evangelist, the famous “Prophet” William Wadé Harris, whose evangelistic efforts and amazing thaumaturgical display (exorcisms, healings, prophecies, etc.) brought 120,000 West African pagan animists into Christianity within

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 125-126. More specific information about the tribal context, geography, linguistics, etc., will be addressed in Chapter 3.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 126; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 6; Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. 130.

¹⁵⁹ J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa* [...], p. 133; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 6; Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. 15.

¹⁶⁰ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 6.

¹⁶¹ Stephen NEILL. *A History of Christian Missions*, p. 213-214; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 7.

¹⁶² The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica. “Charles Wesley,” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 25 April 2019, (page consulted on 16 May 2019), <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Charles-Wesley>, par. 3; The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica. “John Wesley,” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 25 April 2019, (page consulted on 16 May 2019), <https://www.britannica.com/biography/John-Wesley>, par. 5.

¹⁶³ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 7.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

two years, many of whom (about 45,000) later joined the Methodists¹⁶⁵. Another “prophet”, the former pagan priest Sampson Oppong, labored to convert thousands in the Ashanti and Brong Ahafo regions during the 1920’s for the Methodist Mission¹⁶⁶, while Harris’ disciple, “Prophet” John Swatson, was recruited by the Anglicans and helped establish their mission in the Western area of the Gold Coast (Nzema) and into the interior of the Colony¹⁶⁷. Aiding the speedy success of these evangelists was the fact that they, as natives preaching to natives, avoided the culture and color bar¹⁶⁸.

4.3. The Bremen Mission, the third success on the Gold Coast

The Bremen Mission (North German Mission Society, or, Norddeutsche Mission) was the third to become successful on the Gold Coast, beginning in 1847 among the Ewe tribe in the east¹⁶⁹. This missionary society was formed in northern Germany in 1836 from combined Lutheran and Reformed pietist mission societies¹⁷⁰. These Germans worked closely with the German-speaking Basel missionaries¹⁷¹. Similarly, they found themselves in trouble with the British colonial authorities who arrested and deported these German missionaries during WWI¹⁷². War politics interfered with their work but their local adherents were aided by other missionaries having British approval¹⁷³. Thus, the Bremen mission work lives on today among the Presbyterian communities in Ghana¹⁷⁴.

One must note that the Bremen Mission and the Basel Mission (both spawned by Pietistic missionary societies in Germany and Switzerland which had great initial success on the Gold Coast) could easily give Ghanaians the perception that the huge Protestant Evangelical missionary

¹⁶⁵ Kenneth Scott LATOURETTE. *Advance Through Storm*, Coll. “A History of the Expansion of Christianity,” vol. VII, Grand Rapids, Michigan, Zondervan, 1973, p. 221-222; David B. BARRETT. *Schism and Renewal in Africa: An Analysis of Six Thousand Contemporary Religious Movements*, Nairobi, Oxford University Press, 1968, p. 20; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 7, 15-16.

¹⁶⁶ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 17-18.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16-17.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁶⁹ Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. 14; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 6-7.

¹⁷⁰ “History of Bremen Mission (Norddeutsche Mission)” [...], par. 1.

¹⁷¹ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 6.

¹⁷² “History of Bremen Mission (Norddeutsche Mission)” [...], par. 1.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 7.

movement—as they experienced it—was largely “Pietistic”, whereas the truth is that “Pietism” was a smaller element within the much larger “Evangelical” Christian experience¹⁷⁵. Hence, this explains Ghanaian theologian Amanor’s constant usage of the terms “Pietism” and “Pietists” in his historical analysis of the missionary history of the Gold Coast. These terms will be addressed further in Chapters 3 and 4, which discuss the contributions and liabilities of colonial Protestant mission work on the Gold Coast. Their successes in various aspects of their work will be highlighted, while also examining their particular failures in the long-run.

4.4. The Roman Catholic Mission revives on the Gold Coast

The Roman Catholic mission had a second start on the Coast in 1880, being invited by Sir James Marshall, the Chief Justice of the Gold Coast at that time¹⁷⁶. As a zealous Roman Catholic convert in the Oxford Movement and a personal friend of Cardinal Newman himself¹⁷⁷, Marshall gave the new Roman Catholic mission much help and encouragement¹⁷⁸. Quickly spreading, this Gold Coast mission was joined by the Roman Catholic “White Fathers” who were expanding their efforts southwards from the area of present-day Burkina Faso into the northern portion of the colony¹⁷⁹. By 1920 the Roman Catholic mission had baptized 35,000 adherents and was catechizing 25,000 more (but they still had no local clergy; their first native priest was only ordained in 1922)¹⁸⁰. World War I politics slowed down this fast Roman Catholic missionary growth for a time, as the British colonialists and loyal native subjects were distrustful and suspicious of any Roman Catholic missionary having German blood, viewing them as potential collaborators with the enemy¹⁸¹. The Gold Coast press fumed against them as “German spies”, and in 1917 the Gold Coast authorities evicted the German Catholic priests working in the

¹⁷⁵ Richard V. PIERARD. “Foreword”, in Jon MILLER, *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. x-xi.

¹⁷⁶ “Sir James Marshall,” *Knights and Ladies of Marshall*. Put online 2019, (page consulted on 16 May 2019), <http://marshallan.org/sir-james-marshall>, par. 29.

¹⁷⁷ Charles Alexander HARRIS. “Marshall, James (1829–1889),” *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 36, Sidney Lee (Ed.), London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1893, p. 238-239.

¹⁷⁸ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]”, p. 4; “Sir James Marshall,” *Knights and Ladies of Marshall*, par. 5-8, 30.

¹⁷⁹ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]”, p. 4.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4-5.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 4; Andrzej MIOTK. “The Collapse of the SVD Togo Mission (1914-1921),” *Annales Missiologici Posnanienses*, 2016, n° 21, (page consulted 16 October 2018), DOI: 10.14746/amp.2016.21.7, <file:///C:/Users/Client/Downloads/7756-7749.pdf>, <https://pressto.amu.edu.pl/index.php/amp/article/view/7756/7749>, p. 124.

neighboring British-occupied Togoland¹⁸². Eventually WWI politics became a thing of the past, and today the Roman Catholics have a very large and strong presence in modern nation of Ghana (which today includes what used to be known as British-occupied Togoland)¹⁸³.

4.5. The Pentecostal and Charismatic newest wave of churches

Of all the missions in Ghana, the most dramatic increase in converts is attributed to the newer Pentecostal and Charismatic churches operating in post-independence Ghana¹⁸⁴. Although a few foreign Pentecostal missions were operating in the Colony since the 1930's¹⁸⁵, and some forms of indigenous Pentecostalism had even started appearing on the Coast just prior to that (between WWI and 1930)¹⁸⁶, the multiplication of Neo-Pentecostal churches in Ghana really rocketed from the 1970's onwards with the advent of the Charismatic Movement¹⁸⁷. There will be much more on this phenomenon in Chapter 6, "Pan-African Theology and African Independent Churches (AICs)." To the Pentecostal and Charismatic churches is credited the lion's share of the fast conversion rate in modern Ghana, although the Roman Catholics too have demonstrated a huge increase¹⁸⁸. Religious statistics tell a story of a fast conversion rate to Christianity from Traditional tribal (pagan) religions since World War II. Ghana's 2010 Census figures: Christians 71.2% (Pentecostal/Charismatic 28.3%, Protestant 18.4%, Catholic 13.1%, other 11.4%), Muslims 17.6%, Traditional tribal religions 5.2%, other 0.8%, none 5.2%¹⁸⁹. Compare this growth to the older 1949 Census figures: Christians 30%, Muslims 4%, Traditional tribal religions 66%¹⁹⁰. Since 1949, Christianity increased from 1/3 to nearly 3/4 of the population, while Traditional tribal religions decreased from 2/3 down to a mere 5%¹⁹¹. In a land that practiced internal slavery, fought

¹⁸² Andrzej MIOTK. "The Collapse of the SVD Togo Mission [...]," p. 125-125.

¹⁸³ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. "Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]," p. 4-5.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2, 12-13.

¹⁸⁵ ASEMPA PUBLISHERS (Eds.). *The Rise of Independent Churches in Ghana*, Accra, Ghana, Asempa Publishers Christian Council of Ghana, 1990, p. 8-10.

¹⁸⁶ Kofi Asare OPOKU. "A Brief History of Independent Church Movements in Ghana since 1862," *The Rise of Independent Churches in Ghana*, Accra, Ghana, Asempa Publishers Christian Council of Ghana, 1990, p. 15-18; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. "Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]," p. 12-18.

¹⁸⁷ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. "Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]," p. 13.

¹⁸⁸ P. G. NEEFJES. "The Impact of Christianity in Ghana with Special Reference to the Roman Catholic Church," *The Ghana Bulletin of Theology*, vol. 4, n° 7, December 1974, p. 31ff.

¹⁸⁹ "Religions: Ghana," *The World Fact Book*, *Central Intelligence Agency*. (Page consulted on 18 October 2018), <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/401.html>, p. 5.

¹⁹⁰ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 124.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

unending ethnic tribal warfare, and sacrificed humans has developed a new kind of people, joyous to be counted among those who are looking for salvation in the One once-for-all Sacrifice of Jesus Christ—“a new generation that doesn’t want to apologize for being African and also wants to embrace Christianity”¹⁹². It is a plain fact: 21st Century Ghana hails as a mainly Christian country, riding “a wave that puts West Africa at the heart of global Christianity”¹⁹³.

5. African Independent Churches (AICs)

Intertwined with—and impacting—this dramatic sudden rise of Christianity on the Gold Coast and all across Africa was the advent of 20th Century “African Independent Churches”, also known as “African Indigenous Churches,” “African Initiated Churches,” or simply, the “AICs”. Being only introduced here as an important concept, the AIC phenomenon will be examined in greater detail in context Chapter 6.

5.1. Independent churches, independent nations

The founders and members of these new African denominations sought a spiritual independence and emancipation parallel to the Africans’ quest for political independence. As will be shown in great detail in Chapter 5, following World War I, “Pan-Africanist” ideals such as those propagated by Marcus Garvey, founder of the famous international Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), fanned the flames of “black internationalism” and a thirst for an independent “Africa for the Africans”¹⁹⁴. After serving in their European masters’ armies during World War II, African soldiers from the colonies returned home hungry for their own independence and self-rule¹⁹⁵. These men started the national political movements which launched the era of “African nationalism”¹⁹⁶. These political aspirations led to the rise of all the independent 20th Century

¹⁹² Ghanaian preacher Nana Kofi ACQUAH. Interviewed by Matthew Mpoke BIGG, “Faith puts Ghana at heart of global Christianity,” *Reuters*, put online 28 February 2017, (page consulted on 16 May 2019), <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-ghana-church/faith-puts-ghana-at-heart-of-global-christianity-idUSKBN1670UP>, par. 14.

¹⁹³ Professor Kwabena ASAMOAH-GYADU of Trinity Theological Seminary in Accra, Ghana. Interviewed by Matthew Mpoke BIGG, “Faith puts Ghana at heart of global Christianity” [...], par. 2.

¹⁹⁴ Marc MATERA. “Pan-Africanism”, *New Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, vol. 4, Maryanne Cline Horowitz (Editor in chief), Detroit, Michigan, Thomson Gale, 2005, put online [s.d.], (page consulted on 24 May 2019), https://archive.org/stream/NewDictionaryOfTheHistoryOfIdeas/New+Dictionary+of+the+History+of+Ideas+2005_djvu.txt, p. 1701-1703.

¹⁹⁵ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 133-134.

¹⁹⁶ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 71.

African nations that came into existence as the European colonies crumbled following WWII. The first to gain its independence from the British Empire was the British Colony of the Gold Coast which peacefully became the modern nation of Ghana in 1957¹⁹⁷.

This thirst for political independence was echoed by the thirst for religious independence, and vice versa. It was a common “thirst” that impacted seemingly everyone, religiously and politically¹⁹⁸. During the first decade of Ghana’s independence (1957-1967), the new African Independent Churches (AICs) were gaining converts *four* times as fast than the older foreign missions¹⁹⁹. Feeling liberated from the white European’s version of Christianity, more and more Africans were fleeing the feared tyranny of idolatry to join an Africanized Christianity. The 20th Century African Independent Church (AIC) movement is extremely integral to understanding Bresi-Ando, as he participated in it and tried to realize his emancipationist efforts through it. Therefore, the entire Chapter 6—“Pan-African Theology and African Independent Churches (AICs)”—is dedicated to explaining the rise of this important contemporary independent African Christian church phenomenon, of which Bresi-Ando’s movement was a member.

5.2. The search for Africa’s earliest Christian roots

During the same early 20th Century time period when Africans began to dream of political independence from Western colonial powers, contemporary African Christian leaders from across the continent began their own spiritual odysseys—their quest—searching for a form of Christianity that was authentically African but not colonially-established, not Western, not European, not “white”. They sought for a “Pan-African” ideal known as “Africanization”, or “indigenization”²⁰⁰. A deep rationale for this movement was the African perception that many Western missionaries often lacked an understanding of their traditional culture and instead had planted a form of Western Christianity that did not do justice to the African mindset nor rightly transfigure it²⁰¹.

¹⁹⁷ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 170.

¹⁹⁸ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 36, Log 16, p. 976.

¹⁹⁹ J. D. Y. PEEL. “Reviews”, *Africa*, vol. 53, n° 3, July 1983, p. 92.

²⁰⁰ Emmanuel MARTEY. *African Theology: Inculturation and Liberation*, Eugene, OR, Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2009, p. xi.

²⁰¹ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]”, p. 13.

The initial reaction of many early 20th Century African clergymen was to simply start their own Protestant denominations—their “African Independent Churches” (AICs)—with their own independent black hierarchs. The AICs of this first phase of the African religious independence movement (which was dubbed “Ethiopianism”) tended to keep their parent church’s theology intact²⁰². (More on this later.) A second phase followed, beginning in the mid-1920’s, which was labeled “Zionist”²⁰³. These AICs were extremely Africanized and were modeled on whatever Western theological threads pleased them²⁰⁴. (More on this later, too.) A third group of AICs has spread widely across Africa since the 1970’s, growing extremely fast—the Pentecostal and Charismatic renewal movements²⁰⁵. However, within the huge century-long AIC tidal wave, a smaller subcurrent emerged. Independent-minded Africans began to seek the ancient spring—the origin—of Christianity. Unlike the other three sets of AICs, the leaders of this *fourth* group looked in an entirely different direction, much farther *back* into history. They started studying and searching for a historic link to the earliest form of Christianity that had been brought from Jerusalem and planted long-ago on their continent. By reading books and traveling, these Africans learned of the ancient Orthodox Catholic Church with its early historical Apostolic foundations planted on their very own African soil. They were excited to discover that originally Christianity had been carried to Egypt and Ethiopia, not by the hated Western colonial powers, but by the hands of the Apostles Mark and Matthew themselves. They learned of the ancient Apostolic See, which according to Holy Tradition, had been founded in Egypt in the middle of the 1st Century A.D., known later as the Patriarchate of Alexandria. They read about Egypt’s greatest saints, like St. Anthony, St. Athanasius, St. Cyril of Alexandria, along with St. Moses the Black of Ethiopia. This historical knowledge drew them to thirst for canonical membership within the oldest Christian worshipping community on their continent. They wanted to be a part of the ancient Christian communion that was not imported lately from Europe under a variety of guises, but rather was Apostolic and had always been present on their land since the 1st Century. They were compelled

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

by the concept that they could be *both* authentically Christian *and* African without being the spiritual children of Western European colonial powers²⁰⁶.

5.3. Knocking on the door of the Patriarchate of Alexandria

By searching for the canonical, non-Western, primitive African Church, a modern religious people-movement towards ancient Christianity began in Africa as a kind of reaction against the white Western European brand of Christianity that had been introduced only recently. This motivation was very useful for Bresi-Ando's AIC, as we shall see in Chapter 13—"Bresi-Ando's *Socio-Cultural* Emancipation"—and also in Chapter 14—"Bresi-Ando's *Religious* Emancipation". Due to the fact that many Africans in the 1930's had the emancipationist aspiration, it was easy to gain converts to an "Ethiopianist" style AIC. However, the sub-movement towards ancient Alexandrian Orthodoxy was smaller and more uniquely defined than "Ethiopianism". It not only wanted independence but also desired canonical connection to Africa's early Christian presence. It was a movement, not by foreign Orthodox missionaries reaching out to Africans, but by the Africans themselves, searching, discovering, and reaching out to the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate in Egypt, and banging on its doors in order to be let in. Several brand-new, un-canonical, so-called "Orthodox" denominations across the continent at first organized themselves *by* themselves, and *then* later sought to be canonically joined to the Patriarchate²⁰⁷. For example, Reuben Spartas of McGuire's uncanonical "African Orthodox Church" in Uganda, along with Arthur Gathuna of the same "African Orthodox Church" in Kenya, both led their indigenous flocks into the fold of the Alexandrian Patriarchate in 1946²⁰⁸. Abuna Abraim's false "Greek Orthodox Church" in Nigeria became a member of the true Greek Orthodox communion when they joined the Patriarchate of Alexandria in 1985²⁰⁹. Bresi-Ando's "African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church" of the 1930's colonial Gold Coast—the focus of this present research—entered the Alexandrian Patriarchate in 1982²¹⁰. 20th Century Africans such as

²⁰⁶ Kwame Joseph Ayete LABI, Antonia PATERAKIS, K. AMOA, and Andrew J. ANDERSON. Orthodox Church, Ghana: Amoa Report, [unpublished manuscript], Accra, Ghana, 20 April 1993, p. 3, in Anderson Ghana Fulbright File GR16.480.

²⁰⁷ Stephen HAYES. "Orthodox Mission in Tropical Africa," p. 386-388.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*; Nicholas BAYEGO. "Orthodox Church in Uganda: Moving Towards Self-Support," *OCMC*, vol. 30, n° 2, Fall 2014, p. 6.

²⁰⁹ Stephen HAYES. "Orthodox Mission in Tropical Africa," p. 393.

²¹⁰ Kwame Joseph Ayete LABI et al. Orthodox Church, Ghana: Amoa Report, p. 5-6.

these knocked patiently and persistently until the Greek/Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa gradually woke up to its pastoral, evangelical, and Biblical responsibility of spreading the Orthodox Catholic Faith to all corners of the continent, regardless of color, tribe, or nationality²¹¹. Having searched for a church that better reflected their culture, more and more Africans have discovered Eastern Orthodox Christianity and have enthusiastically joined it.

6. The Alexandrian Patriarchate was not ready to receive a wave of converts

The transition from non-evangelical status to active mission-mindedness was not quick nor easy for the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate in Africa, which needed to be revived from languishing over the centuries under the yoke of Islam. It needed to resurrect out of its survival mode with its minimalistic parochial vision. It had to re-discover and own its ancient Apostolic imperative—the Great Commission given by Christ in Matthew 28:16-20—to preach the Gospel to *all* nations. The Patriarchate needed to have its missionary vision revived and re-focused, looking beyond simply serving the needs of Greek and Syrian emigrants living on the African continent, to the actual reception—and even active evangelization—of the native Africans themselves.

6.1. Greek and Syrian Diaspora “repopulates” the Alexandrian Patriarchate

The Eastern (“Greek”) Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria was initially slow to respond to the cries of the 20th Century black Africans due to the fact that the Patriarchate itself was not prepared to receive all the 20th Century Africans that had started knocking on its doors. The Patriarchate was preoccupied with catering to the spiritual needs of the Greek Diaspora which had immigrated to various parts of Africa primarily for business purposes from the 19th Century onwards²¹². Beginning in the mid-1800’s, favorable changes in the political situation in Egypt regarding non-Muslims had opened the doors for a sizable influx of Greek, Syrian, and Lebanese Orthodox immigrants to enter the country to live and work²¹³. Then, after the 1922 Greek Asia Minor Catastrophe, many more displaced Greeks moved as refugees to sub-Saharan Africa, to places

²¹¹ Geoffrey PARRINDER. “East African Rebels,” *African Affairs*, vol. 60, n° 241, October 1961, p. 560; “The Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa,” *The official website* [...], par. 6.

²¹² Stephen HAYES. “Orthodox Mission in Tropical Africa,” p. 385.

²¹³ “The Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa,” *The official website* [...], par. 6.

such as Yaoundé, Cameroon, bringing their Orthodox Faith and Holy Tradition with them²¹⁴. The increased presence of non-Muslim (and non-Coptic) Greek/Eastern Orthodox Christians in Egypt and south of the Sahara—and their need for their own churches and clergy—started the process of revitalizing and re-populating the poor, shrunken “Greek” Patriarchate of Alexandria²¹⁵.

6.2. Jurisdiction of the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria

At first, in the early 1900’s, jurisdictional “confusion” reigned within the new Diaspora in Africa as the newly-formed immigrant communities imported their own ethnic priests from “back-home,” with open disregard for the Patriarchate of Alexandria’s presence²¹⁶. However, by the end of 1920’s, a regularization occurred which stream-lined matters canonically²¹⁷. All the Chalcedonian (“Eastern”) Orthodox church communities on the continent—be they Greek or Syrian, etc.—recognized the historical precedence and jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Alexandria—and all agreed to be united under his rule²¹⁸. This *de facto* helped re-populate the Patriarchate with both laity and clergy, which simultaneously enhancing the Patriarch with an enlarged sense of his own responsible role, as the Primate over *all* the Eastern Orthodox within Africa, though for a time, that role appeared to be constricted to serving the needs of the expatriates, not the natives²¹⁹. In 1927 the Patriarch’s title was expanded to include “and All Africa,” yet it was going to take some time and effort to make this a lived reality²²⁰.

6.3. Slow steps towards re-structuring the Patriarchate for mission

From the year 1908, a metropolitan of the Alexandrian Patriarchate had been assigned to serve the Greek-speaking expatriates in Addis Ababa, within the Holy Archdiocese of Aksum and All Ethiopia, however the See lay vacant since the start of World War I²²¹. A modest step forward

²¹⁴ “The Coming of the Orthodox Church in Central-West Africa,” *Metropolis of Cameroon* archived website, par. 1.

²¹⁵ “The Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa,” *The official website* [...], par. 6.

²¹⁶ Stephen HAYES. “Orthodox Mission in Tropical Africa,” p. 385.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²²⁰ Matthew NAMEE. “A Brief Life of Meletios Metaxakis,” *Orthodox History*, put online 24 August 2020, (page consulted on 26 February 2021), <https://orthodoxhistory.org/2020/08/24/a-brief-life-of-meletios-metaxakis>, par. 27.

²²¹ “Archdiocese of Aksum,” *Orthodox Wiki*. Put online 27 December 2020, (page consulted 22 March 2021), https://orthodoxwiki.org/Archdiocese_of_Aksum, par. 1-3.

towards preparing the Patriarchate for mission work was the filling of this vacancy in 1927²²², plus the establishment of the new Archdiocese of Johannesburg and Pretoria in South Africa in the same year (1927), with the responsibility to oversee all “the parishes and missions located in the areas from East Africa, the equator down to the Cape of Good Hope”²²³. However, at first these “parishes and missions” of “*All Africa*” were primarily for the *expatriates* of the Greek and Syrian Diaspora. Thus, there was a *real vacuum* in Eastern Orthodox *indigenous* mission work in West Africa which Bresi-Ando addressed in the 1930’s in his own way when he went about setting up his own uncanonical “Orthodox Catholic” dioceses in Nigeria and the Gold Coast.

The next step forward towards mission renewal within the Alexandrian Patriarchate was slow in coming. Two large indigenous African churches—in Uganda led by Spartas and in Kenya led by Gathuna—petitioned the Patriarchate for entrance²²⁴. The Metropolitan of Aksum went and met with these groups in 1942 and gave his report to the Patriarchate which led to their reception following World War II in 1946²²⁵. Thus, these two native Orthodox Churches formed the beginning of the Patriarchate’s mission to black Africans in the 20th Century.

This important action was followed by the ecclesiastical division of the continent into several large geographical areas: north, south, east, west, and central, in addition to the traditional ancient dioceses within Egypt. In 1958 the Archdiocese of Central Africa was established²²⁶, while also in 1958 the East African Archdiocese of Irinoupolis was formed to serve the Kenyan and Ugandan communities that had been canonically received 12 years before²²⁷. During 1959, the old sees of Carthage (Tunis) and Tripoli were combined, making a large northern metropolis²²⁸. Additionally,

²²² *Ibid.*

²²³ “Holy Archdiocese of Johannesburg and Pretoria,” in “Holy Archdioceses,” *The official website of Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa*. (Page consulted on 15 August 2019), <http://www.patriarchateofalexandria.com/index.php?module=content&cid=004001>, par. 13.

²²⁴ Stephen HAYES. “Orthodox Mission in Tropical Africa,” p. 388; Nicholas BAYEGO. “Orthodox Church in Uganda: Moving Towards Self-Support” [...], p. 6.

²²⁵ Stephen HAYES. *Orthodox Mission Methods: a comparative study*, Dissertation on Missiology (DTh), Faculty of Theology, University of South Africa (Pretoria), 1998, p. 175-176.

²²⁶ “History of the Archdiocese,” *The Holy Metropolis of Central Africa*. (Page consulted on 21 April 2015), <http://pa-imka.org/index.php/en/archbishopric-en/history-en>, par. 2.

²²⁷ Stephen HAYES. “Orthodox Mission in Tropical Africa,” p. 390.

²²⁸ “Holy Archdiocese of Tripolis,” in “Holy Archdioceses,” *The official website of Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa* [...], par. 6.

a western Archdiocese of Accra headquartered in Yaoundé, Cameroon, covering 20 West African nations was opened in 1959 as well²²⁹.

A decade later (in 1968) the southern Archdiocese (Johannesburg/Pretoria) was divided into three pieces, with the addition of a second metropolitan for the country of South Africa (the new Archdiocese of Cape of Good Hope)²³⁰ and the creation of the Archdiocese of Zimbabwe and Southern Africa, headquartered in Harare²³¹. By 1972 nearly 15,000 Greek and Cypriot expatriates were living in Zimbabwe, certainly enough to warrant a separate diocese²³².

With the exception of caring for the indigenous Ugandan and Kenyan Orthodox missions which had voluntarily coming knocking on the Patriarchate's door and were welcomed in 1946—most of these new archdioceses in Africa (“metropolitanates”) were primarily pastoring the needs of the scattered expatriate Diaspora immigrants. Orthodoxy sadly earned the reputation of being in Africa “for Greeks only,” not for mission work. Even as late as 1985, missionary aid from the Greek Orthodox living in America was limited to assisting only four black African missions: those in Uganda, Kenya, Zaire (Congo), and Ghana²³³.

6.4. Transition from pastoral care of Diaspora to evangelization of nationals

Although the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria (from its point of view since 1927) has sole responsibility ecclesiastically among the Eastern Orthodox for the whole continent of Africa²³⁴, it appeared that by the early 20th Century the Patriarchate had not yet truly regained its former evangelical vision of being spiritually answerable to Christ's command to preach the Gospel to *all nations*, at least to as many people, tongues, and tribes on the continent that it could

²²⁹ “The Coming of the Orthodox Church in Central-West Africa,” *Metropolis of Cameroon* archived website, par. 1-2; *Orthodox Calendar 1990: Archdiocese of Accra and All West Africa*, [s.l.], The Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa, 1990, p. 7.

²³⁰ “Holy Archdiocese of the Cape of Good Hope,” in “Holy Archdioceses,” *The official website of Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa* [...], par. 7.

²³¹ “Zimbabwe—V. The Greek community,” *Pazzimmo* archived website. (Page consulted on 28 April 2015), <http://web.archive.org/web/20130808040600/http://pazzimmo.org.gr/146007/index.html>, par. V; “Orthodox Church,” *Religion in Zimbabwe*. (Page consulted on 22 May 2019), <https://relzim.org/major-religions-zimbabwe/orthodox>, par. 5 & 7.

²³² “Zimbabwe—V. The Greek community,” *Pazzimmo* [...], par. V.

²³³ Fr. Dimitrios COUCHELL. “Some 1985 Mission Program Goals,” *Mission* (magazine of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocesan Mission Center), vol. 1, n° 1, 1985, p. 2.

²³⁴ “The Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa,” *The official website* [...], par. 6.

reach. While the Roman Catholics and the Protestants were actively advancing into every corner of Africa and the entire globe, sadly, the Orthodox community in Africa seemed to have long ago lost its apostolic focus, having been suppressed by Islam for so many centuries. It had forgotten its role and duty, its great evangelical missionary past, its apostolic foundations which were planted in the 1st Century by the Apostles Mark and Matthew. These two Evangelists never would have intended for Christianity to be confined to Egypt and Ethiopia. Yet, instead of spreading the Gospel to the blacks of sub-Saharan Africa when nation after nation achieved 20th Century independence, the Greek Alexandrian Patriarchate appeared to be content to have a few bishops posted in some major sub-Saharan African cities—like Johannesburg, Harare, and Yaoundé—whose primary job was serving the spiritual needs of Greeks and Syrian immigrants living there. A quick glance at the list of Metropolitans on the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate as *recently* as 1989 is revealing. Of the ten Metropolitans assisting the Patriarch, only *three* were stationed in “black” Africa—East, Central, and West—(not counting the two in apartheid South Africa at the time, nor the vacancy in expatriate Harare, nor the metropolitan serving the Greeks in Addis Ababa)²³⁵. One of the three was the famous missionary, Archbishop Anastasios (Yannoulatos), who was caring for East Africa²³⁶. However, since he was actually doing real mission work, together with his faithful auxiliary Bishop Theodore (Nankyamas) of Uganda, the number of Eastern Orthodox hierarchs working in “black” Africa in 1989 was *four*. Lack of numbers aside, in a positive sense, the new immigrant Orthodox “Diaspora” communities springing up in the large metropolitan centers across Africa were necessary stepping stones towards regaining the lost Apostolic momentum. These new Diaspora communities brought Orthodox bishops into several strategic locations on the continent, ready for the hand of God’s Providence to do a bigger revitalization work within the Patriarchate within the second half of the 20th Century and into the 21st.

²³⁵ *Orthodox Calendar 1989: Archdiocese of Accra and All West Africa*, [s.l.], The Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa, 1989, p. 3; “Zimbabwe Church: Holy Archbishopric of Zimbabwe Website,” *Pazzimmo* archived website. (Page consulted on 28 April 2015), <http://web.archive.org/web/20130808040547/http://pazzimmo.org.gr/146007/99500.html>, par. 1.

²³⁶ Archbishop Anastasios (Yannoulatos) in 1989 was serving as the Locum Tenens (“acting archbishop”) of the Holy Archdiocese of Irinoupolis (which at the time was comprised of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania), and as such he was not officially a member of the Alexandrian Holy Synod. He went on to become the Patriarch of Albania. (Stephen HAYES. “Orthodox Mission in Tropical Africa,” p. 390 footnote 6.)

7. The contemporary renaissance of the Alexandrian Patriarchate

The renewal of the Patriarchate of Alexandria really accelerated since 1995, when the *contemporary* miracle of the complete resurrection of the ancient apostolic missionary zeal witnessed the rapid expansion of the Patriarchate. Twenty-one (21) *new* missionary dioceses were opened in sub-Saharan Africa within the last 25 years!²³⁷ Currently there are 40 dioceses and archdioceses in the Patriarchate, 30 of which are doing active evangelization in countries south of the Sahara²³⁸. This means that today 3/4 of the Patriarchate is serving sub-Saharan African Orthodox communities. This is a complete reversal—a true repentance (*metanoia*). Gone are the days when there were only three or four metropolitans serving in black Africa. This contemporary story reveals dramatic church growth and a revolution in evangelism within the modern Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria. An explosion of true missionary work has been the result over the last *three decades*—the exceptions being places such as Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, and Congo, where, due to their historical head-start in this process, their expansion began earlier in the 20th Century.

The Patriarchate finally crossed that historic physical barrier of sand and today operates beyond the restrictive reach of North African Islamic governments. Most of the sub-Saharan Orthodox clergy and laity of its 1,000+ parishes are African nationals, and the number of black African hierarchs is growing, giving the Patriarchate a very indigenous and appealing “local” face. Today the Patriarch and his Holy Synod have regained their former Apostolic focus and are actively engaged in trying to convey the ancient Orthodox Catholic Faith to all the tribes and nations on the continent. On its own official website, the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa declares that it has now “addressed itself to the whole African Continent, appealing to every African, beyond borders, races, and colors, and moreover with respect to the mores, customs and traditions of Africa”²³⁹. By comparison, the Coptic Patriarchate has lately begun to operate some

²³⁷ “Holy Archdioceses,” *The official website of Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa*. (Page consulted on 15 August 2019), <http://www.patriarchateofalexandria.com/index.php?module=content&cid=004001>; “Holy Dioceses,” *The official website of Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa*. (Page consulted on 15 August 2019), <http://www.patriarchateofalexandria.com/index.php?module=content&cid=004002>.

²³⁸ *Ibid.* (“Holy Archdioceses” and “Holy Dioceses”)

²³⁹ “The Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa,” *The official website* [...], par. 6.

missions to indigenous nationals in several African countries, but their work is still small and is beyond the scope of this thesis to outline these recent developments²⁴⁰.

7.1. Africa: the Christian continent of the 21st Century

The well-known religious cross-cultural researcher David B. Barrett researched 6000 religious groups in modern-day Africa²⁴¹ and in 1982 he calculated that Africa would enter the 21st Century as the “most Christian continent”²⁴². Having entered the 21st Century, this famous prophecy is becoming true right before our very eyes. Mission researchers are noting that “by self-confession Africa is today a pre-dominantly *Christian* continent”²⁴³. They ask in astonishment: “Who just one hundred years ago could have anticipated that Christianity would become the majority faith on that continent? [...] In terms of sheer numbers, the growth of Christianity in Africa over the past fifty years is without historical parallel.”²⁴⁴

While Christianity in Europe has drastically declined over the last 100 years, it has dramatically increased in Africa over the same time period. One hundred years ago, Europe was home to 66% of the world’s Christians, according to Pew Research²⁴⁵. Just recently (2010) Europe held only 25.5%²⁴⁶. Statisticians project that at the current rate, by 2050, only 15.6% of the world’s Christians will live in Europe²⁴⁷. On the other hand, one hundred years ago (1910), Africa claimed

²⁴⁰ For a quick bird’s eye glance at the Coptic mission work outside of Egypt, see *Nihov’s Worldwide Coptic Directory*, put online 2019, (page consulted 03 December 2019), <http://directory.nihov.org>. Nihov lists 22 Coptic parishes in Africa (outside of Egypt). By comparison, the Greek/Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa has over 1,000 parishes outside of Egypt. Of course, inside Egypt, the Coptics have the vast majority.

²⁴¹ David B. BARRETT. *Schism and Renewal in Africa: An Analysis of Six Thousand Contemporary Religious Movements*, Nairobi, Oxford University Press, 1968, 363 p.

²⁴² David B. BARRETT (Ed.). *World Christian Encyclopedia*, London, Oxford University Press, 1982; Compare: David B. BARRETT. “AD 2000: 350 Million Christians in Africa,” *International Review of Mission*, vol. 59, n° 233, January 1970, p. 39.

²⁴³ Jonathan J. BONK. “Africa and the Christian Mission,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, vol. 33, n° 2, April 2009, New Haven, Connecticut, Overseas Ministries Study Center, p. 1.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁵ David MASCI. “Christianity poised to continue its shift from Europe to Africa,” *Pew Research Center*, put online 07 April 2015, (page consulted on 22 May 2019), <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/04/07/christianity-is-poised-to-continue-its-southward-march>, par. 3.

²⁴⁶ “Change in Regional Distribution of Christians, 2010 vs. 2050,” in Conrad HACKETT et al., “The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010-2050,” *Pew Research Center*, put online 02 April 2015, (page consulted on 16 May 2019), <https://www.pewforum.org/2015/04/02/christians>, p. 4, chart.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

only 1.4% of the world's Christians²⁴⁸. By 2010 it held 23.9%, and it is projected that by 2050, nearly 40% (38.1%) of the world's Christians will live in sub-Saharan Africa²⁴⁹. In 2015 the BBC, while bemoaning the loss of Christian faith in the U.K., stated the obvious by reporting that "Christianity is thriving in Africa"²⁵⁰. The Gospel message of salvation in the Lord Jesus Christ has become a wave racing to engulf the entire continent. What may not be as well known outside of Africa is the fact that the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria has caught that same wave and is very successfully riding it too. The Patriarchate has not only welcomed into its pastoral fold large numbers of disgruntled former (anti-colonial) members of Western denominations, but it is also actively carrying the Gospel message into hidden corners of Africa still un-evangelized by Western missionaries. Foundational to its appeal is the Alexandrian claim that it has always been *the* original historical Christian Church on the continent.

Conclusion

Planted on Egyptian soil in the 1st Century by the Apostle Mark himself, the Alexandrian Church (later as Patriarchate) helped spread the ancient Orthodox Catholic Faith across what is now known as northeast Africa. While Christianity on the continent of Africa provided the ancient Church with some of antiquity's greatest saints and heroes, such as St. Anthony the Great, St. Athanasius, St. Cyril of Alexandria, and St. Moses the Ethiopian, it also birthed some of the worst heretics and most misleading teachers in the Early Church era, such as Arius and Origen. Notwithstanding, Christianity in the Roman Provinces of Egypt and Africa made monumental contributions to the entire Christian world. To Alexandria goes the credit for successfully defending the Nicene Creed through the leadership provided by the famous St. Athanasius. Additionally, his witness and that of the African Council of Carthage (AD 397) helped to define for all posterity the Canon of New Testament Scripture. Under St. Cyril of Alexandria at the 3rd Ecumenical Council (AD 431), the Early Church was freed of the misunderstandings introduced by the arch-heretic Nestorius.

²⁴⁸ "Global Share of Christians by Region, 1910-2050," in Conrad HACKETT et al., "The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010-2050," *Pew Research Center*, 02 April 2015, in David MASCI, "Christianity poised to continue its shift from Europe to Africa," *Pew Research Center*, put online 07 April 2015, (page consulted on 22 May 2019), <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/04/07/christianity-is-poised-to-continue-its-southward-march>, chart.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁰ Caroline WYATT. "Is the UK still a Christian country?" *BBC News*, put online 25 May 2015, (page consulted on 26 May 2015), <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-32722155>, sections 1 & 4.

However, St. Cyril's loyal Egyptian (Coptic) followers found themselves out of communion with the rest of the Orthodox Catholic bishops (the "Melkites" or "Royalists") of the Roman Empire after the Council of Chalcedon (AD 451) had debated the Monophysite challenge to Christology. As a result, since the 500's, two parallel Patriarchates have rivaled each other in Egypt, one Greek Orthodox and the other Coptic.

In the 7th Century, a third force came into play which signaled the decline of Apostolic Christian missionary efforts within Africa. The arrival of Islam transformed the once-glorious ancient Christianity of the continent into a persecuted church, where for many centuries a survival mode replaced evangelism. Steadfastly resisting Islam were the Ethiopian and Nubian Churches of East Africa. Claiming a centuries old connection to the Bible, the Ethiopians steadfastly clung to their faith by climbing higher into their mountains. Nearby Nubia militarily forced the Arabic armies to a standstill for centuries, but after 1000 years it finally submitted to Islam. By AD 1500 Orthodox evangelism in Africa was completely stalemated. This sad state of affairs continued to be the norm until the renaissance of the Patriarchate of Alexandria in the mid/late-20th Century.

Into the void created by this lack of Eastern Christian evangelism arrived the Western missions. The first to come were the Roman Catholic Portuguese who failed to plant a lasting Christian imprint on the Gold Coast during the 15th-18th Centuries, but were able to establish themselves in Congo and Angola during this same time period, assisted by Italian Capuchin missionaries. Other European traders and colonialists soon followed the Portuguese from competing nations (Dutch, English, Danes, Swedes, Germans and French) as Africa attracted more and more Europeans in search of gold and ivory, slaves and colonies. Africa was politically divided into colonies by the Western imperial powers and their colonial Christian missions each placed a stake. For example, into the British Colony of the Gold Coast (the focus of this thesis) poured the missionaries from the new mission societies of these nations: Pietist German Lutherans and Swiss Reformed, Methodists, Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Baptists, etc. At first, death and disease made it hard for the various European denominations to lay their missionary foundations on the Gold Coast. However, finally success was achieved, first with the Pietist Basel Mission, followed by the Methodists, the Pietist Bremen Mission, and the Roman Catholics, as the great 19th Century Christian missionary movement began to make a lasting impact in West Africa.

As Africans (in the late 19th and early 20th Century) began to recoil against the ills of colonial racism and suppression, a desire for religious emancipation was conceived, which in turn gave birth to a huge 20th Century phenomenon—the rise of several waves of African Independent Churches (AICs). This initial impulse for religious freedom soon found itself intertwined with the rise of new independent African nations. The first wave of “Ethiopian” AICs started appearing across the continent as Africans desired a black hierarchy. Spurred on by Marcus Garvey’s call for “black internationalism” in the years following World War I, more and more individual Africans yearned for an emancipation from the white-run colonial system. Similarly, a second wave of more radical AICs began in the 1920’s, creatively seeking the “Pan-African” ideal of “Africanization” and “indigenization” in theology. A third wave of AICs comprised of Pentecostals and Charismatics exploded across Africa after 1970. However, a fourth group of Africans desired to go beyond the individualism of Protestantism and sought Christianity’s historical roots and presence on their continent. Discovering in Eastern Orthodoxy the ancient unadulterated Christianity—that was canonical and Apostolic and native to Africa, while simultaneously being *not* white nor colonial nor from Europe—was very attractive to certain African clergymen. Men such as Reuben Spartas of Uganda and Arthur Gathuna of Kenya knocked on the door of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria. What they found was an ancient Christian community that had been so long in a state of missionary decline due to the yoke of Islam that it was ill prepared for evangelistic work.

At first the 20th Century Alexandrian Patriarchate was not ready to receive a large inundation of indigenous converts, as it was struggling to meet the pastoral needs of the Greek and Syrian Diaspora which had only recently repopulated it. Providentially, political re-alignments in Egypt in the 19th Century had opened the door to welcome non-Islamic foreigners. Large numbers of Greeks and Middle Eastern businessmen had taken advantage of the change and had settled in cities across Africa, especially after the Asia Minor Catastrophe in 1922. Since many of these families were Orthodox Christians, the Alexandrian Patriarchate gradually took steps to set up new parishes and dioceses to minister to the needs of these expatriates. Little did they know that in time these new diocesan centers, in places like Nairobi and Yaoundé, would providentially prove to be the points of contact to begin to receive the African seekers who were longing to become a part of ancient African Christianity. Taking slow steps towards re-structuring itself, the

Patriarchate gradually transitioned from the pastoral care of the Diaspora to the evangelization of nationals. By the end of the 20th Century the contemporary renaissance of the Alexandrian Patriarchate was in full bloom, riding the wave of evangelism that is currently making Africa *the Christian continent* of the 21st Century.

It is critical to note that Bishop Bresi-Ando's 1930's emancipationist efforts to establish Catholic Orthodoxy (as he understood it) on the Gold Coast *predated* most of the Alexandrian Patriarchate's mid and late 20th Century renaissance in missionary activity. Little did Bresi-Ando know that his own independent African church organization which he brought to the Gold Coast in 1932 would itself assist in the future rebirth of Apostolic labor within the Patriarchate fifty years later, when the Patriarch embraced Bresi-Ando's AIC and welcomed it "home" into the global family of canonical Eastern Orthodox Churches.

In the 1930's Bresi-Ando was a *forerunner*, a precursor of what was to come. He was also very much a *product* of his time, due to the white European colonial missionization of West Africa. Into the absence and void of any Eastern Orthodox mission work in West Africa during the 19th and early 20th Centuries had rushed the white European Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries, operating within the Western imperial colonial system. This particular ecclesiastical context helped form Bresi-Ando's own vision of life, contributing to his motivation to start his *very own* "Orthodox Catholic" church, as he did not see one in his land. However, it was *not* that simple. Bresi-Ando was also greatly influenced by his historical-political context as well, which impacted his desire "to found his own church to liberate the African"²⁵¹. When Bresi-Ando said "liberate", he meant a comprehensive multi-faceted emancipation: socially, culturally, religiously, educationally, commercially, and politically²⁵². "To live as an African, to worship as an African, to run his government as an African" was his dream²⁵³.

In order to discern, identify, and understand Bresi-Ando's wide vision of life, we will need to look at the historical-political context out of which he emerged. Tribal and linguistic groupings within

²⁵¹ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 3, Log 2, p. 54.

²⁵² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 March 1994, Log 11, p. 630; and, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1513-1517.

²⁵³ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 3, Log 2, p. 54-55.

a specific geographical territory comprised of unique natural resources must be identified. The colonial political dynamics that formed the complete social context in which Bresi-Ando attempted to initiate his Gold Coast emancipationist efforts need to be explained. Colonialism's contributions to the early 20th Century Gold Coast Colony, especially the pluses and strengths of the colonial missionary strategies, must be highlighted. Definitely required is a thorough discussion of the criticisms of the foreign mission work, the likes of which would create theological "rebels" such as Bresi-Ando, who rejected Western Christianity and turned to the non-European Eastern Christianity of the Jacobite "Monophysite" Oriental Orthodox church as part of his comprehensive solution for Africa. To carry the reader into an all-inclusive understanding of the multitude of ingredients that went into the making of Bresi-Ando's manifold context are the following six context chapters of Section One.

Transition to Context Chapters 2 through 7

Chapter 1 served as a bird's eye summary of the entire historical and religious context leading up to Bresi-Ando and his decade of the 1930's. Many aspects blend together to present this complicated man. He was like a sponge soaking in influences and contexts which originated from many places. To understand him, one must identify and grasp those influences.

The next six chapters belonging to Section One are geared towards that goal. They will enlarge on six particular important aspects of this historical context in order to prepare the reader to fully understand Bresi-Ando when his ideas and actions are analyzed in detail in Section Three. Some of these six context chapters may seem at first glance to dig rather deep into their particular fields of discipline, but the reader must be patient because all of this background information streams into the life of Bresi-Ando.

Chapters 2 through 7 are placed into a logical flow of history, with each bringing the reader one step forward in time, and one step closer to Bresi-Ando and his place in the decade of the 1930's.

- Chapter 2: the Monophysite polemic
- Chapter 3: Colonial contributions
- Chapter 4: Colonial liabilities
- Chapter 5: Pan-Africanism
- Chapter 6: African Independent Churches
- Chapter 7: the Marcus Garvey link

Chapter 2: *the Monophysite polemic*. The “Monophysite” debate captured and divided the Alexandrian Patriarchate at the Council of Chalcedon in the 5th Century, and the dispute fired up Bresī-Ando’s rhetoric in the 1930’s as well. He enthusiastically adopted the anti-Chalcedonian position, polemically embracing the term “Jacobite” which is still used today as a positive label by the Malankara Jacobite Syrian Orthodox Church in southern India to identify themselves as belonging to the Oriental Syriac Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch (“Monophysite”/Miaphysite persuasion), often referred to by outsiders as the Syrian-Jacobite Church²⁵⁴. While many Syrians in the same Patriarchate nowadays dislike the term “Jacobite”, it historically refers to their 6th Century hierarchy, Jacob Baradaeus. Bresī-Ando appeared to be ignorant of the true origin of the word and invented his own origins narrative for it, as will be explained fully in Chapter 14, “Bresī-Ando’s *Religious* Emancipation.” He chose to follow the Non-Chalcedonian “Monophysite” ecclesiology and theological terminology, and he used them to build his case for spiritual emancipation, as we shall see in acute detail in Chapter 14. Therefore, context Chapter 2 is dedicated to quickly reviewing the entire Chalcedonian/Non-Chalcedonian debate of the 4th Ecumenical Council, exposing the reader to the nuances that will be used later to analyze Bresī-Ando’s own efforts for religious emancipation.

Chapter 3: *Colonial contributions*. The unique geographical, tribal, linguistic, and historical context is presented. Since Bresī-Ando was a child of British colonialism and since the interactions of his Fante tribe and neighboring Asante tribe with the Europeans led to the formation of the Gold Coast Colony and its development in the course of modern civilization, the positive impact of colonialism on the Gold Coast will be examined in greater detail in context Chapter 3. The beneficial aspects brought by the European missionaries of the most successful colonial missions will be outlined. Understanding the educational efforts of the colonial-era missionaries will shed light on Bresī-Ando’s own efforts for educational emancipation, which will be studied in Chapter 15 of Section Three, “Bresī-Ando’s *Educational* Emancipation.” Similarly, having some understanding of the commercial benefits brought to the Gold Coast Colony by the Europeans will go a long way to explain Bresī-Ando’s own heroic efforts in the field of economic emancipation, as will be seen in Chapter 16 of Section Three, “Bresī-Ando’s *Commercial* Emancipation.”

²⁵⁴ *Jacobite Syrian Christian Church*. (Page consulted on 16 August 2019), <http://www.jacobitesyrianchurch.org/>. This is the official web page of the Malankara Jacobite Syrian Orthodox Church).

Chapter 4: *Colonial liabilities*. Bresi-Ando and many of his contemporaries rejected certain aspects of British colonialism and the Western European missionary effort, forming instead their own African independent churches. Context Chapter 4 will look deep into the reasons why colonial Africans found their pre-Enlightenment worldview challenged by the European missionaries' Enlightenment worldview, and how this led to the negative reaction on their part. A thorough examination of the liabilities of colonialism will help the reader understand Bresi-Ando's own reaction, which will be studied in much detail in Section Three: in Chapter 13 "Bresi-Ando's *Socio-Cultural* Emancipation," in Chapter 14 "Bresi-Ando's *Religious* Emancipation," and in Chapter 17 "Bresi-Ando's *Political* Emancipation."

Chapter 5: *Pan-Africanism*. The hypothesis of this research project is that Bresi-Ando used Pan-Africanism as the guide to his entire comprehensive vision of life, and proof of this will be searched out in Section Three. Of prime importance is to see how Pan-Africanism sought emancipation for Africans and people of African descent in a multilayered manner, in all aspects of life: social-cultural, religious, educational, commercial, and political. Since Pan-Africanism guided the thoughts and actions of many of Bresi-Ando's contemporaries in their rejection of a Euro-centered vision of life, context Chapter 5 will offer a thorough study of Pan-Africanism. The fathers of the movement will be brought forward, especially Marcus Garvey, who remains a hero in Ghana to this day. As he was the world's leading Pan-Africanist contemporary to Bresi-Ando, this dissertation will look to see if Bresi-Ando drew upon the wide-ranging emancipationist ideas of Marcus Garvey, and if so, to what extent, and how did the two men differ. Undertaking an exhaustive analysis of Garvey in context Chapter 5 will go far to help the reader understand and appreciate the comparison of the two leaders that will be made later in Section Three. If the Garvey chapter seems long, it is only because there is much to compare between Marcus and Bresi-Ando.

Chapter 6: *African Independent Churches (AICs)*. Since the first religious Pan-Africanist reaction against colonialism was the "Ethiopianist" stage of the mammoth African independent church (AIC) movement (of which Bresi-Ando was a member), then context Chapter 6 is dedicated to providing the reader with a full understanding of the AICs. This will enable better comprehension when Bresi-Ando is analyzed in Section Three, in both the social-cultural chapter (13) and the religious chapter (14).

Chapter 7: *the Marcus Garvey link*. Finally, since Marcus Garvey's Pan-Africanism and the African independent church (AIC) movement connect in the person of Gold Coaster Laura Kofey, whose Garvey-inspired independent black church merged with Bresi-Ando's embryonic AIC in 1931, context Chapter 7 serves as the bridge to segue into the biography of Bresi-Ando, which is completely detailed in the five chapters of Section Two.

Moving into Chapter 2

In his rejection of colonial Protestantism and his subsequent search for the origin of authentic, ancient Christianity in the context of Africa, Bresi-Ando looked deep into African history and there he discovered the Orthodox Catholic roots and offshoots of the Early Church on the African continent. Enthusiastically embracing them, he very willingly thrust himself into the ancient 5th Century theological debate that has divided Africa down to the present moment—the Chalcedonian/Non-Chalcedonian Christological debate. Throughout the late 1930's Bresi-Ando loudly expressed his opinion that in order to be “saved”, one had to become a “Jacobite”, a term that he at the time held in highest honor. (He apparently later changed his mind on this matter in the 1940's.) However, in order to be prepared to analyze Bresi-Ando's 1930's emancipationist aspirations in search of any Pan-Africanist determination within his elected theological stance, we first need to deepen our historical background theologically. Therefore, the following Chapter 2—“The Ancient Monophysite Polemic: Bresi-Ando's Theological Cornerstone”—will explain the theological differences in the historic debate that Bresi-Ando personally embraced and in which he vocally took sides.

**SECTION ONE: BRESI-ANDO'S ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT
WITHIN THE 1930's GOLD COAST COLONY**

**CHAPTER 2 THE ANCIENT MONOPHYSITE POLEMIC: BRESI-ANDO'S
THEOLOGICAL CORNERSTONE**

Purpose

As sociologist Dr. Assimeng points out, in the mid-1930's when Bresi-Ando joined what he thought was the Syrian-Jacobite Orthodox Church rooted in India, he was not merely interested in attaining hierarchical status as a black African, a social rank desired by many of his contemporaries in its own right¹. Rather, he looked deeply into the theological "origins and minutiae" of the ancient 5th Century Christological debate over the 4th Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon and then joined sides with the Non-Chalcedonians², some of whom came to be known later as the "Jacobites"³. Since Bresi-Ando adamantly and vocally took theological sides in this matter, which to some degree defined and shaped his theological Pan-Africanism of the 1930's, we shall have to study the classical debate of Chalcedon in order to see how he fit into the discussion.

Sources

Being very technical and highly theological, this chapter will rely upon primary and secondary source documents from the best theologians. For ancient primary source documents, texts of the Ecumenical Councils found in the *Nicene Post-Nicene Fathers* have been consulted, along with quotes from ancient Church Fathers such as St. Maximos the Confessor, St. John of Damascus, St. Agatho of Rome, and St. Nicholas Cabasilas. Primary source documents used to compare the teachings of the two churches have been compiled by researcher Christine Chaillot in her work, *The Dialogue Between the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches* (2016).

¹ Max ASSIMENG. "Methodological Africanism: Bresi-Ando as an Episcopus Vagans," *CONCH*, vol. VII, n° 1 & 2, 1975, p. 63.

² Max ASSIMENG. "Methodological Africanism [...]", p. 65; Kwamin BRESI-ANDO. Patriarch of Umuagbaghi. *The Apostolic Succession of the African Universal Church (Orthodox-Catholic)*, Coll. "Orthodox-Catholic Literature", n° 2, [s.l.], The Publication Department of Ebibirpim, Ltd., [s.d.], p. 1, 24-25.

³ Henry CHADWICK. *The Early Church*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England, Penguin Books Ltd., 1984, p. 210; Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 21, 24.

This present study of the misunderstandings and age-old polemic between the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox, with the purpose of providing context in which to place Bresi-Ando's own writing, is very contemporary and therefore citations from famous 20th century theologians, such as Fr. Georges Florovsky, Metropolitan Kallistos Ware, Fr. John Meyendorff, and Professor Nicolas Zernov, will be used. Other contemporary theologians, such as Fr. Theodore Zisis and Dr. Aziz S. Atiya, are among those whose writings have been consulted as well. Dr. Paul Ladouceur's 2016 article published in the *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, "Orthodox Critiques of the Agreed Statements Between the Orthodox and the Oriental Orthodox Churches" is used along with the meta-analysis of the topic by French Orthodox theologian Jean-Claude Larchet in his work, *Personne et nature* (2011).

Structure

This *second* chapter of context Section One is divided into *seven* parts:

- 1) The 4th Ecumenical Council—Chalcedon (AD 451)
- 2) Name changes, same disagreement
- 3) Church of 3 Councils or a Church of 7?
- 4) "Extreme monophysite" versus "conservative monophysite/miaphysite"
- 5) One composite nature
- 6) One nature, one will—a fused nature means fused wills
- 7) The requirement of the Orthodox doctrine of theosis

This chapter is constructed in such a way to carry the reader through a logical argument, flowing from the debate that began at the 4th Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon. The various labels used to identify the Chalcedonian and Non-Chalcedonian theological camps are given and the question is posed: can there be two "Orthodoxies" simultaneously laying claim to be the "one true Church"? Is it a Church of 3 Councils or a Church of 7? An explanation of the terms "extreme monophysite," "conservative/moderate monophysite" (also known as "miaphysite"), and "composite nature," as well as definitions of certain others follows. The connection between "monophysitism" and "monothelitism" is shown, with the point being argued by theologians and saints as to why the "one nature/one will" theology of the Non-Chalcedonians is not acceptable to the majority of

Eastern Orthodox theologians. The requirement of the Eastern Orthodox doctrine of theosis follows. Having introduced the readers thoroughly into the old Monophysite polemic, they will have been provided with the necessary background context to understand Chapter 14 in Section 3 in which Bresi-Ando's own complicated and noisily-articulated mixture of pro-Jacobite Non-Chalcedonian ecclesiology with Chalcedonian Orthodox theology is delineated.

1. The 4th Ecumenical Council – Chalcedon (AD 451)

In the study of contemporary religions, we commonly distinguish two theological positions between two church communities both using the name “Orthodox”: the Eastern Orthodox and the Oriental Orthodox⁴. Both trace themselves back to the sad schism that took place at the 4th Ecumenical Council in Chalcedon (Asia Minor, AD 451)⁵, when various bishops from Egypt (Coptics) could not agree with the majority of the bishops gathered from around the Roman Empire as to how to number the natures in Christ⁶. Were there two or was there only one⁷? The Council of Chalcedon decreed there were two: that united ineffably in Christ's one Person are two natures (Divine and human)⁸.

The famous “Definition of Chalcedon” proclaimed precisely:

one and the same Son, perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood, truly God and truly man [...] acknowledged *in two natures* unconfusedly, unchangeably, indivisibly, inseparably; the difference between the natures is in no way removed because of the union, but rather the peculiar property of each nature is preserved, and both combine in one person and in one *hypostasis*.⁹

⁴ Theodore ZISIS. “St. John of Damascus and the ‘Orthodoxy’ of the Non-Chalcedonians,” *Gregorios Ho Palamas*, vol. 744, September-October 1992, p. 1133-1144, [PDF file p. 1-13], put online [s.d.], (page consulted on 19 July 2017), <http://www.orthodoxinfo.com/ecumenism/zisis.pdf>, p. 1.

⁵ Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, London, Penguin Books Ltd., 1987 [1963], p. 33.

⁶ Leo Donald DAVIS. *The First Seven Ecumenical Councils (325-787): Their History and Theology*, Coll.

“Theology and Life Series,” Wilmington, Delaware, Michael Glazier, Inc., p. 1987, p. 180-182, 184; Aziz S.

ATIYA. “The Copts and Christian Civilization,” *Coptologia Studia Coptica Orthodoxa: A Research Publication in Coptic Orthodox Studies*, vol. 1, Aziz S. Atiya, Fr. Marcos Marcos, Fr. Gabriel Abdel-Sayed, Fayek M. Ishak (Eds.), Scarborough, Ontario, St. Mark's Coptic Canadian Cultural Centre, 1981, p. 37.

⁷ Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 33-34.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁹ *Ibid.*

1.1. Those in favor of Chalcedon

The bishops who accepted the definition of Chalcedon called themselves the “Orthodox” (i.e. “correct”) believers who held to “the orthodox faith” vis-à-vis the “heterodox” (i.e. those of “another”, “other”, or “different” teaching)¹⁰. Today the “Orthodox” are known as the “Orthodox Catholics”, “Greek Orthodox”, “Eastern Orthodox”, and the “Orthodox Eastern Catholic Church”¹¹. Rome and the Church in the West were ecclesiastically and theologically united with the Byzantine East at that time and together they went on to have a total of seven “Ecumenical Councils” during the first 1000 years of Church history¹².

1.2. Those against Chalcedon

Not everybody agreed with the theology defined at Chalcedon¹³. Professor Nicolas Zernov, the Spalding Lecturer in Eastern Orthodox Culture at the University of Oxford wrote in his *Eastern Christendom* that after Chalcedon, “[t]he Egyptians claimed that their confession of faith was the only one acceptable to God [...] [t]he Ethiopians, like the Copts and the Syrians, repudiate the Chalcedonian Council and are Monophysites”¹⁴. Still today, the churches that rejected the decisions of Chalcedon are called by various names: Coptic, Jacobite Syrian/Syriac, Armenian, and Ethiopian Tewahedo (as these latter three “followed the example of Egypt”)¹⁵. The Ethiopians were under the Copts up until 1959 when they gained their autocephaly; and the Eritrean Patriarchate separated from the Ethiopians even more recently¹⁶. In addition, certain descendants of India’s 1st Century “St. Thomas Christians” are also included within this Non-Chalcedonian group these days¹⁷, although they joined the Jacobite Syrian Patriarchate fairly recently, in AD

¹⁰ Henry CHADWICK. *The Early Church*, p. 203; Leo Donald DAVIS. *The First Seven Ecumenical Councils* [...], p. 183, 185, 186, 189; “hetero-”, *Dictionary.com*. (Page consulted 26 November 2019), <https://www.dictionary.com/browse/hetero->.

¹¹ Theodore ZISIS. “St. John of Damascus [...]”, p. 1, 3.

¹² Clark CARLTON. *The Faith*, Salisbury, MA, Regina Orthodox Press, 1997, p. 174-176.

¹³ Henry CHADWICK. *The Early Church*, p. 210.

¹⁴ Nicolas ZERNOV. *Eastern Christendom: A Study of the Origin and Development of the Eastern Orthodox Church*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1961, p. 71, 74.

¹⁵ Aziz S. ATIYA. “The Copts and Christian Civilization,” p. 37; Henry CHADWICK. *The Early Church*, p. 210.

¹⁶ Christine CHAILLOT (Ed.). *The Dialogue Between the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches*, Volos, Greece, Volos Academy Publications, 2016, p. 17-18 footnote 5.

¹⁷ *The Great Book of Needs*, vol. I, Translated from Church Slavonic by St. Tikhon’s Monastery, South Canaan, Pennsylvania, St. Tikhon’s Seminary Press, 1998, p. 72.

1665¹⁸, having been under Nestorian hierarchs for a millennium (496 to 1599)¹⁹, and under the Portuguese Roman Catholic invaders for about fifty years (1599-1653)²⁰. Today in India, the “Jacobite Syrian Christian Church” (also known as “The Malankara Jacobite Syrian Orthodox Church”), remains loyal to the Syriac Patriarchate²¹, while the “Malankara Orthodox Syrian Catholicosate” (also known as the autocephalous Indian Orthodox Church) broke to form their own in 1912²². It must also be noted that the Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite Patriarchate) officially changed the English translation of their name to “Syriac Orthodox” in 2000²³. In Syria they generally do not like being called “Jacobites”²⁴, yet that same term is proudly and officially used by their church members in India as a unique term which carefully and theologically differentiates them from other groups of St. Thomas Christians in India having similar historical roots²⁵. Amazingly, *none* of these facts are ecclesiastical “trivia”, as many of these historical details actually find their way into the history of Bresi-Ando’s independent African church (AIC).

For centuries these anti-Chalcedonians were commonly called the “Monophysites”²⁶—those who believe that Christ has only “one (*monos*) nature (*physis*),”—“a single nature”²⁷. However, historically these “Monophysites” claimed that they themselves held the “correct” theological position, and thus considered themselves to be the “Orthodox” camp²⁸. Therefore, they referred

¹⁸ GÖRRES-GESELLSCHAFT. *Oriens christianus: Hefte für die Kunde des christlichen Orients: Gesamtregister für die Bände 1(1901) bis 70(1986)*, vol. 1-70; vol. 88-91, Wiesbaden, Germany, O. Harrassowitz, 2005, p. 206.

¹⁹ Adolphus MEDLYCOTT. “St. Thomas Christians,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 14, New York, Robert Appleton Company, 1912, put online 2017, (page consulted on 06 September 2019), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14678a.htm>, § X, XII, XIII.

²⁰ Robert Eric FRYKENBERG. “Thomas Christians,” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 14 December 2018, (page consulted on 06 September 2019), <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Thomas-Christians>, par. 4-6.

²¹ *Jacobite Syrian Christian Church*. (Page consulted on 31 October 2017), <http://www.jacobitesyrianchurch.org>, par. 1.

²² Christine CHAILLOT (Ed.). *The Dialogue [...]*, p. 17 footnote 5.

²³ “The Syriac Orthodox Church, General History,” *Syriac Orthodox Church of Antioch: Archdiocese for the Eastern United States*. (Page consulted on 31 October 2017), <http://syrianorthodoxchurch.org/general-history>, par. 7.

²⁴ The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica. “Syriac Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch and All the East,” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 14 February 2018, (page consulted on 06 September 2019), <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Syriac-Orthodox-Patriarchate-of-Antioch-and-All-the-East>, par. 2-3.

²⁵ *Jacobite Syrian Christian Church*. (Page consulted on 31 October 2017), <http://www.jacobitesyrianchurch.org>.

²⁶ John MEYENDORFF. *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*. New York, Fordham University Press, 1979, p. 35; Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 33.

²⁷ Michael AZKOUL. *The Teachings of the Holy Orthodox Church*, vol. I, Buena Vista, CO, Dormition Skete, 1986, p. 179; Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 33.

²⁸ Henry CHADWICK. *The Early Church*, p. 207; Nicolas ZERNOV. *Eastern Christendom [...]*, p. 71, 74; For example, read: “Why is Coptic Church Closed to Orthodox Converts?” *Tasbeha.org*, put online August 2012, (page

to themselves as the “Orthodox”²⁹ (i.e. Coptic Orthodox Church, Syriac Orthodox Church, the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church, etc.³⁰) and considered their opponents to be non-Orthodox, calling them “Nestorians, Diophysites or Chalcedonians”³¹. However, as recently as the early 1980’s, one could still find an eminent Coptic history professor also proudly referring to his church as being “monophysite”, since for him the “monophysite” view was the correct view³². Having broken union with the rest of Christendom at Chalcedon, they did not embrace the decrees of the later four consecutive Ecumenical Councils of Church history³³. They only recognize the authority of the first three Councils which took place *before* Chalcedon³⁴.

1.3. Chalcedonians vs. Non-Chalcedonians

Since outsiders get confused, in recent times, for sake of differentiation, these “Monophysite” protestors of Chalcedon have been often called the “Non-Chalcedonians”, in order to distinguish them as a group from the upholders of Chalcedon, known as the “Chalcedonians”³⁵. Due to the Great Schism in AD 1054 (which divided the West from the East) and the Protestant Reformation in the 16th Century (which cut the West into many ecclesiastical pieces), this “Chalcedonian” group today includes the Eastern Orthodox, the Roman Catholics, and most Protestants. Because of this fact, “Chalcedonian” is often *too broad* of a term to be useful when comparing Eastern Orthodox beliefs with those of other Eastern Christians. Thus, for greater precision, many theologians are now opting to use the terms “Oriental Orthodox” vis-à-vis “Eastern Orthodox” in place of “Non-Chalcedonian” vis-à-vis “Chalcedonian”³⁶.

consulted on 29 May 2015), <http://tasbeha.org/community/discussion/13598/why-is-coptic-church-closed-to-orthodox-converts>, Comments Section, August 2012.

²⁹ W. Stewart McCULLOUGH. *A Short History of Syriac Christianity to the Rise of Islam*, Coll. “Scholars Press General Series,” vol. 4, Chico, CA, Scholars Press, 1982, p. 48.

³⁰ Christine CHAILLOT (Ed.). *The Dialogue [...]*, p. 17; “The Syriac Orthodox Church, General History” *Syriac Orthodox Church of Antioch: Archdiocese for the Eastern United States*. (Page consulted on 31 October 2017), <http://syrianorthodoxchurch.org/general-history>, par. 7; *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Faith and Order*. (Page consulted on 31 October 2017), <http://www.ethiopianorthodox.org/english/indexenglish.html>.

³¹ W. Stewart McCULLOUGH. *A Short History of Syriac Christianity to the Rise of Islam*, p. 48-49.

³² Aziz S. ATIYA. “The Copts and Christian Civilization,” p. 37, 38.

³³ Paul LADOUCEUR. “Orthodox Critiques of the Agreed Statements between the Orthodox and the Oriental Orthodox Churches,” *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, vol. 60, n° 3, 2016, p. 367.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Theodore ZISIS. “St. John of Damascus [...],” p. 3.

³⁶ Christine CHAILLOT (Ed.). *The Dialogue [...]*, p. 17.

2. Name changes, same disagreement

In the Orthodox world of Eastern Christianity it can be confusing to call both communions (Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox)—which have historically been at odds with each other for 15 centuries—by the same name: “Orthodox”. Greek Orthodox theologian Theodore Zisis of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki notes the changes in labelling which have transitioned recently from “Monophysites” to “Non-Chalcedonians,” to “Pre-Chalcedonians,” to “Ancient Orientals,” to “Oriental Orthodox,” to “Orthodox”³⁷. Father Zisis notices that what the Eastern Orthodox had traditionally referred to as “Monophysite” *heresy* is now by certain theologians openly being called “Orthodox”³⁸. He poses the questions: how can both theological positions be “Orthodox”? How can we *both* be correct at the same time? Do we both have *exactly* the same Faith? Citing the “age-long Tradition of fifteen centuries” he concludes that the answer is “no”³⁹. Fr. Zisis is echoed by French Orthodox theologian Jean-Claude Larchet, in his 2011 book, *Personne et nature*, when he wrote: “After Chalcedon, a non-Chalcedonian Orthodox faith can no longer exist,” and, “considered as a current reality, it is pure fiction”⁴⁰.

To use the term “Orthodox” (which means “correct teaching”) for both groups of churches would imply that the theology of the two communions are *exactly* the same. Although for centuries each camp viewed the other as heretical⁴¹, some theologians today have promoted the view that in reality the inner meaning of both camps’ Christologies are the same⁴². Their logic concluded that the theological debate of 1500 years was primarily semantics, misunderstood language and politics⁴³. (See, for example, the writing of historian Nicolas Zernov who stressed the political spark of rising nationalism in Egypt⁴⁴.) When Bresi-Ando’s own (1930’s era) theological concepts are studied in Section Three, one will hear a loud echo of these sentiments as his tangled web of Chalcedonian and Non-Chalcedonian beliefs is displayed. In this regard, he was decades ahead of many 20th

³⁷ Theodore ZISIS. “St. John of Damascus [...],” p. 1, 3.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁴⁰ Jean-Claude LARCHET. *Personne et nature, La Trinité, Le Christ, L’homme: Contributions aux dialogues interorthodoxe et interchrétien contemporains*, Paris, Les Éditions Du Cerf, 2011, p. 146, [translation by P. Ladouceur].

⁴¹ Henry CHADWICK. *The Early Church*, p. 207.

⁴² Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 37.

⁴³ Theodore ZISIS. “St. John of Damascus [...],” p. 1, 6; Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 36-37.

⁴⁴ Nicholas ZERNOV. *Eastern Christendom [...]*, p. 64, 67.

Century theologians. However, despite the opinion that both camps “are the same,” various Oriental church websites and theological publications still continue to promote one nature, one will, one energy (activity/operation) which runs counter the Eastern Orthodox continued insistence on two natures, two wills and two energies in the one Incarnate Christ, thus keeping the theological chasm unbridged and unresolved to this day⁴⁵. Every effort in the last 1500 years to reconcile the two theological camps has met with failure⁴⁶. Even the much celebrated 1985-1993 official Eastern Orthodox—Oriental Orthodox inter-church Dialogue⁴⁷, which argued—as did Bresi-Ando in the 1930’s—that the theological differences were primarily semantics, has not pulled the two sides together. After twenty-five years (by 2018), the division between the two theological camps remains as stark as ever, with the Athonite monks, the Patriarchate of Moscow and the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and nine other Eastern Orthodox Patriarchates resisting⁴⁸. Thus, there is no consensus in contemporary Orthodoxy that the two camps “are the same”, but rather, a there is a growing body of literature against this opinion⁴⁹. In his day, Bresi-Ando also earnestly dreamed of full Church Reunion, yet in the decade of the 1930’s he had *another plan altogether* as to how Chalcedonians and Non-Chalcedonians could finally realize their elusive unity. In promoting *his*

⁴⁵ Shenouda M. ISHAK and Anthony BIBAWY. “The Christology of the Coptic Orthodox Church,” *The Dialogue Between the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches*, Christine Chaillot (Ed.), Volos, Greece, Volos Academy Publications, 2016, p. 280; *Christology: Agreed Statement by the Anglican-Oriental Orthodox International Commission. Holy Etchmiadzin, Armenia, 5-10 November 2002, Revised Cairo, Egypt, 13-17 October 2014*, London, Anglican Consultative Council, 2015, § 8; “The Syriac Orthodox Church, General History—Faith and Doctrine,” *Syriac Orthodox Church of Antioch: Archdiocese for the Eastern United States*. (Page consulted on 31 October 2017), <http://syrianorthodoxchurch.org/general-history>, par. 2; “The Issue Between Monophysitism and Dyophysitism,” *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Faith and Order*. Put online 2003, (page consulted on 31 October 2017), <http://www.ethiopianorthodox.org/english/dogma/monodyo.html>, point 7; Paul LADOUCEUR. “Orthodox Critiques [...]” p. 364, 365, 368.

⁴⁶ Paul LADOUCEUR. “Orthodox Critiques [...]” p. 366-367.

⁴⁷ Christine CHAILLOT (Ed.). *The Dialogue* [...], p.19.

⁴⁸ Paul LADOUCEUR. “Orthodox Critiques [...]” p. 334. Only the Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Romania were in favor of the results of the Dialogue; the 11 other Autocephalous Eastern Orthodox Churches were not in favor.

⁴⁹ Paul LADOUCEUR. “Orthodox Critiques [...]” p. 334-336, 364-368; *Statement of the Russian Orthodox Church on the Official Theological Dialogue*, December 1994, in Christine CHAILLOT (Ed.), *The Dialogue* [...], p. 457; *Statements of the Russian Orthodox Church on the Official Theological Dialogue, Decisions of the Holy Synod*, Moscow, Russia, February 1997, in Christine CHAILLOT (Ed.), *The Dialogue* [...], p. 458. Theological resistance and lack of forward movement have defined the last 25 years. There have been only two meetings of the two camps since 1993—one in 2005 in Switzerland and one in 2014 in Athens. In both cases it was recognized that there is the need to address the “reservations” and “criticism” on “the ambiguous points” and “serious issues that require further clarification” in the two “Agreed Theological Statements” being raised by concerned voices from within the Eastern Orthodox Church community (*Communiqué Issued by the Inter-Orthodox Theological Committee for Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the Oriental Orthodox Churches*, Orthodox Centre of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, Chambésy, Switzerland, 13 March 2005, points 2 & 3, in Christine CHAILLOT (Ed.), *The Dialogue* [...], p. 448; *Communiqué Issued by the Working Group of the Joint Commission*, Athens, Greece, November 24-25, 2014, point 2, in Christine CHAILLOT (Ed.), *The Dialogue* [...], p. 450.)

roadmap to church union, he was not afraid to speak out strongly against Chalcedonian ecclesiology.

3. Church of 3 Councils or a Church of 7?

To understand Bresi-Ando's vicious attacks on the Chalcedonians during the 1930's, we need to dive deeper into the differences. To begin an analysis of the variances between the Eastern and Oriental churches, one can start with the number of Ecumenical Councils. The Orientals have historically only recognized the first three Councils, but categorically have refused to accept Chalcedon and those that followed⁵⁰. On the other hand, historically the Eastern Orthodox recognize Seven Ecumenical Councils, and insist that Chalcedon and the later Councils are theologically in line with the first three, being a continuation of the same Christology⁵¹. "The Orthodox Church is a Church of seven ecumenical councils, not of three, and theologically it is not possible to disassociate any of the councils from the others," writes Canadian Orthodox theologian Paul Ladouceur⁵². Metropolitan Kallistos Ware firmly states in his classic work, *The Orthodox Church*, "The doctrinal definitions of an Ecumenical Council are infallible [...possessing] an abiding and irrevocable authority [...which] cannot be revised or corrected, but must be accepted *in toto*"⁵³. Every Eastern Orthodox bishop and priest knows that the official prayers used to reunite people to the Eastern Orthodox Church (found in the *Ευχολόγιον το Μέγα*, or, *The Great Book of Needs*) require that the newcomers/converts accept the decisions of *all Seven* Ecumenical Councils, plus those nine lesser Provincial Councils which were accepted by the entire Church⁵⁴. French Orthodox theologian Larchet said: "A person cannot say that he or she is Orthodox and reject (or not accept) even a single council"⁵⁵. Thus, the seven Councils as "a whole" define the Eastern Orthodox theological position with a more exacting precision, admitting the fact that every attempt to define a dogma is constrained by the limits of the ability of its language⁵⁶.

⁵⁰ *Second Agreed Statement and Recommendations to Churches*, Chambésy, Switzerland, 23-28 September 1990, point 8, in Christine CHAILLOT (Ed.), *The Dialogue* [...], p. 440-441.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Paul LADOUCEUR. "Orthodox Critiques [...]," p. 346.

⁵³ Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 210-211—italics in original.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*; *The Great Book of Needs*, vol. I, p. 66, 80, 81.

⁵⁵ Jean-Claude LARCHET. *Personne et nature* [...], p. 148, [translation by P. Ladouceur].

⁵⁶ Paul LADOUCEUR. "Orthodox Critiques [...]," p. 346, 357.

For argument's sake, if it was only semantics that had been the root cause of the schism at Chalcedon, then why the historical refusal on the part of the Orientals to accept Councils 4, 5, 6, and 7? The Eastern Orthodox claim that these Councils are in line with St. Cyril's Christology (of the 3rd Council) with no deviation⁵⁷. If it was "only semantics," logically the Orientals should have accepted this understanding by now.

4. "Extreme monophysite" versus "conservative monophysite/miaphysite"

In the Bible the Prophet Amos asked: "can two walk together, unless they are agreed?"⁵⁸ Why the refusal to accept Ecumenical Councils 4, 5, 6, and 7? The answer lay in the understanding of the two wills and two energies belonging to the two natures, which was the core theme of these latter Councils, as will be shown below. Complicating this is the fact that historically the Monophysites have not been a completely cohesive group themselves, with differing splinter groups at different times and places holding to variations of their theology—from extreme to moderate/conservative forms of anti-Chalcedonianism⁵⁹. (For example, within 150 years after Chalcedon, the Egyptians had fractured into twenty different competing Monophysite parties⁶⁰.) The common theme among them was their rejection of Chalcedon.

The theological concept of "One Composite Nature" is utilized by more moderate Orientals, who try hard to distance themselves from the extreme form of Eutychian Monophysitism, in which the Divine Nature was understood to *swallow* the human nature, resulting in the "mono" nature – the all "alone" nature, a "single nature"—"an elemental unity"⁶¹. ("Monos" in Greek literally means "alone"⁶². "Physis" means "nature"⁶³.) The majority of Non-Chalcedonians followed their more

⁵⁷ *Second Agreed Statement and Recommendations to Churches*, Chambésy, Switzerland, 23-28 September 1990, point 8, in Christine CHAILLOT (Ed.), *The Dialogue* [...], p. 440.

⁵⁸ Amos 3:3, NKJV.

⁵⁹ Georges FLOROVSKY. *The Byzantine Fathers of the Fifth Century*, Coll. "The Collected Works of Georges Florovsky", vol. 8, Richard S. Haugh (Ed.), Translated from Russian by R. Miller, Vaduz, Europa, Büchervertriebsanstalt, 1987, p. 236; John MEYENDORFF. *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions: The Church 450-680 A.D.*, Coll. "The Church in History Series," vol II, Crestwood, New York, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2011, p. 252-253.

⁶⁰ John MEYENDORFF. *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions* [...], p. 252-253.

⁶¹ "The Issue Between Monophysitism and Dyophysitism," points 1, 5, & 6; Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 33.

⁶² "monos—3441," *Strong's Exhaustive Concordance*, in Bible Hub. (Page consulted on 11 August 2017), <http://biblehub.com/greek/3441.htm>.

⁶³ Michael AZKOUL. *The Teachings of the Holy Orthodox Church*, p. 179.

conservative ancient theologian, Severus of Antioch (AD 465-538), and rejected Eutychian extremism⁶⁴. Russian theologian Georges Florovsky notes that it was Severus' "conservative" version of a more moderate "monophysitism"—which Ladouceur labels "Severan miaphysitism"—that over time "became the official doctrine of the Syrian Jacobites, of the Coptic Christians in Egypt and of the Armenian Church"⁶⁵. Using Severus' ancient theology, which they call "miaphysite", they believe in one "composite" nature—"a composite unity"—composed of both the Divine and human, *without* Jesus' humanity being "swallowed" or lost during the Incarnation⁶⁶.

Discarding the confusing label of "monophysite", for clarity's sake, the majority of conservative Oriental Orthodox lately prefer simply to be called "miaphysites"⁶⁷. ("Mia" in Greek means "first", "one", "other"⁶⁸. Thus, "miaphysite" can mean "one nature"⁶⁹.) Even though up until a few decades ago (early 1980's) Coptics were still quite comfortable with the more general term "monophysite", even using it for themselves⁷⁰, many of today's Oriental Orthodox reject that label, considering that it to be *exclusively* referring to the heretic Eutyches' extreme brand of Monophysite error⁷¹. Thus, they recuse themselves of his heresy (which is a great step in itself and should be applauded)⁷². However, despite the variety of labels for Severus' moderate concept—"conservative monophysitism" and "miaphysitism"—what is of significance is that historically there was more than one kind of Monophysitism, and Severus' more moderate version over time beat out Eutyches' extreme version and gained the most followers. This is important to note when Bresi-Ando's own theology is later analyzed. As he did not follow Eutyches, that

⁶⁴ Georges FLOROVSKY. *The Byzantine Fathers of the Fifth Century*, p. 233, 236.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 233, 236; Paul LADOUCEUR. "Orthodox Critiques [...]," p. 364.

⁶⁶ "The Issue Between Monophysitism and Dyophysitism," points 1 & 5; "Notes on Ephraim the Syrian", [PowerPoint Presentation], in *HolyApostlesLansing.org*, (page consulted on 26 October 2017), p. 5-6, <http://holyapostleslansing.org/files/Educational%20Pieces/KYF-IV-FRS/KYF-IV-FRS-Notes-on-Ephraim-the-Syrian.pdf>.

⁶⁷ Paul LADOUCEUR. "Orthodox Critiques [...]," p. 364; Shenouda M. ISHAK and Anthony BIBAWY. "The Christology of the Coptic Orthodox Church," p. 278.

⁶⁸ "mia—3391," *Strong's Exhaustive Concordance*, in *Bible Hub*. (Page consulted on 11 August 2017), <http://biblehub.com/greek/3391.htm>.

⁶⁹ "The Issue Between Monophysitism and Dyophysitism," point 5.

⁷⁰ Aziz S. ATIYA. "The Copts and Christian Civilization," p. 37.

⁷¹ "The Issue Between Monophysitism and Dyophysitism," points 1 & 5; Paul LADOUCEUR. "Orthodox Critiques [...]," p. 363-364.

⁷² "The Issue Between Monophysitism and Dyophysitism," points 1 & 5; Paul LADOUCEUR. "Orthodox Critiques [...]," p. 349.

extreme theology needs no further investigation for this research, while the more moderate theology of the Severan Syrian Jacobites, on the other hand, requires greater analysis.

4.1. Oriental position: one nature “from two”

Severan “conservative monophysite” (Miaphysite) theology teaches that Christ has One Nature which was composed (hence is “composite”) of the Divinity of God His Father and the humanity of His Mother⁷³. It counts two natures *before* the Incarnation⁷⁴, but there is an explicit absence of using the number “two” to count the natures in Christ *after* the Union⁷⁵. In this they follow their other famous ancient leader, Dioscorus of Alexandria, who, like Severus, is also considered by them a saint⁷⁶. “Anathema to whoever says two!” had been the cry of the Robber Council (Second Council of Ephesus) in AD 449 led by Coptic Bishop Dioscorus⁷⁷. Historically and consistently focusing on the number “one”, Oriental theologians speak of Christ’s *One* Nature being composed “*from two*” or “*of two*”, just as the Coptic followers of Dioscorus stated centuries ago at the Council of Chalcedon⁷⁸. Thus, Miaphysite conservatives acknowledge two sources (Divine and human) *before* the Union, but insist on One Composite Nature *after* the Union⁷⁹. The Oriental Orthodox reaffirmed their commitment to the theology of *oneness* in the conclusion of their recent (2014) official dialogue with the Anglicans, in which they agreed that in the *one* incarnate Christ exists “one personal will”⁸⁰. By stressing the One Nature and One Will *after* the Union⁸¹, the Orientals over the centuries have been working hard to avoid the heresy of Nestorianism, which divided Jesus Christ into two persons, one human and one Divine⁸².

⁷³ “The Issue Between Monophysitism and Dyophysitism,” points 3 & 5; Paul LADOUCEUR. “Orthodox Critiques [...],” p. 361.

⁷⁴ “The Issue Between Monophysitism and Dyophysitism,” point 8.

⁷⁵ Jean-Claude LARCHET. *Personne et nature* [...], p. 75; “The Issue Between Monophysitism and Dyophysitism,” point 8.

⁷⁶ Shenouda M. ISHAK and Anthony BIBAWY. “The Christology of the Coptic Orthodox Church,” p. 283; Paul LADOUCEUR. “Orthodox Critiques [...],” p. 350.

⁷⁷ Shenouda M. ISHAK and Anthony BIBAWY. “The Christology of the Coptic Orthodox Church,” p. 282.

⁷⁸ Paul LADOUCEUR. “Orthodox Critiques [...],” p. 340; “Extracts from the Acts,” Chalcedon A. D. 451 (The Fourth Ecumenical Council), *Acts, Session V, NPNF*, series II, vol. 14, p. 261.

⁷⁹ “The Issue Between Monophysitism and Dyophysitism,” points 5-8; Michael AZKOUL. *The Teachings of the Holy Orthodox Church*, p. 180.

⁸⁰ *Christology: Agreed Statement by the Anglican-Oriental Orthodox International Commission. Holy Etchmiadzin, Armenia, 5-10 November 2002, Revised Cairo, Egypt, 13-17 October 2014*, London, Anglican Consultative Council, 2015, § 8.

⁸¹ Leo Donald DAVIS. *The First Seven Ecumenical Councils* [...], p. 186.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 196; Paul LADOUCEUR. “Orthodox Critiques [...],” p. 338-339.

4.2. Eastern Orthodox position: two natures in one Person

On the other hand, the Eastern Orthodox also work hard to avoid the heresy of Nestorianism, by finding the *oneness* to be not in the nature but in the *Person*⁸³. They believe that in the one Person (Hypostasis) of the Logos, the two natures (Divine and human) are united ineffably—“without confusion, without change, without division, without separation”—but remain two *after* the union⁸⁴. This is the classical Chalcedonian understanding of the “Hypostatic Union” in Christ⁸⁵. Herein lies the precision of the Byzantine Eastern Orthodox theology: “In their Definition the bishops at last clearly distinguished between person and nature; the person of Christ being one, his natures two.”⁸⁶ The Sixth Ecumenical Council (AD 681) went on to affirm that those two natures each have their own proper will and energy (operation)⁸⁷.

5. One composite nature

At the 6th Ecumenical Council (AD 681), the Orientals’ ancient theological concept of “one composite nature” was itself discussed and *rejected*⁸⁸. Saint Agatho, Bishop of Rome, had provided a letter to the Council which condemned the use of the term “one composite nature”:

the proprieties of each nature being preserved and concurring in one Person and one Subsistence, not scattered or divided into two Persons, *nor confused into one composite nature*.⁸⁹

⁸³ Leo Donald DAVIS. *The First Seven Ecumenical Councils* [...], p. 187.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 186-187; Vespers Dogmatikon Tone 8.

⁸⁵ George W. GRUBE. *The Complete Book of Orthodoxy: a comprehensive encyclopedia and glossary of Orthodox terms, theology, history and facts from A to Z*, Salisbury, MA, Regina Orthodox Press, 2001, p. 175; Leo Donald DAVIS. *The First Seven Ecumenical Councils* [...], p. 186-187.

⁸⁶ Leo Donald DAVIS. *The First Seven Ecumenical Councils* [...], p. 187.

⁸⁷ “Extracts from the Acts,” Constantinople III A. D. 680-681 (The Sixth Ecumenical Council), *Acts, Session VIII*, *NPNF*, series II, vol. 14, p. 342, and “The Definition of Faith,” Constantinople III A. D. 680-681, *Acts, Session XVIII*, *NPNF*, series II, vol. 14, p. 345; Clark CARLTON. *The Faith*, p. 175.

⁸⁸ “The Letter of Agatho and of the Roman Synod of 125 Bishops,” Constantinople III A. D. 680-681 (The Sixth Ecumenical Council), *NPNF*, series II, vol. 14, p. 340.

⁸⁹ “The Letter of Agatho [...],” *NPNF*, series II, vol. 14, p. 340—italics added.

The Holy Fathers of the 6th Council accepted this letter from St. Agatho and his Roman Synod and used it as their litmus test of Orthodoxy at the end of their deliberations⁹⁰. Those who refused to abide by St. Agatho's letter were solemnly anathematized⁹¹.

The term “composite” can be easily interpreted to *confuse* or “fuse” two things⁹². Such confusion is exactly what St. Agatho, his Roman Synod, and the Fathers of the 6th Council spoke against. Fusing—(i.e. fusion, confusion, blending)—is one of the four actions that are forbidden by the Definition of Chalcedon, which states that the two natures in Christ are “without confusion, without change, without division, without separation”⁹³. Theologian Paul Ladouceur notes that a “blended or fused divine-human nature of Christ is incompatible with Chalcedonian Christology”⁹⁴, because it results in “a composite nature formed by the *fusion* of the divine and the human natures into a new, original and unique divine-human nature [...*which*] would violate Chalcedon's ‘without confusion principle’”⁹⁵. (For the promotion of a successful inter-church dialogue leading to actual Reunion, the modern-day conservative Non-Chalcedonian Miaphysites would need to unequivocally state otherwise—see footnote⁹⁶.)

6. One nature, one will—a fused nature means fused wills

Running contrary to the “it's all the same” (just semantics) position, a finer discussion of the wills belonging to each nature will highlight the chief differences between the two theological camps—Chalcedonian and Non-Chalcedonian. This discernment will be useful when analyzing Bresiano's theology. The rejection of Monophysite/Miaphysite “One Nature/one will” theology by

⁹⁰ “Extracts from the Acts,” Constantinople III A. D. 680-681 (The Sixth Ecumenical Council), *Acts, Session VIII*, *NPNF*, series II, vol. 14, p. 342.

⁹¹ “The Sentence Against the Monothelites,” Constantinople III A. D. 680-681 (The Sixth Ecumenical Council), *Session XIII*, *NPNF*, series II, vol. 14, p. 342-343, and *Session XVI*, *NPNF*, series II, vol. 14, p. 343.

⁹² Paul LADOUCEUR. “Orthodox Critiques [...]” p. 342, 360, 361.

⁹³ *Ibid.*; Leo Donald DAVIS. *The First Seven Ecumenical Councils* [...], p. 186.

⁹⁴ Paul LADOUCEUR. “Orthodox Critiques [...]” p. 342.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 361.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 360-363. Canadian Orthodox theologian Dr. Paul Ladouceur is of the hopeful opinion that Oriental Orthodox Christology can be seen as being compatible with Eastern Orthodox Byzantine Christology IF ONLY the Non-Chalcedonians would clearly state—when using their “two natures into One Nature” terminology—that they are not speaking strictly, literally, or formally, but are rather only speaking “informally” and “casually” when referring to (using Ladouceur's words) “the mystery of the unity of the two natures in the one Person of Christ, the Divine Logos and Son of God,” without blending or fusing natures, “without exhausting the mystery and without signifying the fusion of the divine nature and the human nature into a new and unique divine-human nature” p. 360, 363 (italics and emphasis added).

Chalcedonian theologians can be understood by showing the important connection between “Monophysitism” (one nature) and “Monothelitism” (one will). The Non-Chalcedonian theologians, by insisting on One Composite Nature, must logically also insist on one will in that one nature, or at least have two natures with two wills which are so *fused* together in such a way that the human will and human nature can only be conceived of as separate from the Divine will and Divine Nature “in thought alone”⁹⁷. This logically carries their theologizing yet another step farther away from the Chalcedonians. This concept of “one will” (or a “fused” will) is quite different from the Eastern Orthodox concept of two wills (Divine and human) in the one Person of the Incarnate Logos which freely and consistently work together—always *voluntarily* but always *together*, with the human *always freely choosing* to obey the Divine⁹⁸. “Two wills (*dyotheles*) which act together, indeed, as one” was taught by St. Dionysios the Areopagite⁹⁹. As seen in its official definition of the 6th Ecumenical Council (680-681) the Eastern Orthodox concept holds that in Christ His fully human will always freely and voluntarily remained in complete obedience to His Divine will¹⁰⁰. The 6th Ecumenical Council decreed concerning the two wills in Christ:

defining all this we likewise declare that in him are *two natural wills* and two natural operations indivisibly, inconvertibly, inseparably, inconfusedly, according to the teaching of the holy Fathers. And these *two natural wills are not contrary* the one to the other (God forbid!) as the impious heretics assert, but *his human will follows* and that not as resisting and reluctant, but rather as subject to *his divine and omnipotent will* [...] *indivisibly and inconfusedly*.¹⁰¹

Not “contrary” nor “reluctant”, Christ’s human will freely follows His Divine will, always “indivisibly and inconfusedly”¹⁰². As St. Nicholas Cabasilas put it: “‘He became obedient’ (Phil. 2:8) and went to the Cross, *not* as though He had *one will, or one compounded out of two*, but rather *the agreement of two wills*.”¹⁰³ As One of the Holy Trinity, the Logos shares the one Divine

⁹⁷ *Second Agreed Statement and Recommendations to Churches*, Chambésy, Switzerland, 23-28 September 1990, point 4, in Christine CHAILLOT (Ed.), *The Dialogue* [...], p. 440.

⁹⁸ Michael AZKOUL. *The Teachings of the Holy Orthodox Church*, p. 179.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Kallistos WARE. *The Orthodox Way*, St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, Crestwood, NY, 1986, p. 95.

¹⁰¹ “The Definition of Faith,” Constantinople III A. D. 680-681 (The Sixth Ecumenical Council), *Acts, Session XVIII*, *NPNF*, series II, vol. 14, p. 345, 346—italics added.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ St. Nicholas CABASILAS. *The Life in Christ*, in Clark CARLTON, *The Faith*, p. 134—italics added.

will of the Father with the Holy Spirit¹⁰⁴. Therefore, the will of the Father is the will of the Logos, the Son. Thus, Christ is actually saying in the Garden, “not My human will be done, but My Divine Will be done,” or, as St. Nicholas Cabasilas put it, succinctly summarizing the Definition of the 6th Council: “Christ subjected *His human will to His divine will*”¹⁰⁵. The Eastern Orthodox maintain that Lord Jesus clearly has to have two wills for this sentence in His Garden of Gethsemane prayer *to make any sense*.

Thus, there is a difference between the Eastern and Oriental concepts when it comes to the subject of wills. In a fused will (the “compounded will”) scenario, the human will is dragged along by the Divine Will by force. It has *no choice* but to comply. It has no “autonomy”¹⁰⁶. This is essentially Monothelitism, which was declared a heresy at the 6th Council in AD 681¹⁰⁷. The one will (or the fused wills) concept rules out the possibility of a truly free human will: no human freedom¹⁰⁸. Fr. Georges Florovsky keenly discerned that “to the followers of Severus the ‘human’ in Christ was not entirely human, for it was not active, was not ‘self-motivated’”¹⁰⁹. This concept denies the Scriptural teaching in which Christ was “in all things [...] made like His brethren” and “was in all points tempted as we are, yet without sin” (Hebrews 2:17, 4:15 NKJV). As Metropolitan Kallistos Ware puts it: “for if Christ did not have a human will like ours, he would not be truly a man as we are”¹¹⁰. Because of this, the Eastern Orthodox consider Monothelitism to be a heresy. Ware writes: “The Monothelites, like the Monophysites, impaired the fullness of Christ’s humanity, since manhood without a human will would be incomplete, a mere abstraction. Since Christ is true man as well as true God, He must have a human will as well as a divine.”¹¹¹

In this heresy of Monothelitism (one will) the Monophysite error is perpetuated, opening the door to more false teachings¹¹². St. Maximus the Confessor (580-662) saw that such a one-will concept had great negative repercussions to the understanding of theology¹¹³. He perceived that the other

¹⁰⁴ Kallistos WARE. *The Orthodox Way*, p. 95-96.

¹⁰⁵ St. Nicholas CABASILAS. *The Life in Christ*, in Clark CARLTON, *The Faith*, p. 134—italics added.

¹⁰⁶ Henry CHADWICK. *The Early Church*, p. 211.

¹⁰⁷ Clark CARLTON. *The Faith*, p. 175.

¹⁰⁸ Michael AZKOUL. *The Teachings of the Holy Orthodox Church*, p. 181.

¹⁰⁹ Georges FLOROVSKY. *The Byzantine Fathers of the Fifth Century*, p. 235.

¹¹⁰ Kallistos WARE. *The Orthodox Way*, p. 95.

¹¹¹ Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 37.

¹¹² Michael AZKOUL. *The Teachings of the Holy Orthodox Church*, p. 180.

¹¹³ Henry CHADWICK. *The Early Church*, p. 211; Michael AZKOUL. *The Teachings of the Holy Orthodox Church*, p. 180-181.

logical end of this kind of imprecise theologizing (instead of tritheism or polytheism) would be pantheism¹¹⁴, which the Sixth Council defended against in its “Definition of Faith” when it stated: “For we will not admit one natural operation in God and in the creature, as we will not exalt into the divine essence what is created”¹¹⁵. Thus, St. John of Damascus stated that the Monophysite error was “pernicious heresy” which “denied the mystery of our common salvation” as they “confound the mystery of the Incarnation”¹¹⁶. (St. John authored three works against the Jacobites and Acephalites, both of whom he clearly identified as “Monophysites”¹¹⁷.) However, he generously went on to say in the same paragraph that apart from their “pernicious heresy”, “in every other way they were Orthodox”¹¹⁸. It is important to note at this point in this thesis that the Jacobites are among those heretics condemned in the “Anathema” section of the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*¹¹⁹. Thus, the doctrine of the one Incarnate Christ having both the Divine will and a fully free cooperative human will, therefore, is critically important to Eastern Orthodox theology as it is *integral* to their understanding of salvation.

7. The requirement of the Orthodox doctrine of *theosis*

When we later delve deep into Bresi-Ando’s own anti-Chalcedonianism, we shall see if his espousal of things “catholic” and “orthodox” reached the depth of the Eastern Orthodox doctrine of salvation. As both St. Maximos and St. John of Damascus perceived, the correctness of the teaching of the two natures and two wills in Christ and the freedom of the human will has great implications for the understanding of salvation. For the Eastern Orthodox, being the Church of the Seven Councils, there is a cohesive wholeness—a “catholicity”—that ties its theology all together, leading from Nicaea’s defense of Christ’s Divinity through Chalcedon and the latter Councils all the way to the understanding of *theosis* defended at the 14th Century Palamite local

¹¹⁴ Michael AZKOUL. *The Teachings of the Holy Orthodox Church*, p. 180-181.

¹¹⁵ “The Definition of Faith,” Constantinople III A. D. 680-681 (The Sixth Ecumenical Council), *Acts, Session XVIII, NPNF*, series II, vol. 14, p. 345.

¹¹⁶ ST. JOHN OF DAMASCUS. “Concerning Heresies,” *Migne, Patrologia Graeca*, 94:741A-744B, (critical edition in Bonifatius KOTTER (Ed.), *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. IV, Berlin, Walter De Gruyter, 1981, p. 49-50), in Theodore ZISIS, “St. John of Damascus [...]” p. 7-8.

¹¹⁷ Theodore ZISIS. “St. John of Damascus [...]” p. 6.

¹¹⁸ ST. JOHN OF DAMASCUS. “Concerning Heresies,” *Migne, Patrologia Graeca*, 94:741A-744B, (critical edition in Bonifatius KOTTER (Ed.), *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. IV, Berlin, Walter De Gruyter, 1981, p. 49-50), in Theodore ZISIS, “St. John of Damascus [...]” p. 7-8.

¹¹⁹ John SANIDOPOULOS. “The Synodikon of Orthodoxy,” *Mystagogy Resource Center*, put online 21 February 2010, (page consulted on 01 March 2021), <https://www.johnsanidopoulos.com/2010/02/synodicon-of-orthodoxy.html>, par. 95, from the Synod of AD 843.

Councils that dealt with “the Hesychast Question”¹²⁰. These local synods carry such theological importance for the Eastern Orthodox Church that Oxford professor Metropolitan Ware says they are almost at the level of the Seven Ecumenical Councils¹²¹. In terms of catholicity, the Seven Ecumenical Councils are not the only councils that the *Great Trebnik (Book of Needs)* requires converts to accept upon entrance into union with the Eastern Orthodox Faith. It also demands a willingness to embrace all the decisions of the important provincial councils as well¹²². Held in Constantinople in AD 1341 and AD 1351, the Palamite Councils defined and protected the Essence/Energy distinction as part of the Eastern Orthodox Church’s doctrine of *theosis* (deification, divinization, union with God), which is a central plank in the Eastern Orthodox understanding of salvation involving both Divine and human free will¹²³.

Historically, the *theosis* of humanity was a theological concept that the moderate monophysite Severus had rejected centuries ago¹²⁴. Fr. Georges Florovsky discerned a deficiency in the Monophysite ability to explain *theosis*, which requires free will and synergistic effort on the part of man as he cooperates with God’s Grace/Energies¹²⁵. Florovsky called this theological defect “*anthropological minimalism*,” because it did not sufficiently take into account “the synergism of human freedom”¹²⁶. Severus’ rejection of humanity’s deification probably explains the reticence on the part of the modern-day Coptic hierarchy to espouse it¹²⁷. Attacking *theosis* as a “Byzantine heresy,” in 1984 the Coptic Pope excommunicated Coptic theologian Dr. George Bebawi for promoting and publishing it¹²⁸. Bishops from Moscow and Egypt have disagreed strongly on the

¹²⁰ John MEYENDORFF. *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions* [...], p. 252-253; George W. GRUBE. *The Complete Book of Orthodoxy* [...], p. 111.

¹²¹ Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 76.

¹²² *The Great Book of Needs*, vol. I, p. 66, 80, 81.

¹²³ Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 76-79; Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, p. 2, 13, 77-78.

¹²⁴ Metropolitan Hilarion ALFEYEV. “The Development of the Eastern-Oriental Orthodox Dialogue: The Experience of the Moscow Patriarchate,” *The Dialogue Between the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches*, Christine Chaillot (Ed.), Volos, Greece, Volos Academy Publications, 2016, p. 238.

¹²⁵ Georges FLOROVSKY. *The Byzantine Fathers of the Fifth Century*, p. 235.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ ROAD TO EMMAUS EDITOR. “With the Desert Fathers of Egypt: Coptic Christianity Today,” (Dr. George Bebawi interview), *Road to Emmaus: A Journal of Orthodox Faith and Culture*, vol. X, n° 3, (#38), 2009, p. 11, 28.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* The central Greek Orthodox patristic doctrine of *theosis* is not officially approved as “Orthodox” theology in modern day Egypt by the Coptic hierarchy. In 1984 the late Pope Shenouda III excommunicated the former Coptic theologian and Cambridge professor, Dr. George Bebawi, for publishing it (p.11). Pope Shenouda “attacked deification (theosis) as a Byzantine heresy,” explained Dr. Bebawi (p.28).

issue¹²⁹. According to Bebawi, the Coptics' continued unwillingness to embrace and teach *theosis* has helped stall any church dialogue between the Eastern Orthodox and the Orientals¹³⁰. Bebawi's suggested solution is that his Coptic brothers learn to study the Church Fathers as he did¹³¹.

The teaching of *theosis* and the Palamite Essence/Energy distinction are clearly central to the Eastern Orthodox Faith, and if there is to be any reunion with the Orientals in the future, then this set of beliefs must be clearly and publicly embraced by the latter. Deification (*theosis*), a free human will, two wills and two natures in Christ are all a part of this seamless theological "whole"¹³². If the Orientals do not hold all these teachings with the exacting precision of the Eastern Orthodox, then there is no completely common "Orthodoxy" between the two churches, and their teachings are *not* "all the same." One logically *cannot* have two competing "orthodoxies". This is an important point to remember when Bresi-Ando's own theology is later surveyed.

Thus, this chapter has provided some strong reasons why many Eastern Orthodox theologians refer to the Non-Chalcedonian "miaphysites" (despite their best intention and effort to distance themselves from the "extreme monophysitism" of Eutychianism) as "conservative monophysites"¹³³ or "moderate monophysites" or "crypto-monophysites" who maintain the ancient "moderate monophysitism" taught by Severus and Dioscorus¹³⁴, which held to a single, "composite divine-human nature"¹³⁵. Although both these men are considered saints in the Non-Chalcedonian churches, they were condemned as full heretics by the Eastern Orthodox at the 6th and 7th Ecumenical Councils¹³⁶. The *Memorandum of the Sacred Community of Mount Athos Concerning the Dialogue Between the Orthodox and Non-Chalcedonian Churches*, given in

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 28. Dr. Bebawi stated: "I hoped very much that the ecumenical dialogue would ease things, but in the unofficial dialogue with the Russian Church, Bishoi, the Secretary of the Coptic Synod, said that any teaching on participation in the divine nature is a heresy. Metropolitan [now Patriarch] Kyrill of the Moscow Patriarchate stood up and silenced him, but the real solution is that the Coptic clergy needs to study the Church Fathers. In regard to the divine nature, we [Eastern] Orthodox do not speak of participating in the divine essence, but in the divine energies. This is from the Epistles, II Peter 1:3-4 where the apostle says, 'Whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises: that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature'" (p. 28).

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² Paul LADOUCEUR. "Orthodox Critiques [...]," p. 346.

¹³³ Georges FLOROVSKY. *The Byzantine Fathers of the Fifth Century*, p. 236.

¹³⁴ Paul LADOUCEUR. "Orthodox Critiques [...]," p. 340, 349, 352-354.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 350, 353.

response to the Dialogue's "Statements", reminded the entire Eastern Orthodox world that "[a]ccording to the teachings of the Holy Fathers and the conscience of the worshipping Church, even the moderate Monophysitism of Dioscorus and Severus is a heresy"¹³⁷. Therefore, the monks of Mount Athos have called for a renunciation of even "moderate monophysitism" on the part of the Non-Chalcedonians:

The condemnation of Eutychius by the Non-Chalcedonians does not constitute in our view a guarantee of their Orthodoxy. They also must condemn the moderate monophysitism of Severos and Dioscoros. It is a very delicate point but nevertheless a fundamental one. Perhaps on this delicate point lies our difference with today's Non-Chalcedonians. Because of this difference they must explicitly confess the term of the 4th Ecumenical Synod.¹³⁸

Conclusion

Despite various changing names and labels, and even the common usage of the same name "Orthodox", down through the centuries the two theological camps of the Eastern Orthodox and the Oriental Non-Chalcedonians have been divided—and they remain so to this day. In spite of the late 20th Century official Eastern Orthodox—Oriental Orthodox inter-church Theological Dialogue of the late 1980's and early 1990's, the consensus among the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchates has been to *not accept* the recommendations of the Dialogue. During the following three decades right down to the present moment, 11 of the 14 Eastern Orthodox Patriarchates have refused to adopt the Statements of the Dialogue. This action only demonstrates the reality that globally most Eastern Orthodox theologians still believe that there are outstanding critically important differences between the theology of the Eastern Orthodox and that of the Orientals.

¹³⁷ The Sacred Community of Mount Athos. *Memorandum of the Sacred Community of Mount Athos Concerning the Dialogue Between the Orthodox and Non-Chalcedonian Churches*, Mount Athos, 14/27 May 1995, put online [s.d], (page consulted on 02 December 2019),

https://www.unitedeuropeanchristendom.com/athos_memorandum_on_christology_and_dialogue_with_oriental_orthodox.html, and also available at: http://orthodoxinfo.com/ecumenism/mono_athos.aspx, § VI.

¹³⁸ *Suggestions of a Committee from the Sacred Community of the Holy Mountain Athos—Concerning the Dialogue of the Orthodox with the Non-Chalcedonians*, in Administrator, "Are the Non-Chalcedonians Orthodox?" *Classical Christianity*, put online 19 May 2012, (page consulted on 31 August 2017),

<http://classicalchristianity.com/2012/05/19/are-the-Non-Chalcedonians-orthodox>, par. 13. This is a partial quote.

For a longer summary text see: "Observations de la Communauté sacrée de la Sainte Montagne : Le dialogue théologique entre orthodoxes et anti-chalcédoniens. Réponse à la critique du Métropolit Damaskinos de Suisse," *La Lumière du Thabor*, n° 47-48, 1996, put online 08 February 2011, (page consulted on 02 December 2019), <http://presbyteraanna.blogspot.com/2011/02/la-lumiere-du-thabor-n47-48-le.html>.

Four distinct historical theological positions have been identified in this chapter:

- 1) Eastern Orthodox Chalcedonian: Jesus Christ is one Son, one Person *in* two natures—Divine, human—with two wills and two energies. Roman Catholics and most Protestants hold this position too.
- 2) Eutyches' Non-Chalcedonian *extreme* Monophysitism: in Jesus Christ there is one nature—the Divine Nature which swallowed/absorbed the human nature—with one will and one energy. This version supposedly died out long ago.
- 3) View of the Orientals today: Severus' and Dioscorus' Non-Chalcedonian moderate/conservative Monophysitism (today it is popularly known as "Miaphysitism"): Jesus Christ is one Son, one Person, with one Nature composed *from* two natures—a composite Nature—with one will and one energy (or, one fused will and one fused energy).
- 4) The semantics' "it's all the same" position. The modern theory embraced by the theologians of the inter-church Theological Dialogue which reduces the historical debate to semantics, misunderstood language, and seminal nationalist politics. The over-whelming majority of Eastern Orthodox Patriarchates have not accepted this position.

Further chapters will analyze how Bresi-Ando fit into this theological framework. When analyzing the theologies of the Chalcedonians and Non-Chalcedonians, theologians cannot ignore the Seven Ecumenical Councils and "pretend" that some of them never took place¹³⁹. To this day the *conservative* "Miaphysites" are still being called "moderate monophysites" by some of their Eastern Orthodox critics, despite their valiant effort to disassociate themselves from Eutyches' *extreme* form of Monophysitism. The Miaphysite "composite" nature with its one will (or at best, a "fused" will compounded out of two) presents problems too hard for the Eastern Orthodox theologians to swallow, from St. Maximos down to the present. The cry of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane—"Not My will, but Thine be done"—loses its meaning and significance which is only understood in the free agreement of two wills. Furthermore, even the crucial and *central* Orthodox dogma of *theosis* (with its requirement of the cooperation of a truly free human will) is in jeopardy among Non-Chalcedonians, as the Coptic hierarchy recently refused to embrace and teach it. Thus, if such is the case, then these two theological camps are not "the same" as some have claimed, but still have several seriously important dogmatic differences. Sides will continue

¹³⁹ Paul LADOUCEUR. "Orthodox Critiques [...]," p. 365.

to be taken on this ancient Christological polemic until the day when some further dialogue might establish what has not been established for the last 1,500 years.

Bresi-Ando in his day, having looked at some depth into this old 5th Century Christological debate, felt that sides definitely needed to be taken. He therefore unabashedly took up the cause of the Non-Chalcedonians, proudly waving the banner of the Jacobites on the Gold Coast throughout the 1930's, while condemning the Chalcedonians—the Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholics, Anglicans and all other Protestants. Bresī-Ando loved the name “Jacobite”! This shall be examined in further detail in the Chapter 14 on Bresī-Ando's *religious* emancipation (Section Three). Although he apparently switched loyalties in the late 1940's and “sided” with the Orthodox Chalcedonian camp for the remainder of his life, such an interesting investigation is beyond the scope of Chapter 14 but will be dealt with to some degree in Bresī-Ando's biography (see Chapter 11 in Section Two). The necessary focus of the more analytical Section Three, however, will be to see exactly *how* and to *what extent* Bresī-Ando initially embraced the Jacobite Non-Chalcedonian Oriental Orthodox teachings, and then to discern *how* those teachings were used by him as part of his 1930's *religious* drive toward full African liberation.

As for the choice of terminology to use for the remainder of this work, the terms that were germane for Bresī-Ando in the 1930's will be utilized: “Orthodox Catholic”, “Jacobite”, and “Monophysite”. (Genuine apologies to any who might get offended.) It is a simple fact of history that Bresī-Ando openly and repeatedly called his 1930's-era church “Jacobite”, that being the term used (still to this day) by the section of St. Thomas Christians in India under the Syriac Patriarch whose communion Bresī-Ando was convinced he had joined in 1935¹⁴⁰. The famous Anglican scholars (Anson and Brandreth) who wrote about Bresī-Ando's group of “Old Catholic” *episcopi vagantes* in the mid-20th Century used these terms, as did the *episcopi vagantes* themselves during Bresī-Ando's day. The term “Monophysite” was the common term utilized by the mid/late 20th Century theologians and church historians consulted in this research: Eastern Orthodox (Florovsky, Meyendorff, Ware, Zernov), Coptic (Atiya), Roman Catholic (Davis), and Protestant (Chadwick). In further chapters the term “Monophysite” will be used more often than “Miaphysite”, which as a preferred label has only gained great popularity very recently, appearing

¹⁴⁰ *Jacobite Syrian Christian Church*. (Page consulted on 31 October 2017), <http://www.jacobitesyrianchurch.org>.

in the writings of late 20th/early 21st Century theologians. “Miaphysite” as a theological designation would have meant nothing to Bresi-Ando in his day—as it appears nowhere in his writing—though we will examine later what “conservative/moderate Monophysitism” as a *concept* meant to him in his quest for religious emancipation.

***SECTION ONE: BRESI-ANDO'S ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT
WITHIN THE 1930's GOLD COAST COLONY***

**CHAPTER 3 COLONIALISM'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE GOLD COAST:
CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND AND HISTORY**

Purpose

Bresi-Ando (1884-1970) was a Fante tribesman from the coastal Central Region of the Gold Coast, yet one cannot limit a background study on his life to his tribe or his region alone. The emancipationist-minded independent church organization which he launched in the Central Region¹ in 1932 rapidly spread his influence across the land, into several regions, language groups, and tribal areas. Thus, we are obliged to do a brief overview of the larger Gold Coast context in which Bresi-Ando operated—a context rich in history and complexity, which presents a daunting historiographical challenge.

Complicating matters is the fact that Ghana (as the Gold Coast came to be known) is itself a land of nations and a nation with a long and intricate history. Rather, it is a West African area with elaborate, intertwining histories. There is too much to study, too much to grasp, too much to write in one summary chapter. The Asante, the Fante, the Ga, the Ewe, the Akuapem and other tribes each are their own proper nation, each with their own story, each with their own contribution to the over-all history of the land. Mixed into their particular histories are the European nations—the Portuguese, Dutch, English, Danes, Swedes, Germans, and French—who for the last five hundred years were interacting with these local tribes, positively and negatively, thereby becoming further ingredients for the background story of the 20th Century modern nation of Ghana. European gold dealers, slave traders, and army officers conquering the tribes while contending with each other, together with hosts of various missionaries, each competing for the hearts, minds, and loyalties of the locals, have all left their mark. Formerly known as the Gold Coast, for hundreds of years European traders flocked to the Coast to trade. Over 40 castles and forts—many still standing today—built by the Portuguese, Dutch, English, Danish, Swedes, Germans, and French, in the 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th Centuries are living witnesses of the former centuries' lust for gold and slaves². These foreigners struggled with the local inhabitants and fought against each

¹ In this thesis, "Central Region" is abbreviated as "CR".

² Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 51-55; F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 68-69.

other until the throne of England finally gained the ruling position in 1872 when the Dutch, the last of the other European contenders, exited, giving London uncontested control³. Shortly thereafter, in 1874, the Gold Coast was officially named a Crown Colony and entered the 20th century as a part of the huge British Empire—where its historiographical challenge only continued⁴.

The Gold Coast's complex 20th Century history is rich with the names of its men and women who, envisioning a free country, rose up and struggled against British colonialism towards that end. To name only a few, the rising politicians, lawyers like J. E. Casely Hayford, Dr. J. W. DeGraft-Johnson, John Mensah Sarbah, and Dr. J. B. Danquah, together with men like Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and Mr. Kojo Botsio, made the nation of Ghana. Involved in the whole historical process were leading governmental figures such as Paramount Chief Nana Ofori Atta I and Governor F. Gordon Guggisberg. Indeed, there are many other names that are mentioned in the history books celebrating Ghana's Independence, it being the first British Colony in Africa to attain that status. Yet curiously, not mentioned in all the history books nor in the speeches on Independence Day is the name of one figure whose impact and role in the whole historical process has remained on record a mystery. Himself known by those who are now well-known and oft-remembered, the name of Rt. Rev. Bishop Kwamin Ntsetse Bresi-Ando is for many, just another name. Yet the rising class of politicians on the Gold Coast in the 1930's and 1940's reportedly knew Bresi-Ando, moved with him, and called him "their bishop"⁵. He is said to have been accepted by these up-and-coming political *intelligentsia* "as a religious leader of the political movement—emancipation movement—self-governing movement" and he became a friend to them⁶. The famous politician, Mr. Kojo Botsio, reported that President Kwame Nkrumah knew and liked the old bishop⁷, while Dr. Danquah, the "dean of Ghanaian nationalist politicians"⁸ (and Nkrumah's political archrival) years later would ask, "Where is Bresi-Ando? The self-government he had been preaching is now

³ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 92.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Tape 59, Log 18, p. 1114-1115.

⁶ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 36, Log 16, p. 973.

⁷ RI, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1188.

⁸ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "J.B. Danquah," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 09 April 2018, (page consulted on 09 November 2018), <https://www.britannica.com/biography/J-B-Danquah>, par. 1.

here, and where is he?”⁹ Yes, that is the germane question—where was Bresí-Ando in all of this history? We need to understand his epoch to see how he fit in, and then watch him emerge.

Addressing this historiographical difficulty, the practical purpose of this particular chapter (and the subsequent chapter) is to gain more background knowledge of Bresí-Ando’s unique historical-political context in order to help the reader properly appreciate the impact that he attempted to bring upon his people via his new church in the 1930’s. Knowing his unique framework will be most helpful when Bresí-Ando’s multi-tiered emancipationist thinking is analyzed in detail in Section Three. This present chapter on “Colonial Contributions” will provide key contextual facts and important historical events that formed the complex colonial dynamic within which Bresí-Ando operated in the 1930’s. This chapter is key to all the rest, because without a good working knowledge of this specific geographic, ethnographic and historical content and context, the reader will be ill-equipped to make sense out of Bresí-Ando’s thoughts and endeavors.

Sources

Information regarding Ghana’s regions, peoples, and tribes was found in the official Government of Ghana website, *ghana.gov.gh*. Population demographics is from official reports produced by the *Ghana Statistical Service* and the United Nations (UN). The *Encyclopædia Britannica* and the *Worldatlas* offer an overview of geography, weather, and general facts about the modern Ghanaian nation. The description of Ghana, especially the Akan tribes, from a linguistic perspective is from the academic work of Adams B. Bodo, “On Language and Development in Africa,” Florence Abena Dolphyne, “The Languages of the Akan Peoples,” and Adu A. Boahen, “The Origins of the Akan,” and the amazing professional linguistic language mapping available on the *glottolog.org* website.

For the history component of this chapter which scans five centuries, contemporary Ghanaian authors provide the perspective of African academics: Ebenezer Obiri Addo, Jones Darkwa Amanor, Adu A. Boahen, F. K. Buah, and Dennis Yeboah-Mensah. However, additional help is from well-known African specialists Basil Davidson, David Kimble, and Peter T. Bauer. Suzanne

⁹ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 36, Log 16, p. 990-991; Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary of Rev. K. K. Edonu: February 1951-May 1957, 13 March 1952 entry.

Miers and Richards Roberts' edited work describes the end of slavery on the Gold Coast and in the Asante Kingdom.

Theologian Jones Darkwa Amanor and missiologist Jon Miller provide the narrative regarding the mind-set and historical impact of the Basel missionaries, while R. H. Green and S. H. Hymer's article in *The Journal of Economic History* outlines Ghana's famous cocoa history, revealing connections between cocoa production on the Gold Coast and the Basel Mission.

Finally, eye-witness reporting on the state of the colony at the very dawn of Bresi-Ando's emancipationist endeavors is from three important publications: the 1929 work of the former British colonial governor of the Gold Coast, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, and his colleague A. G. Fraser, *The Future of the Negro: some chapters in the development of a race*; the 1931 missionary survey, *Religion and Civilization in West Africa*, by J. J. Cooksey, J. J. and Alexander McLeish; and the official British Crown Colonial Report, *Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of the Gold Coast, 1931-32*. Together, these provide a useful panorama of the very colonial context from which Bresi-Ando emerged with his new independent African church in 1932.

Structure

Chapter Three is structured to display the *benefits* brought to the Gold Coast by the imperialist colonial whites. This *third* chapter of context Section One is divided into *six* parts:

- 1) A brief look at Ghana's place on the African map
- 2) Location of tribes in Ghana; linguistic statistics
- 3) Natural resources, trade, and industries (gold, slaves, cocoa production)
- 4) European missionary influence beyond evangelization
- 5) The Basel Mission and cocoa
- 6) Religious influence of Pietism on the Gold Coast

Parts one, two, and three will be an overview of Ghana's place on the African map, the location of tribes, linguistic statistics, natural resources, trade, and industries. The history of the Gold Coast

will be traced from its former days of trade in gold and slaves to its modern-day cocoa production. Part four will take a look at the important role played on the Coast by the “Pietist” Basel Mission, whose reach went well beyond evangelization, offering practical improvements in agriculture, economy and infrastructure. However, the primary emphasis of this mission lay in education, both for Bible reading and for introduction into “civilized” European culture. The initial positive black and white harmony model of racial inter-cooperation which developed in the colony as a result will be described. In part five, Ghana’s huge contemporary cocoa economic success story will be shown to be a partial result of the contribution of the Basel Mission, whose deeply-ingrained Pietistic religious influence upon the modern development of the country will be summarized in part six. Additionally, a momentary mention of the growing African criticism of colonialism will hint at the theme of Chapter Four, which will discuss the *liabilities* brought to the Gold Coast by these same very energetic and well-intentioned foreign missionaries.

1. A brief look at Ghana’s place on the African map

Ghana is considered a West African tropical nation, ranging from five degrees north of the Equator (at Accra, its capital city, located on the Atlantic seashore in the south) to eleven degrees north of the Equator (near the city of Bolgatanga in the extreme north of the country)¹⁰. Ghana shares international borders with Togo to its east, Burkina Faso to the north, and Ivory Coast to the west¹¹, and is comparable in size to the U.S. state of Oregon, containing 92,098 square miles (238,533 sq km)¹². It is hot, humid, hilly, tropical and forested in the south, but hot, flat, grassy, and drier in the north¹³. The rainy season runs from May to September, although in the south the month of July offers a break from the downpour¹⁴. The lion’s share of the population lives in the south,

¹⁰ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 1, 175.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. xii.

¹² “Geography Statistics Of Ghana,” *Worldatlas*. Put online 07 April 2017, (page consulted on 09 November 2018), <https://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/africa/ghana/ghlandst.htm#page>, par. 1; Richard M. HIGHSMITH and Gregory Lewis McNAMEE. “Oregon”, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 09 August 2018, (page consulted on 09 November 2018), <https://www.britannica.com/place/Oregon-state/Government-and-society>, par. 3.

¹³ “Ghana Geography,” *Worldatlas*. Put online 07 April 2017, (page consulted on 09 November 2018), <https://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/africa/ghana/ghland.htm#page>, par. 4; “Ghana Weather,” *Worldatlas*. Put online 07 April 2017, (page consulted on 09 November 2018), <https://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/africa/ghana/ghweather.htm#page>, par. 1.

¹⁴ “Ghana Weather,” *Worldatlas*, par. 2.

where the tropical rains produce cash crops, such as cocoa and coffee, which factor into both the economic and political history of the country—the most important being cocoa¹⁵.

2. Location of tribes in Ghana; linguistic statistics

The population of Ghana numbered only 6 million in 1957¹⁶, the year of its independence from the British Empire. Since then, tremendous growth has placed the recent (2019) population estimate to be 30 million¹⁷. Over 2 million Ghanaians live in Accra, (4.6 million in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area)¹⁸, and nearly 1.5 million in Kumasi, (the chief city of the Ashanti Region¹⁹, about five hours drive northwest from Accra)²⁰. These two cities, hosting by far the greatest populations, have long been rivals. Though the name “Ghana” means “Warrior King,” it was actually borrowed from an ancient Ghana Empire located much farther inland from present-day Ghana, near the area of present-day Mali²¹. Ghana’s first President, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, desiring to unite the various tribal groupings, regions, cities and towns of the former Gold Coast Crown Colony and the Ashanti Colony and the British Togoland territory into a unified modern nation-state which would be proud of its new independent self-identity, deliberately borrowed and resurrected the name of the older West African kingdom which had died away between the 11th and 13th Centuries²². Although the ancient kingdom of “Ghana” was not located within modern Ghana’s present national boundaries, prior to the colonial days there were in fact numerous local

¹⁵ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 2-3; DATA PRODUCTION UNIT. “Projected Population by Sex, 2010-2016,” [PDF file], *Ghana Statistical Service*, put online 16 September 2016, (page consulted on 13 November 2018),

<https://web.archive.org/web/20181112144912/http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/docfiles/2010phc/Projected%20population%20by%20sex%202010%20-%202016.pdf>, first page, Table 2.

¹⁶ “Ghana Population (1950 - 2018),” United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, *World Population Prospects: The 2017 Revision*. Put online 01 July 2019, (page consulted on 06 November 2019), <http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/ghana-population>, chart.

¹⁷ *Ibid*.

¹⁸ DATA PRODUCTION UNIT. “Projected Population by Sex, 2010-2016,” first page, Table 2.

¹⁹ In this thesis, “Ashanti Region” is abbreviated as “AR”.

²⁰ “Ghana Facts,” *Worldatlas*. Put online 07 April 2017, (page consulted on 09 November 2018), <https://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/africa/ghana/ghfacts.htm#page>, p. 1.

²¹ Basil DAVIDSON and F. K. BUAH. *A History of West Africa* [...], p. 34-35; “Ghana”, *Worldatlas*. Put online 07 April 2017, (page consulted on 09 November 2018), <https://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/africa/gh.htm#page>, par. 1.

²² Basil DAVIDSON and F. K. BUAH. *A History of West Africa* [...], p. 35, 43-45; Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 93.

kings and kingdoms of various sizes on the Gold Coast, many of them being very, very old Akan kingdoms²³.

2.1. The Akan tribal people

The Akan people today comprise by far the largest tribal and linguistic group within Ghana, whose ethnicity accounts for over 47.5% of the present-day Ghanaian population, with well over 14 million Akans²⁴. By convention it is common to limit the scope of the Akan language to five tribal groupings—Asante, Fante, Akuapem, Akyem, and Kwahu²⁵, but this is too simple and can be misleading. The truth is that the Akans are a much larger ethnicity who all share a unique common traditional culture and can understand each other's dialects to a greater or lesser degree²⁶. Language studies show that the Akan peoples are actually composed of two wider linguistic groupings: the “Akan language” group, and the “Nzema-Anyi-Baule language” group (which spills over into Ivory Coast)²⁷, plus the “Akanic” dialects of Wasa and Abron/Brong/Bono²⁸. Within each of the two language groups dialect mutual intelligibility is high, while between the two groups it is less²⁹. Linguists place within the “Akan language” several distinct dialects and peoples: Asante (Ashanti), Fante, Akuapem (Akwapim), Akyem (Akim), Kwawu (Kwahu), Dankyira, Asen (Assin), Ahafo, and Agona³⁰. The Akans within the “Nzema-Anyi-Baule language” group include the Ahanta, Aowin, Nzema, Sehwi, (all located in the western part of

²³ “Ghana”, *Worldatlas*, par. 1.

²⁴ GHANA STATISTICAL SERVICE. *2010 Population & Housing Census: Summary Report of Final Results*, Accra, Ghana, Ghana Statistical Service, May 2012, [PDF file], *Ghana Statistical Service* website, put online 28 April 2016, (page consulted on 23 November 2018), http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/gssmain/storage/img/marqueeupdater/Census2010_Summary_report_of_final_results.pdf, p. 34, Table 13.

²⁵ Adams B. BODOMO. “On Language and Development in Africa: The Case of Ghana,” *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, vol. 5, n° 2, 1996, section 3 (1), in *GhanaWeb*, put online 30 November 1999, (page consulted on 13 November 2018), <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/features/On-Language-And-Development-In-Africa-The-Case-of-Ghana-19656>. Compare to the “Ghanaian Languages” table shown on <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/tribes/languages.php>, section A (1).

²⁶ Florence Abena DOLPHYNE. “The Languages of the Akan Peoples,” [PDF file], *MSU Library Archive*, 1975, put online [s.d.], (page consulted 08 September 2015), <https://web.archive.org/web/20160306051507/http://pdfproc.lib.msu.edu/?file=/DMC/African%20Journals/pdfs/Institue%20of%20African%20Studies%20Research%20Review/1986v2n1/asrv002001002.pdf>, p. 1-4, 8-12; A. A. BOAHEN. “The Origins of the Akan,” *Ghana Notes and Queries*, n° 9, 1966, p. 3-10.

²⁷ Florence Abena DOLPHYNE. “The Languages of the Akan Peoples,” p. 8-12.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4; Harald HAMMARSTRÖM, Robert FORKEL, and Martin HASPELMATH. “Family—Akanic,” *Glottolog* 3.3, (page consulted 08 September 2015), <http://glottolog.org/resource/languoid/id/akan1251>.

²⁹ Florence Abena DOLPHYNE. “The Languages of the Akan Peoples,” p. 8-12.

³⁰ Harald HAMMARSTRÖM, Robert FORKEL, and Martin HASPELMATH. “Spoken L1 Language—Akan,” *Glottolog* 3.3, (page consulted 08 September 2015), <http://glottolog.org/resource/languoid/id/akan1250>.

Ghana), and Anyi, Baule, Sanwi (inside Ivory Coast)³¹. Included among the Akan are the Fante-speaking Gomoa living along the central coastline³².

2.2. Fante, Asante, and Akuapem

The Akan tribes that are most germane to the present discussion of Bresi-Ando and the impact of his emancipationist mission are the Asante, Akuapem, Akyem, Fante, and Kwahu, (plus the Guan Larteh tribe of the Eastern Region³³). Despite minor differences in speaking, these five Akan tribes can understand each other³⁴, and it is common for each group to claim to speak the “correct” version of the language. Three dialects were put into writing by early missionaries—Asante Twi, Akuapem Twi, and Fante—and in the 1950’s Ghana officially embraced the term “Akan” as referring to the “language” of these three particular dialects in order to give them a common agreed-upon name³⁵. This might mislead some people to think that only these tribesmen are the components of the Akan people, which is not the case, although numerically-speaking, the overwhelming majority of the Akans are the Asante and Fante speakers³⁶.

The bulk of the Akans are the Fante tribesmen of the coastal Central Region (who speak “Fante”) and the Asante tribesmen of the forested inland Ashanti Region (which lies just north of the coastal Central Region, who speak “Asante”/“Asante Twi”)³⁷. Smaller in number are the Twi-speaking tribesmen of the Eastern Region: the Akuapem/Akwapim (whose dialect is known as “Akuapem Twi,” “Akuapem”, or simply “Twi”), the Kwahu (whose dialect is called “Kwahu Twi,” “Kwawu”, “Kwahu”, or simply “Twi”), and the Akyem (speaking “Akyem Bosome,” “Akyem”, or simply “Twi”)³⁸. All these Akans have actually lived and functioned for centuries as separate

³¹ Florence Abena DOLPHYNE. “The Languages of the Akan Peoples,” p. 4, 8, 12.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³³ In this thesis, “Eastern Region” is abbreviated as “ER”.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3, 8-9; A. A. BOAHEN. “The Origins of the Akan,” *Ghana Notes and Queries*, n° 9, 1966, p. 3-10.

³⁵ Florence Abena DOLPHYNE. “The Languages of the Akan Peoples,” p. 1-2, 9.

³⁶ Adams B. BODOMO. “On Language and Development in Africa,” section 3 (1).

³⁷ *Ibid.*; “Regions”, Government of Ghana official portal. (Page consulted on 19 August 2015), <http://https://web.archive.org/web/20150408161133/www.ghana.gov.gh/index.php/about-ghana/regions>.

³⁸ Adams B. BODOMO. “On Language and Development in Africa,” section 3 (1); “Ghanaian Languages,” *GhanaWeb*. (Page consulted on 13 November 2018),

<https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/tribes/languages.php>, section A (1); Harald HAMMARSTRÖM, Robert FORKEL, and Martin HASPELMATH. “Spoken L1 Language–Akan,” *Glottolog* 3.3, (page consulted 08 September 2015), <http://glottolog.org/resource/languoid/id/akan1250>.

tribes, although some intermarrying is taking place in modern days³⁹. Although statisticians may correctly lump these Akan peoples linguistically together, in reality, on the village street in Ghana, they each hold a proud and distinct separate identity. In fact, in the past, all these ethnic groups had their own armies, complete with local allegiances and battle formations⁴⁰. Asante kings would fight Fante kings in the harshest of rivalry and economic competition⁴¹. The English pronounced “Asante” as “Ashanti”, thereby giving the tribe and its region this modified name change that became widespread in literature during colonial times. However, in modern-day Ghana, except for the official name of the “Ashanti Region” (a province within the country), the original term “Asante” has become the more accepted one, especially in contemporary academic literature.

2.3. The other tribes of Ghana

All the other ethnic groups in Ghana are in much smaller concentrations throughout the sixteen governmental regions. Those 16 regions include: Ahafo, Ashanti, Bono East, Brong Ahafo, Central, Eastern, Greater Accra, North East, Northern, Oti, Savannah, Upper East, Upper West, Volta, Western, Western North⁴². After the Akan tribes (located center and south—47.5% of the population), the main ethnicities in Ghana are the Mole-Dagbani people with 16.6% of the nation’s population (located in the north), the Ewe tribesmen at 13.9% (mainly in the east), the Ga-Dangme at 7.4% (in the capital Accra area), the Guan at 3.7% (east and others), the Gurma at 5.7% (north), the Grusi at 2.5% (north), the Mande at 1.1% (north), other local tribes at 1.4% (according to the 2010 census)⁴³. As there are over 250 different languages and dialects being spoken in Ghana, one can easily see how the Akan kingdoms—with their linguistic similarity and population supermajority—dominated the area’s history⁴⁴. It was primarily these tribes who interacted with the

³⁹ Ian UTLEY. *Culture Smart! GHANA*, London, Kuperard, 2011, p. 18.

⁴⁰ A. Adu BOAHEN. *Topics in West African History*, London, Longman, 1966, p. 75.

⁴¹ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 83-86.

⁴² “Know the 16 regional capitals of Ghana,” *Business Ghana*. Put online 20 February 2019 (page consulted on 18 December 2019, <http://www.businessghana.com/site/news/general/182246/Know-the-16-regional-capitals-of-Ghana>, par. 5. (Note: the geographical areas most pertinent to this research will be abbreviated in this thesis as follows: “Ashanti Region” is “AR”, “Central Region” is “CR”, “Eastern Region” is “ER”, “Greater Accra Region” is “GAR”, “Western Region” is “WR”, the “Gold Coast” is “GC”, and “Ghana” as “GH”).

⁴³ GHANA STATISTICAL SERVICE. *2010 Population & Housing Census* [...], p. 34, Table 13; “Regions”, *Government of Ghana official portal*.

⁴⁴ “What is the Official Language of Ghana?” *Embassy of the Republic of Ghana, The Hague*. Put online 2018, (page consulted on 14 November 2018), <https://web.archive.org/web/20180607055235/http://www.ghanaembassy.nl/index.php/faqs-mainmenu-25/121-what-is-the-official-language-of-ghana.html>, par. 1.

Europeans when they came to the Gold Coast looking for gold. It will later be demonstrated that Bresi-Ando's activity impacted mainly five Akan tribes—the Fante in the Central Region, the Asante in the inland Ashanti Region, and the Akuapem, Akyem, and Kwahu in the Eastern Region—along with the Guan tribe of Larteh (also located in the Eastern Region).

3. Natural resources, trade, and industries (gold, slaves, cocoa production)

The ancient inland Kingdom of Ghana was famous for its control of the gold trade in medieval West Africa⁴⁵. Sharing the name, modern-day Ghana is still the second major exporter of gold in Africa⁴⁶. There is no reason to wonder why the area was known as the Gold Coast. Historians credit the region's gold fields for actually attracting migrant African tribes centuries ago⁴⁷. The Akan tribesmen gained control of the area's gold mines⁴⁸, which by 1471 had also started to attract Portuguese traders, followed by the Dutch (1590's) and the English (1618)⁴⁹, then the Danes (1642), Swedes (1647), Brandenburger Germans (1682), and French (1700's)⁵⁰. A total of 41 forts and trading castles were built along the coast of what is now modern-day Ghana by these competing European nations in order to guard their deposits and withdrawals⁵¹.

3.1. The rise of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade

The competition for access to gold got linked to the tragic slave trade⁵². While it is a fact that slavery existed in Africa for centuries⁵³, it is also a fact that West African tribes (such as the Asante and Fante) would capture each other as slaves in their constant ethnic/tribal battles⁵⁴. War-prisoners became slaves who could work for free, be easily offered as human sacrifice, or be traded

⁴⁵ Basil DAVIDSON and F. K. BUAH. *A History of West Africa* [...], p. 35.

⁴⁶ Ian UTLEY. *Culture Smart! GHANA*, p. 38.

⁴⁷ Basil DAVIDSON and F. K. BUAH. *A History of West Africa* [...], p. 89-90.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁴⁹ English ships had made a few visits between 1553-1580, but their trading on the Coast did not begin in earnest until 1618. Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 54; F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 68.

⁵⁰ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 51-55; F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 68-69.

⁵¹ Basil DAVIDSON and F. K. BUAH. *A History of West Africa* [...], p. 210.

⁵² Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 53-54.

⁵³ Basil DAVIDSON and F. K. BUAH. *A History of West Africa* [...], p. 30.

⁵⁴ Bryan EDWARDS. *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, vol. II, 3rd ed., Sir William Young (Ed.), London, John Stockdale, Piccadilly, 1801, <https://archive.org/details/historycivilcomm04edwa/page/n5>, p.127.

for profit⁵⁵. The 15th Century Portuguese newcomers came primarily for gold (eventually exporting up to 30,000 ounces per year from the Gold Coast)⁵⁶, but they are not innocent of the charge of slave-trading⁵⁷. They did gather slaves from nearby Benin and trade them to Akan chiefs for gold⁵⁸. However, it was the Dutch, arriving on the coast in the early 1600's (eventually pushing out the Portuguese) who tipped the equation of trade heavily in favor of slaving⁵⁹. The Dutch gathered from the Gold Coast tens of thousands of slaves for the sugar plantations in the West Indies, earning for themselves the label "the first major Trans-Atlantic slave traders"⁶⁰. This increased demand for slaves dramatically ramped up the slave-catching on the Gold Coast by the Africans themselves. The competing Akan chiefs captured their tribal enemies and sold them as slaves to the Europeans in exchange for guns and ammunition (and rum!) in order to arm their kingdoms' armies⁶¹.

3.2. The "business of war"

It all escalated. More guns meant more ethnic warfare which meant more captured enemies to be sold as slaves in order to get even more guns and rum⁶². Awoonor insists that at times the competing Dutch and British would enflame more tribal hostilities in order to profit from weapons sales⁶³. Buah also draws attention to the arrival of the new imported European liquor—rum—the refined product of the Caribbean sugar plantations⁶⁴. Thus the infamous Trans-Atlantic slave-trade came into full flower, which carted off an estimated 100 million Africans in four centuries of horror, selfishness, and death⁶⁵. The "business of war" had become a "way of life" for both the African and the European trader⁶⁶. The Fante chiefs living along the coast allied themselves with

⁵⁵ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 49, 79; Basil DAVIDSON and F. K. BUAH. *A History of West Africa* [...], p. 212.

⁵⁶ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 51; Ettagale BLAUER and Jason LAURÉ. *Ghana*, New York, Grolier Publishing, 1999, p. 39.

⁵⁷ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 54.

⁵⁸ Ettagale BLAUER and Jason LAURÉ. *Ghana*, p. 39.

⁵⁹ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 53-55.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 54, 57-58.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 55-58, 61; F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 73.

⁶² Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 55-58, 117; Basil DAVIDSON and F. K. BUAH. *A History of West Africa* [...], p. 214-215.

⁶³ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 56; F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 74.

⁶⁴ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 70.

⁶⁵ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 60-61.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

the European occupants of the coastal trading forts, especially with the last of them—the English—and looked to the British Empire to defend them from the Asante chiefs of the inland Asante Kingdom who were constantly attacking them and trying to extend their sovereignty over them⁶⁷. The Asante were seeking to gain for themselves control of the flow of gold and slaves and direct access to the slave ships anchored on the coast, thereby avoiding the Fante middlemen and increasing their own profits⁶⁸.

3.3. The British Empire abolishes slavery

However, in a great turn of events, Great Britain abolished the trading of slaves in 1807 and then outlawed slavery within its Empire entirely in 1833⁶⁹. While freed slaves were being returned to Africa in places like Freetown (in the British Colony of Sierra Leone), slavery on the Gold Coast was slow to die off. Living just “outside” the British Empire, the warlike Asante tribe for many decades was able to circumvent London’s 1833 Parliamentary disapproval of slavery⁷⁰. By using the Dutch possessions such as Elmina Castle as their coastal trading posts⁷¹, the Asante were able to illegally sell slaves to other 19th Century slaving countries which had not yet followed Great Britain’s lead into full Abolition (i.e. especially the United States)⁷². Since 1808, the U.S. Congress had forbidden importing slaves and transporting them to other countries (but not abolishing slave-holding itself), but these American maritime laws were not being enforced. Hence, the Atlantic slave trade became an active, *illegal* American shipping business venture. It was the wisdom of the Evangelicals working for Abolition in Great Britain, such as William Wilberforce and his brother-in-law James Stephen, a fellow MP, Anglican Evangelical, and maritime lawyer, who succeeded in getting Parliament to crush the Trans-Atlantic slave trade by authorizing the British Navy to effectively enforce the law on the high seas. American slave ships

⁶⁷ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 83-84.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*; Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 118.

⁶⁹ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 72.

⁷⁰ Suzanne MIERS and Richard ROBERTS (Eds.). *The End of Slavery in Africa*, Madison, Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin Press, 1988, p. 74.

⁷¹ David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana: The Rise of Gold Coast Nationalism, 1850-1928*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1965, p. 226, 241, 269; F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 85.

⁷² Suzanne MIERS and Richard ROBERTS (Eds.). *The End of Slavery in Africa*, p. 79, 82-83; Ann M. BURTON. “British Evangelicals, Economic Warfare and the Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1794-1810,” *Anglican and Episcopal History*, vol. 65, n° 2, 1996, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42611776>, p. 214, 219-221; Ken ANDERSON. “West Africa–White Man’s Grave,” *The British Empire*, put online 2014, (page consulted 19 August 2015), <https://web.archive.org/web/20150925024707/http://myweb.tiscali.co.uk/kenanderson/histemp/whitemansgrave.html>, par. 11.

began to be seized on the grounds that they were not obeying the laws of their own nation⁷³. That was the situation on the high seas, but the Evangelical's crusade against slaving was ramped up on the shoreline when the British bought Elmina Castle and the entire "Dutch Gold Coast" from the Dutch in 1872⁷⁴. The Asante's Gold Coast fort outlets to the illegal Atlantic slave ships were stopped up, an event which triggered the 1873-1874 Ashanti War with the English, a conflict that London won⁷⁵.

3.4. Gold Coast Crown Colony (1874) and the Ashanti Crown Colony (1902)

The British Empire began the actual internal abolition of slavery on the Gold Coast in 1874 after wresting the Coast from all Asante political claims (Treaty of Fomena), declaring it to be a Crown Colony, and authorizing colonial Ordinances of Emancipation, all in the same year⁷⁶. Due to the "Scramble for Africa" by Imperialist powers, British rule was later extended into the Asante Kingdom in 1896 when it was conquered and given Protectorate status with the exile of their king, "Asantehene" Prempeh I⁷⁷. The Asante agreed to end human sacrifice and slave trading, but not the possession of their own slaves⁷⁸. Not giving up easily, the Asante rebelled and had to be subdued with finality in 1901⁷⁹. The Ashanti (Asante) Protectorate was annexed as a separate Crown Colony on 01 January 1902—though still commonly referred to as the "Protectorate"—and was placed under the rule of the Governor of the neighboring Gold Coast Crown Colony⁸⁰. A new Asante king, Prempeh II, was eventually installed (in the 1930's) as a puppet of the Crown, and he humbly and manfully used his position to help his people within the constraints of the colonial government by becoming a great advocate of education⁸¹. When the Asante Protectorate

⁷³ Ann M. BURTON. "British Evangelicals, Economic Warfare [...]," p. 197-201, 214, 219-225.

⁷⁴ David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 243, 269-270; Dennis YEBOAH-MENSAH. *Echoes of the Ashanti Empire Part 2*, Smashwords [e-book], 2013, (page consulted on 22 November 2018), <https://www.scribd.com/read/194946311/Echoes-of-the-Ashanti-Empire-Part-2>, p. 11-12.

⁷⁵ Suzanne MIERS and Richard ROBERTS (Eds.). *The End of Slavery in Africa*, p. 79; Dennis YEBOAH-MENSAH. *Echoes of the Ashanti Empire Part 2*, p. 11-12.

⁷⁶ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 85-86, 92; Suzanne MIERS and Richard ROBERTS (Eds.). *The End of Slavery in Africa*, p. 79.

⁷⁷ David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 291, 296; F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 96; Suzanne MIERS and Richard ROBERTS (Eds.). *The End of Slavery in Africa*, p. 97-98.

⁷⁸ Suzanne MIERS and Richard ROBERTS (Eds.). *The End of Slavery in Africa*, p. 97.

⁷⁹ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 96.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*; Suzanne MIERS and Richard ROBERTS (Eds.). *The End of Slavery in Africa*, p. 83, 86, 95.

⁸¹ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 111; "Asante Kings Of The Twentieth Century—Sir Nana Osei Tutu Agyeman Prempeh II (1931-1970)," *Manhyia Archives*. (Page consulted 02 May 2011), <https://web.archive.org/web/20130117181121/http://www.manhyiaarchives.org/page.php?id=17>, par. 3 & 6.

became an official British Crown Colony in 1902, the 1874 Gold Coast Ordinances abolishing slavery (both possession and trading) legally took effect there as well⁸². Thus, the slave trade on the Gold Coast and Asante was officially abolished, although the practical dissolution of internal slave-holding took years to resolve and the policing of external slave smuggling operations went on for decades⁸³.

3.5. “Legitimate” trade replaces illegitimate slave-trade

In place of the evil slave trade, humanitarian-minded colonialists and white capitalists encouraged “legitimate trade” to provide raw material for the new industrial factories of imperial Europe⁸⁴. Thus, in the Gold Coast and Ashanti Region, the export of gold and minerals (diamonds, bauxite, manganese), lumber, and cash crops (such as palm oil and rubber) increased⁸⁵. An entirely new industry—cocoa production—was successfully launched in 1879, just five years after the Gold Coast became a Crown Colony⁸⁶. A very peaceful substitute to the guns-for-slaves economy, huge cocoa farms owned entirely by locals soon blossomed⁸⁷. By the 1920’s the whole economy of the colony was based on this one cash crop, as the Gold Coast became the “Cocoa” Coast, the foremost producer in the world at the time⁸⁸. Cocoa money enabled African farmers to purchase and trade imported manufactured goods, which in turn provided ample customs revenue useful for developing new schools, hospitals, and public works⁸⁹. Many locals became very wealthy, giving rise to a new African merchant middle class—a “full aristocracy of wealth”—who themselves (or their sons and nephews) were favored with education at the mission schools, and often later, with advanced doctoral studies overseas⁹⁰. Thus, from (and alongside of) this new monied merchant/rich-farmer class arose the new class of educated African *intelligentsia*—lawyers,

⁸² Suzanne MIERS and Richard ROBERTS (Eds.). *The End of Slavery in Africa*, p. 98.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 77, 79, 82-84, 98, 100.

⁸⁴ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 72, 117.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 117-118, 120-122.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

⁸⁷ Sir Gordon GUGGISBERG and A. G. FRASER. *The Future of the Negro: Some Chapters in the Development of a Race*, New York, Negro Universities Press, 1969 [1929], p. 67.

⁸⁸ J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa* [...], p. 128; F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 118-119.

⁸⁹ Sir Gordon GUGGISBERG and A. G. FRASER. *The Future of the Negro* [...], p. 67-68. In fact, years later cocoa revenue continued to build schools in Ghana under Nkrumah’s administration (F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 120).

⁹⁰ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 135-136.

teachers, and clergymen⁹¹. In addition to producing its own educated leadership, Ghana continues today to be a leading global producer of cocoa and gold, while also exporting diamonds, timber, electricity, bauxite and manganese⁹².

4. European missionary influence beyond evangelization

Digging for gold and diamonds were not the only holes that Gold Coasters were excavating. There were also the many graves. Prior to the use of quinine against malaria, so many Europeans died in West Africa that it became known as “The White Man’s Grave”⁹³. Not only was every other British soldier on the Gold Coast dying from tropical diseases in the early 1800’s⁹⁴, but the many missionaries were laying down their lives as well⁹⁵. Sailing from London to preach the Gospel in tropical West Africa, they knew full well that it might be to their “martyrdom”, yet they set out just the same⁹⁶. Despite their initial losses, the widespread use of quinine since the mid-1800’s helped change the state of affairs, which proved quite successful in the long run⁹⁷. Today Ghana is nearly 3/4ths Christian⁹⁸, having experienced an amazingly fast growth in conversions over the 20th Century. Much of its Christian foundations were laid in the 19th Century by the country’s brave German and Swiss Pietist missionaries.

4.1. Pietist and Evangelical Movements

Rooted in the 17th Century German Lutheran Evangelical Pietism of Philipp Jakob Spener⁹⁹, and contributing towards the massive evangelical revivals (Great Awakenings) of the 18th Century in England, America, and Canada¹⁰⁰, during the 19th Century the evangelical Pietist Movement (Württemberg brand) became a smaller but highly influential group within the much larger

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² “Ghana”, *Worldatlas*, par. 11.

⁹³ Ken ANDERSON. “West Africa–White Man’s Grave,” par. 2.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, par. 2-4.

⁹⁵ J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa* [...], p.109, 112.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 131-132; Ken ANDERSON. “West Africa–White Man’s Grave,” par. 3.

⁹⁷ Ken ANDERSON. “West Africa–White Man’s Grave,” par. 6.

⁹⁸ GHANA STATISTICAL SERVICE. *2010 Population & Housing Census* [...], p. 40, Table 16.

⁹⁹ The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica. “Philipp Jakob Spener,” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 01 February 2019, (page consulted on 22 March 2019), <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Philipp-Jakob-Spener>, par. 1 & 2.

¹⁰⁰ J. M. BUMSTED. “Great Awakening,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, *Historica Canada*, published 07 February 2006, put online 16 December 2013, (page consulted on 22 March 2019), <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/great-awakening>, par. 1 & 2.

growing fabric of the global Protestant Evangelical Movement which eventually produced thousands of missionaries¹⁰¹. Many Pietists were evangelical Germans who had either moved away from mainline confessional Lutheranism, or at least as Lutherans did not stress its dogmatic norms so strongly¹⁰². Often they held theological ideas very similar to Reformed Calvinism¹⁰³. Hence it was easy for the movement to spread to Switzerland, Calvin's domain, and to find common ecumenical ground between Lutherans and Calvinists by ignoring key doctrinal differences¹⁰⁴. This was the case for the "Evangelical Missionary Society at Basel," also known as the "Basel Mission," which followed Württemberg Pietism¹⁰⁵. Located in the German-speaking city of Basel, Switzerland, right on its northern border next to Württemberg, Germany, this ecumenical mission society grouped together Pietist German Lutherans and Reformed Calvinist missionaries into one powerful missionary sending agency by "downplaying confessional differences"¹⁰⁶.

Instead of the thorny doctrinal issues which tended to divide Christians, Pietism emphasized personal conversion to Jesus Christ, "spiritual rebirth" (born-again), Bible study, missionary evangelism, upright moral living, ascetic discipline, and practical social action¹⁰⁷. "Deeds, not creeds" was their motto as they stressed "personal piety"¹⁰⁸.

In Germany some Pietists left Lutheranism and became known as Moravians, led by Count Zinzendorf¹⁰⁹. Others remained in their Lutheran churches but followed the Pietistic ideals, while other German Pietists openly called their churches "Evangelical" instead of "Lutheran", and were

¹⁰¹ Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control: Organizational Contradictions in the Basel Mission on the Gold Coast, 1828-1917*, Coll. "Studies in the History of Christian Missions," R. E. Frykenberg and Brian Stanley (Eds.), Grand Rapids, Michigan, Eerdmans, 2003, p. 13; Richard V. PIERARD. "Foreword", in Jon MILLER, *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. x-xi.

¹⁰² F. E. MAYER. *The Religious Bodies of America*, St. Louis, Missouri, Concordia Publishing House, 1956, p. 355-357.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 363.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 361; Richard V. PIERARD. "Foreword", in Jon MILLER, *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. xiii.

¹⁰⁵ Richard V. PIERARD. "Foreword", in Jon MILLER, *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. ix; Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. 13.

¹⁰⁶ Richard V. PIERARD. "Foreword", in Jon MILLER, *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. xiii; Emmanuel AKYEAMPONG. *Introduction to Visual Interpretation of the Basel Mission Archive Photo Project*, Harvard University, put online [s.d.], (page consulted on 23 May 2019), http://lib-app5-2.usc.edu/bmpix/visip_emmanuel/introduction.htm. p. 1.

¹⁰⁷ Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. 13.

¹⁰⁸ F. E. MAYER. *The Religious Bodies of America*, p. 360-361.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 354-357.

very Calvinistic¹¹⁰. Thus, three distinct Protestant churches coexisted in 19th Century Germany: Lutheran, Reformed (Calvinist), and Evangelical (which Prussian King Frederick William III in 1817 promoted as an attempt to unite the Lutheran and Reformed Churches “without doctrinal and confessional agreement”)¹¹¹. So, for German Christians during the “Great Missionary Century,” the label “Evangelical” was slippery. It could be more of an adjective placed before Lutheran—as in “Evangelical Lutheran”—in order to emphasize a Pietistic spirituality within a Lutheran body as opposed to those “hard core” Calvinist (non-Lutheran) Reformed churches, or the term could be more of a noun used in place of the word “Lutheran” in order to offer a blended Pietistic theologically united approach that was palatable to both Lutherans and Calvinists alike by minimizing and ignoring their theological differences. This was the Basel way.

Rather than drawing strict lines in the sand of doctrine, the zealous members of Western Christianity’s Pietist and Evangelical Movements desired to live an awakened Christianity based on the Bible, evangelism and societal improvement¹¹². This mindset naturally led them to form Bible study groups and emphasize Christian education, to found interdenominational mission societies all across Europe for the spreading of Christianity into the un-evangelized corners of the world, and to work against social ills, such as slavery, by advocating Abolition¹¹³. Not willing to stay at home risk-free with a bookish, formal “orthodoxy” that did little to help their neighbor, their quest for a “practical” Christianity became a grass roots movement which even affected not only other Protestant denominations but even the heart of the occasional colonial governor¹¹⁴. Sir F. G. Guggisberg, Governor of the Gold Coast in the 1920’s, captured the essence of this “Pietistic” evangelical mentality when he said: “too often dogma, ceremony, and doctrine are given undue

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 361-363.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 361.

¹¹² Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana: An African Reformation,” [PDF file], *Cyberjournal for Pentecostal-Charismatic Research*, vol. 13, put online April 2004, (page consulted on 28 March 2011), <http://www.pctii.org/cyberj/cyberj13/amanor.html>, p. 3-4; Peter CROWHURST. “The Impact of The Abolition of Slavery,” *The British Empire 1815-1914*, (page consulted on 23 November 2018) <http://www.britishempire.me.uk/abolitionofslavery.html>, par. 3, 4, 6; Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. 13-14.

¹¹³ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 3-4; Peter CROWHURST. “The Impact of The Abolition [...]” par. 3, 4, 6; Emmanuel AKYEAMPONG. *Introduction to Visual Interpretation* [...], p. 1.

¹¹⁴ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 3-4.

prominence over practical Christianity. By practical Christianity I mean the teaching and life of Christ”¹¹⁵.

These Pietist and Evangelical European missionaries, being highly motivated to preach the Gospel to the ends of the world, even in the face of death, made several critically important positive social impressions upon the Gold Coast and Asante lands which led towards their future as an independent mostly-Christian nation¹¹⁶. Since it was the Pietist missionaries of the famous Basel Mission (the Basel Evangelical Missionary Society) with its “distinctive Pietist worldview”¹¹⁷ who were the *first* to have the biggest, lasting, and most successful Christian impact upon the inhabitants of the Gold Coast¹¹⁸, the Ghanaians’ view of evangelical mission history is seen through the lens of their own experience of missionary Pietism. Therefore, a modern Ghanaian theologian such as J. D. Amanor might view the 19th Century missionary enterprise as being largely a “Pietist” movement¹¹⁹, when in reality “Pietism” was only a part of the larger, global, modern-day Evangelical mission phenomenon which saw itself as bringing both the “Light” of Christ *and* “light” of Christian Western civilization to the “heathen” that sat in “unchristian darkness”¹²⁰.

4.2. Gold Coast mission growth statistics

Throughout the long 19th Century, it was the Pietist Basel Mission that clearly dominated the missionary scene on the Gold Coast¹²¹, followed by the pietist-influenced evangelical Wesleyan Methodists. Both missions highly prized education and took great pains to open as many schools as they could. All the other foreign missions on the Coast had to run fast to catch up with them.

¹¹⁵ Sir Gordon GUGGISBERG and A. G. FRASER. *The Future of the Negro* [...], p. 69-70.

¹¹⁶ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 3, 8.

¹¹⁷ Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. 14.

¹¹⁸ J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa* [...], p. 131-138; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 5.

¹¹⁹ See Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 3-12.

¹²⁰ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 127; Emmanuel AKYEAMPONG. *Introduction to Visual Interpretation* [...], p. 1; Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. 14; Richard V. PIERARD. “Foreword”, in Jon MILLER, *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. x-xi.

¹²¹ Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. 14.

4.2.1. Numbers of new churches and schools

Since this present research focuses on the decade of the 1930's, let us look at the state of mission work in 1931, the year before Bishop Bresi-Ando began his independent mission in the Colony. The population of the Gold Coast, Ashanti region and Northern Territories in 1931 was 1,571,362 and 578,078 and 717,275 respectively, with 3,182 European and other non-African expatriates¹²². According to the 1931 mission survey by Cooksey and McLeish, the 100 years of hard work by the Basel missionaries (since 1828) had produced 53,949 converts, 513 churches and mission posts, 210 schools, and 16,469 students¹²³. Throughout the 19th Century the Basel Mission had won the lion's share of converts until World War I, after which the Wesleyan Methodists quickly surpassed them. The Methodists, who only had 7,600 converts by 1896, and 16,300 by 1912, soon numbered 110,811 by 1929, with 637 churches, 143 schools, and 13,055 students¹²⁴. Most of these converts were the result of the mass movement initiated by the remarkable charismatic ministry of the African evangelist and wonder-worker Prophet Harris and his followers¹²⁵. At a slightly slower pace were the Roman Catholics, who between 1880 and 1931 gathered 36,342 members and 25,000 catechumens, planted 356 churches and opened 85 schools with 4,734 students¹²⁶. The Anglicans grew much slower and in 1931 numbered 17 churches with no more than 5,000 members¹²⁷. Although their mission had been in the country (with little success) since 1754¹²⁸, their work re-began in earnest in 1904 and started to take root¹²⁹. By 1931 they were very busy setting up new schools in various places scattered around the country¹³⁰. There were also a few other smaller foreign missions at the time in the colony (A.M.E. Zion, Salvation Army, Seventh-Day Adventist) but the big four—the Basel/Presbyterians, Wesleyan Methodists, Roman Catholics, and the Anglicans—were the main white-run European missions doing most of the evangelizing and educating in the Gold Coast Colony during the 1930's¹³¹. Together they were

¹²² *Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of the Gold Coast, 1931-32*, Colonial Reports—Annual, No. 1602, London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1933, p. 6-7.

¹²³ J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa* [...], p. 131-134.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 138-139

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 143; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. "Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]," p. 4-5.

¹²⁷ J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa* [...], p. 142-143.

¹²⁸ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. "Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]," p. 5.

¹²⁹ J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa* [...], p. 142.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 142-143, 145.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 141-145; *Annual Report* [...], p. 45.

running over 568 schools across the land, while the government only operated 19 primary schools (but government grants assisted 328 of the most qualified, efficient mission schools)¹³². Since the foreign missions were the first to arrive, Ghanaians refer to them commonly as the “orthodox” churches (not Eastern Orthodox). These churches and their schools would become Bresi-Ando’s “competition” while he ironically took the name “Orthodox” to be his exclusive domain.

4.2.2. Location and spread of missionary work

The spread of these “orthodox” foreign missions with their schools initially was better established in the south, along the coast, in the Western, Central, and Eastern regions. Mission success *at first* was primarily among the southern tribes: the Akan tribes (Fante, Akuapem, etc.), the coastal Ga, eastern Ewe, the Guan in the east, etc., mirroring the history and demographics of the country. Most of the population lives in the south and almost half of the population is Akan and can speak Fante or Twi. The coastal tribes had the first contact with the Europeans and only after the Asante were conquered was Christianity able to grow there speedily.

The Basel/Presbyterian Mission covered the Eastern region, and from their base in Akropong, Akwapim, spread northwest to Akyem, Kwahu, and Asante/Ashanti¹³³. The Methodists established themselves in the Central and Western regions¹³⁴ and from their headquarters at Cape Coast spread across the south and then northwards to the Ashanti and Brong regions¹³⁵. The Roman Catholics planted parishes wherever they desired in the Central, Western, and Eastern regions, while also establishing themselves in the Ashanti region as well as in the very far north¹³⁶.

The inland Asante accepted Christianity a little bit later than the coastal areas, due to their political struggle against the foreign power¹³⁷. Between 1896 and 1931 the Basel/Presbyterian Mission in Asante had gained 7,226 converts¹³⁸, while from 1896 to 1920, the Methodist Mission among the

¹³² *Annual Report* [...], p. 45.

¹³³ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 6; J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa* [...], p. 139, 145.

¹³⁴ J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa* [...], p. 139, 145.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 139; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 7.

¹³⁶ J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa* [...], p. 144; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 4; Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 126.

¹³⁷ J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa* [...], p. 132-134.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

Asante tribe numbered only 4,000¹³⁹. However, after the charismatic evangelization of native “Prophet” Sampson Oppong in the 1920’s, the number of Methodists in the Ashanti and Brong Ahafo regions in 1931 exceeded 23,000¹⁴⁰.

The amazingly fast mission growth among the Methodists in the Ashanti region and down in the coastal Colony during the early decades of the 20th Century was very encouraging, being an indicator of the tremendous movement towards Christianity that would befall the nation throughout the remainder of the century. By 1989, 75-85% of southern Ghana/coastal people, 50% of inland Asante people, and 5% of northerners identified as Christians¹⁴¹. By 2010, 71% of the country was Christian¹⁴². Ghana’s tremendous 20th Century church growth, however, grew on the foundations laid during the *seven decades* of pioneering labors by the German, Swiss and Danish Pietist missionaries of the Basel Mission throughout the preceding 19th Century.

4.3. The “Pietist” Basel Mission and its practical contributions to society

By being the first to make a positive, lasting missionary impact in the country, the Pietists of the Basel Mission earned their place in Ghana’s history. In addition to their desire to evangelize using the vernacular and to establish a “Pietist Christian presence”¹⁴³, the Basel missionaries to the Gold Coast were seriously motivated to help improve the lives of the Africans in order to make up for the negative economic exploitation caused by their political and commercial white counterparts, especially in the slave trade¹⁴⁴. The Baslers’ program was to “civilize” the natives according to modern European standards by using Western education, technical skills training, agricultural innovations, “legitimate trade,” vernacular translations, improved architecture, modern medicine, enhanced transportation, and an increase in the over-all general standard of living¹⁴⁵. In fact, the

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 17.

¹⁴¹ GHANA EVANGELISM COMMITTEE. *National Church Survey: Facing the Unfinished Task of the Church in Ghana*, Accra North, Ghana, Ghana Evangelism Committee, 1989, 128 p.

¹⁴² GHANA STATISTICAL SERVICE. *2010 Population & Housing Census [...]*, p. 40, Table 16.

¹⁴³ Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control [...]*, p. 15.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 8.

¹⁴⁵ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 8-12.

Basel Mission not only built the first roads into the Gold Coast interior, but its Basel Mission Trading Company later helped introduce the use of automobiles into the country¹⁴⁶.

It has been said that “[t]he marks left on Ghanaian culture by the Basel Mission [...] go as deep as the grain in a block of wood, capable of resisting every attempt to sand them away”¹⁴⁷. This all-embracing impact, which left an indelible imprint forever on the country of Ghana, is believable when one considers the list of their practical civilizing, educating, and empowering activities. The Baslers virtually dragged the Africans out of their premodern status into the modern world. They taught them not only modern medicine, modern agricultural methods and husbandry, but also modern architecture, sewing, shoe-making, Western music and brass bands, wheelwrighting, barrel-making, and other forms of “European village technology”¹⁴⁸. The Basel Mission set up technical schools which “produced carpenters, locksmiths, cartwrights, watch repairers, masons, tailors, bookbinders, printers, blacksmiths, furniture makers, sawyers, and shingle makers”¹⁴⁹.

4.4. Mission schools

Despite all these practical contributions to society, paramount on the Basel “To-Do” list was to construct a school at every new mission station they established¹⁵⁰. Basel missionary Elias Schrenk stated for the record in 1867 that he and his colleagues considered *starting schools* as their *primary work* on the Coast¹⁵¹. By educating the youth, the missionaries hoped to populate their mission churches with the students. In this education process the Baslers exposed their African pupils to Western civilization, notions, and ways of thinking. Being themselves the intellectual children of the Enlightenment, and therefore being in varying degrees “Nominalist” in their rationalized Protestant philosophical background, the Pietist Basel missionaries stressed “the idea that the physical world was defined exclusively by its materiality”¹⁵². They held to the modern

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 10-11; Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. 80.

¹⁴⁷ Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. 17.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 16, 27, and Plates 1-15.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 27-28.

¹⁵⁰ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 8.

¹⁵¹ Elias SCHRENK. *Das Heidenbote*, [s.l.], [s.n.], 1867, p. 63, in J. S. POBEE, *Kwame Nkrumah and the Church in Ghana, 1949-1966*, Accra, Asempa Publishers, 1988, p. 89.

¹⁵² Heinz HAUSER-RENNER. “‘Obstinate’ Pastor and Pioneer Historian: The Impact of Basel Mission Ideology on the Thought of Carl Christian Reindorf,” *International Bulletin of Mission Research*, vol. 33, n° 2, put online 01 April 2009, (page consulted on 23 November 2018), <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/239693930903300203>, p. 66.

“Nominalist” concept/belief that there is “there is no such thing as ghosts,” “no such thing as magic,” “no abstract entities,” etc.¹⁵³ Dismissing as mere superstition any discussion of the reality of “supposed spiritual forces” impacting the day-to-day life of Africans¹⁵⁴, the Basel missionaries instead highly prized the reading of the Bible as *central* to their mission’s focus on evangelism. Their policy was to teach the locals to read so that they could read the Bible and thus—through it—be converted to Christ and be catechized into the Christian Faith while simultaneously being introduced into Western civilization and culture. This process took place in English, and when translations were prepared, in the local languages as well¹⁵⁵. Evangelization *through* education was the strategy of the early missionaries, and their schools “became the nursing ground for missions”¹⁵⁶.

The very first schools on the Gold Coast were located in the trading forts and were known as “Castle Schools,” but these had limited effect¹⁵⁷. However, it is the Basel Mission that is honored as being the educational “pioneer” on the Gold Coast for planting over 200 schools at their mission stations throughout the land¹⁵⁸. The Basel Mission started the first seminary (college) for the preparation of evangelists and teachers in Akropong in 1848, later known as Presbyterian Training College¹⁵⁹. At the time, the only other school of higher learning in West Africa was Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone¹⁶⁰. The other early higher-level mission schools on the Coast were started much later: the Wesleyan Boys High School (1876—the first secondary school in the land, later known as the Mfantsipim School), the Wesley Girl’s High School (1884; itself a primary school since 1836), the Anglicans’ Adisadel College (1910), the Methodist’s Wesley College in Kumasi

¹⁵³ Zoltán Gendler SZABÓ. “Nominalism”, *The Oxford Handbook of Metaphysics*, Michael J. Loux and Dean W. Zimmerman (Eds.), Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 20.

¹⁵⁴ Heinz HAUSER-RENNER. “‘Obstinate’ Pastor and Pioneer Historian [...]”, p. 66.

¹⁵⁵ Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. 15-16, 81.

¹⁵⁶ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 128.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 128; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]”, p. 8; J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. Religion and Civilization in West Africa [...], p. 133-134.

¹⁵⁹ “Presbyterian University College—Historical Background,” *Presbyterian University College*. (Page consulted on 07 November 2018), <https://web.archive.org/web/20070928004641/http://www.presbyunifound.org/college.htm>, par. 1; Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 128.

¹⁶⁰ “Presbyterian University College [...]”, par. 1.

(1918), the Roman Catholic's St. Augustine College (1930), and the Basel Mission/Presbyterian's Odumase Krobo Secondary School (1938)¹⁶¹.

The students of these mission schools grew to become the new class of African intellectuals (a Gold Coast *intelligentsia* of lawyers and teachers and clergymen), many of whom would become the future political leaders of independent Ghana¹⁶². Ghanaian theologian Jones Amanor, in reviewing the educational benefits offered to the future country of Ghana by the pietistic-inclined missionaries stated that their “pietistic discipline and education sowed the seeds of what produced [*sic.*] leaders of Africa's wave of independence in the 1960's”¹⁶³. The importance of this fact cannot be emphasized enough. It is one of the direct links between religion and the nationalist spirit which produced the founding fathers of Ghana. Having been educated by the white missionary in their mission schools and having adopted the white man's academic standards, some of these young African graduates began to be bothered by the racism inherent in the system and thus began to be *critical*. (This theme is addressed in more detail in the following chapter.) While not all students in the mission schools became disenchanted critics of the white man's culture, enough eventually did. Beginning in the 1880's, and ramping up to a new level of challenge in the 1920's and thereafter, these “mission-trained African nationalists” began to criticize the white mission churches¹⁶⁴. Many of them became religious separatists who began their own new African Independent Churches (AICs) in order to better incarnate African feelings and beliefs into a more African-friendly form of Christianity where blacks were in charge¹⁶⁵. Chapter Six—“Pan-African

¹⁶¹ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 140-141; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 9; “Wesley Girls High,” *Ghana Schools*. (Page consulted on 07 November 2018), <http://ghanaschools.info/listing/wesley-girls-high>, par. 1; “About Wesley College of Education, Kumasi,” *Ghana SchoolsNet*. (Page consulted on 14 January 2019), <http://www.ghanaschoolsnet.com/group/wesley-college-of-education/page/about-wesley-college-of-education-kumasi>, par. 1; “History of St. Augustine's College,” *St. Augustine's College*. (Page consulted on 07 November 2018), <https://web.archive.org/web/20180923212309/http://www.auguscocapecoast.edu.gh/index.php/about-augusco/history-of-augusco>, par. 1.

¹⁶² Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 8.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ Emmanuel MARTEY. *African Theology* [...], p. 15; The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. “Ethiopianism”, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 21 November 2017, (page consulted on 04 July 2019), <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Ethiopianism>, par. 1 & 5.

¹⁶⁵ Kofi Asare OPOKU. “A Brief History of Independent Church Movements in Ghana since 1862,” *The Rise of Independent Churches in Ghana, Accra, Ghana*, Asempa Publishers Christian Council of Ghana, 1990, p. 12-18; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 13; The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. “Ethiopianism”, par. 1 & 4.

Theology and African Independent Churches (AICs)—is dedicated entirely to explaining this religious revolution, a contemporary “African reformation”¹⁶⁶.

4.5. Black and White harmony model

Not all African students in the mission schools immediately grew up to be religious critics and/or political radicals. Many graduates took up positions in the expanding mission school system or in the new government-run colonial schools, which began appearing after some time. These African teachers were firm believers in cooperation with the whites. A prime example is the “giant” of “African and Black nationalism”, Mr. Kwegyir Aggrey, the first African instructor at the new Accra Government Training College (today known as the famous Achimota College)¹⁶⁷. Kwame Nkrumah had been a student there and he later admitted that it was his teacher Aggrey who first inspired him with nationalist feelings, yet Aggrey was not a racial separatist, as was his more famous contemporary, the Pan-African advocate Marcus Garvey¹⁶⁸. While Garvey—living in America in the 1920’s—cried out: “Africa for the Africans!”¹⁶⁹ and called for the whites to leave Africa¹⁷⁰, Aggrey—living in the same time period within British West Africa—strongly pressed for co-operation between the whites and the blacks¹⁷¹. He valued the contribution of the whites to Africa and therefore used his famous “piano key” analogy to stress the need for whites (missionaries, politicians, merchants) and blacks to work together for the improvement of their African society:

you can play a tune of sorts on the white keys, and you can play a tune of sorts on the black keys, but for harmony you must use both the black and white.¹⁷²

This form of black/white cooperation was the theory motivating the missionaries, and it did a lot of good, despite all the negative criticism which eventually arose from the “mission trained African nationalists.” Such religiously-motivated cooperation—in the long run—laid the foundation stones of the future modern nation of Ghana. Without these stepping stones, independent Ghana

¹⁶⁶ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 1.

¹⁶⁷ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 53-54.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

¹⁶⁹ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Improvement Association*, Madison, Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin Press, 1969, p. 146.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

¹⁷¹ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 53.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 54.

could not have come into existence. By examining these stepping stones, we can see how religion, particularly “Pietistic” (and pietistic-influenced) 19th Century Evangelical Protestantism, played a key role in the underpinning and birth of the future nation of Ghana.

5. The Basel Mission and cocoa

The early missionaries working on the Gold Coast—especially the Pietists of the Basel Mission—were eager to promote morally appropriate “legitimate” forms of trade (such as the export of cocoa, coffee, ground nut oil, palm oil, and cotton) in order to replace the slave/liquor/guns/gun-powder trade which they viewed as “illegitimate” and morally wrong¹⁷³. They hoped to create (and succeeded in helping develop) a new “farmer-planter” middle class which operated independently of the slave trade, providing jobs for converts who were disenfranchised from their pagan village life, while also raising funds for the missions¹⁷⁴. Through this they hoped to bring “Western Civilization” to the Gold Coast¹⁷⁵. Thus, the Basel Mission in 1859 launched The Basel Mission Trading Company that in 1921 turned into the famous early 20th Century Gold Coast export/import company commonly known as “UTC”—the Union Trading Company¹⁷⁶—which refused to participate in the trade of guns and liquor¹⁷⁷. In order to provide an economic substitute for the slave trade, the Pietist Basel missionaries tried to introduce and promote cash crops, such as cocoa, palm kernel, palm oil, cotton, and sugar cane, while the Wesleyan missions introduced cotton, coffee, black pepper, and ginger plantations¹⁷⁸.

5.1. The cocoa success story

The Basel Mission cocoa story became Ghana’s success story. First introduced by Basel missionaries in 1857, their cocoa crops initially failed¹⁷⁹. However, cocoa as the national cash crop became successful after Tetteh Quarshie (Tete Kwashi), a local worker on the same Basel mission farm that had failed in growing cocoa, succeeded in planting his own cocoa farm in

¹⁷³ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 9-10.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ Geoffrey JONES. “Multinational trading companies in history and theory,” *The Multinational Traders*, Coll. “Routledge International Studies in Business History,” Geoffrey Jones (Ed.), London, Routledge, 1998, p. 1-21.

¹⁷⁷ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 123; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 10.

¹⁷⁸ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 9-10.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

Mampong in 1879¹⁸⁰. Having traveled abroad and witnessed a successful cocoa farm on the Island of Fernando Po, he had returned to the Gold Coast with some cocoa seeds which he planted¹⁸¹. Quarshie became the “father” of cocoa farming in Ghana as he shared his seeds, seedlings and knowledge with his fellow farmers¹⁸². His efforts made millions for the nation’s new chief livelihood over the next century and many people got rich due to cocoa production¹⁸³. After Quarshie’s success, the Basel Mission actively continued its promotion of cocoa farming across the colony¹⁸⁴, while the governmental authorities only successfully embraced the new crop after some time¹⁸⁵. In the early 20th Century, the Gold Coast economy came to depend almost entirely upon the production and sale of cocoa¹⁸⁶ as it rose to become the largest cocoa exporter in the world in the 1920’s¹⁸⁷. In 1931 cocoa counted for 81.7% of the colony’s exports¹⁸⁸. By 1951, over 2/3rds of the Gold Coast’s export was still cocoa¹⁸⁹, and even in 2018 Ghana was ranked second globally in annual cocoa production¹⁹⁰.

5.2. Colonial Imperialism’s cocoa monopoly

The fact that money attracts greed and injustice is not a new concept to trade on the Gold Coast. By the 1920’s the Gold Coast’s single dominant cash crop—cocoa—was monopolized by Britain’s Cadbury & Fry chocolate company in conjunction with huge European import/export trading firms operating in West Africa as the middlemen who controlled all cocoa shipping and engaged in price fixing procedures that hurt the local African growers¹⁹¹. The Association of West African Merchants (AWAM), led by the United Africa Company Ltd. (UAC) and the French companies

¹⁸⁰ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 119; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 10.

¹⁸¹ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 10.

¹⁸² F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 119.

¹⁸³ Sir Gordon GUGGISBERG and A. G. FRASER. *The Future of the Negro* [...], p. 67-68.

¹⁸⁴ R. H. GREEN and S. H. HYMER. “Cocoa in the Gold Coast: A Study in the Relations between African Farmers and Agricultural Experts,” *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 26, n° 3, September 1966, p. 303.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 303, 306-307.

¹⁸⁶ Sir Gordon GUGGISBERG. *Gold Coast Government, Legislative Council Debates, 1919-1920*, p. 7, in R. H. GREEN and S. H. HYMER, “Cocoa in the Gold Coast [...]” p. 315; J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa* [...], p. 128.

¹⁸⁷ R. H. GREEN and S. H. HYMER, “Cocoa in the Gold Coast [...]” p. 301.

¹⁸⁸ J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa* [...], p. 127.

¹⁸⁹ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 119.

¹⁹⁰ Marcella VIGNERI and Shashi KOLAVALLI. “Growth through pricing policy: The case of cocoa in Ghana,” [PDF file], *Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations*, Rome, 2018, <http://www.fao.org/3/I8329EN/i8329en.pdf>, p. 1.

¹⁹¹ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 119-120, 122-123, 169.

of Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale (CFAO) and Société Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain (SCOA), enjoyed their cozy expatriate relationship with the colonial government and its imperialist policies and were able to fix prices in their favor well below the world standard pricing in a white way of doing business that was designed to “cripple African business pretensions” and protect their monopolies, especially their monopoly on the export of cocoa¹⁹². Imperialism was based on a lopsided exploitative formula that provided some limited profits for the African farmers but maximum profits for the Empire's capitalists, while simultaneously keeping the locals both as producers of raw materials for the European industries *and* consumers of imported European manufactured products, but not as developers of a local African-owned competition¹⁹³. To get a fair share and a larger piece of the pie, the African farmers occasionally rallied together to try to boycott this pricing control, which led to the famous Cocoa Holdup of 1937, as well as other failed cocoa hold-ups in 1914, 1926, and 1948¹⁹⁴. Bresi-Ando's proposed route to economic emancipation had no alternative but to cross the path of these united white merchants in the late 1930's, for better or for worse. Truly, the evil slave trade was replaced by the cocoa trade, and while the national Ghana Cocoa Marketing Board today has done much to protect the local farmers' interests¹⁹⁵, some academics like Kofi Awoonor seriously wonder if a form of economic “slavery” (to foreign banks and corporations) in a certain sense is still being continued via contemporary “neo-colonialism”¹⁹⁶.

6. Summary of religious influence of Pietism on the Gold Coast

Despite the ups and downs and internal issues of Ghana's cocoa story, history shows that it and other improvement projects were established by well-intentioned foreign missionaries. It is also known that the Abolition Movement within (and outside of) the British Empire was led largely by many of these same fervent Evangelical and Pietistic Christians¹⁹⁷, such as British Parliamentarian William Wilberforce, himself an enthusiastic Evangelical and the good friend of Rev. John

¹⁹² P. T. BAUER. *West African Trade: A Study of Competition, Oligopoly and Monopoly in a Changing Economy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1954, p. 67; F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 119-120, 122-123, 169; Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 134.

¹⁹³ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 123.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 119-120.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

¹⁹⁶ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 120, 122, 125-126, 203-204.

¹⁹⁷ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 3-4.

Newton, the repentant slave trader and former ship captain¹⁹⁸. Wilberforce's amazing life-long drive towards Great Britain's abolition of slavery through peaceful Parliamentary action was in league with an entire cadre of similar-minded Evangelicals and Pietists around the world—many of them being Anglicans, Calvinists, Lutherans, and Wesleyan Methodists¹⁹⁹. Wilberforce succeeded in getting slavery abolished within the British Empire within his lifetime²⁰⁰.

This same “Pietistic” mentality which aided the global Abolition Movement similarly contributed to the huge Western evangelical missionary effort of the 19th Century, which inspired hundreds of missionaries to travel abroad and brave the tropical diseases in order to preach the Gospel of Christ and “to do humanitarian work, especially, the spiritual uplifting of indigenous populations in the non-western world”²⁰¹. Indeed, it was fervent Pietistic sentiments which motivated the early (Basel) missionaries on the Gold Coast to work against slavery and the “illegitimate” slave/gun/liquor trade by setting up “legitimate” alternative trade and starting alternative national cash crops, such as cocoa²⁰². Thus, the abolition of slavery within the British Empire was to a large degree a wide-spread Christian movement with a huge backing from Pietism and Evangelical Protestantism. It was a major victory and a necessary stepping stone leading to the formation of a future free and independent Ghana.

But cocoa's complete victory over slavery, which de facto converted the Gold Coast into the “cocoa coast,” was finalized by some very decisive assistance from the colonial authorities. When the British army decisively conquered the Asante army in 1901 and annexed the Asante land, the door was shut to the slave trade²⁰³. Thus, the British and European Christians, with their Pietistic/Evangelical anti-slavery agenda, assisted by political armed force, helped the Fante and the Asante take major steps toward the future birth of Ghana. These were not only political steps, but from a religious perspective these were steps towards a more humane society, which ultimately led towards the modern nation. Not only was slavery (internal and external) abolished in the land,

¹⁹⁸ Ann M. BURTON. “British Evangelicals, Economic Warfare [...],” p. 197-201, 214, 225; *Amazing Grace*, dir. by Michael Apted, (2006), Twentieth Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2007 dvd.

¹⁹⁹ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 3; Peter CROWHURST. “The Impact of The Abolition [...],” par. 3, 4, 6.

²⁰⁰ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 72.

²⁰¹ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 3-4.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 9-10; Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control [...]*, p. 15.

²⁰³ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History [...]*, p. 97.

lifting a specter that had terrorized these tribes for centuries, but also the presence of Christian civilization—enforced by the colonial authorities—ended the centuries old practice of human sacrifice, for which the Akans—especially the Asante—were notorious²⁰⁴. Having defeated the Asante, the presence of the British troops brought a huge measure of internal peace to this portion of West Africa, terminating the centuries-old Asante-vs-Fante ethnic warfare which had kept the Akan peoples divided²⁰⁵. Now, within the context of a new political environment—the Colony—albeit with its arbitrarily-drawn new colonial boundaries (which gave shape to the future nation of Ghana), the old warring tribes could learn to live as brothers, united not only politically but as baptized Christians—looking beyond ethnicities to the unity of the brotherhood of fellow believers that exists in the common Christian belief in Jesus Christ as Lord and God and Saviour. In this profound sense, one might argue that in the history of the Gold Coast, the entrance of Christianity was a necessary step before the political state of Ghana could be born—a modern nation that currently identifies as being 71% Christian (2010 census)²⁰⁶. In fact, contemporary West African scholarship has noted that historically the newly-educated West Africans of the former colonial era actually believed that the Christianization of their people and the successful establishment of African-run churches were necessary prerequisites to nation-building and the hoped-for political independence²⁰⁷. However, certain modern academics in Ghana are not very sympathetic to the contributions of colonialism and have voiced a loud criticism of the colonial-era missions. This will be entertained in the following chapter.

Conclusion

Chapter Three has looked at the very complicated but colorful history of Ghana, which—as we shall see later—is the background for the story of Bresi-Ando and his emancipationist efforts. Ghana is a West African coastal, equatorial land of multiple tribes and many language groups whose lives have intertwined with Europeans—Portuguese, Dutch, Danes, Swedes, Germans, French, and British—for the last five hundred years due to the slave/gold trade and imperial colonialism. The Akan are the majority people group—nearly half the population of 30 million—

²⁰⁴ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 79, 86; David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 284.

²⁰⁵ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 85-86.

²⁰⁶ GHANA STATISTICAL SERVICE. *2010 Population & Housing Census* [...], p. 40, Table 16.

²⁰⁷ Patrick E. NMAH. “The Rise of Independent African Churches, 1890-1930: An Ethical-genesis of Nigerian Nationalism,” *African Research Review*, vol. 4, n° 4, (serial no. 17), October 2010, p. 485.

located mainly in the southern half of the country. The Akan themselves are divided into many subdivisions, with the coastal Fante and inland Asante tribes forming rival kingdoms, both sharing a common history in the slave trade. When the British Crown came to dominate all of the Gold Coast and the Asante lands, they brought peace to these warring tribes and eliminated many social evils, such as human sacrifice. Slavery was outlawed and replaced largely by the cocoa cash crop. The Pietist German, Swiss, and Danish missionaries from the Basel Evangelical Missionary Society in Switzerland worked hard on the Gold Coast all throughout the 1800's to build a "Pietist Christian presence"²⁰⁸. They actively promoted agricultural products (such as cocoa) as a morally appropriate "legitimate" substitute for the guns/liquor-for-slave trade and succeeded. By the 1920's, the entire economy of the Gold Coast depended upon cocoa production and many people got wealthy. As a result, an entirely new, rich farmer/merchant native middle class developed. Their sons (such as Bresi-Ando and his brother, Ando-Brew), having been educated in the new colonial mission schools, became the new class of African *intelligentsia* of teachers, preachers and lawyers. In the Colony of the Gold Coast, many of these schools were the fruit of the missionary focus of the Pietist Basel Mission and their friendly "competition", the pietistic-influenced Wesleyan Methodist Mission. Both made great efforts to start as many schools in the land as possible, outdoing the government's efforts by far. Being both evangelical and practical, these missions were also bearers of the marks of the Nominalist rationalism inherent in much of modern Western Christianity. While stressing the physical material world, they belittled the African's innate perception of spiritual reality by adhering to the Nominalist understanding that "there is no such thing as ghosts." Hence, their Enlightenment emphasis lay rather on *education* as a dual means to introduce both Bible-reading *and* the benefits of "civilized" rational Western culture to the African, along with practical improvements in living standards, medicine, agriculture, economy, roads, infrastructure, etc. Thus, the contributions of the foreign missions were widespread, touching all aspects of material existence, with technical skill training in carpentry, masonry, blacksmithing, tailoring, printing, etc. In response to this out-pouring of "superior" technical know-how, many Africans were at first attracted and formed the "piano key" concept of racial interdependence and mutual cooperation with whites. Yet the racism inherent in the colonial system combined with the non-appreciation of the African's grasp of spiritual reality eventually created a backlash, as some of the mission-trained African graduates—like the former Methodist

²⁰⁸ Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. 15.

minister Rev. Bresi-Ando—rose up to challenge both “white” Western Christianity and its European racist culture.

It is within this complex collage of colonial historical context that we will find Bishop Bresi-Ando in the 1930’s. Section Two will detail his biography. We will see how he was a Fante tribesman, a mission-trained critic, whose religious and commercial influence quickly spread from the Fante coast all the way to the rich cocoa farms in the Asante interior. Bresi-Ando embraced an emancipationist vision as he took major steps towards implementing what he considered to be an all-encompassing solution to the problems of colonial British West Africa. But what exactly were the colonial liabilities that bothered men like Bresi-Ando so much? Chapter Four will outline these key issues, while Chapter Five will present some of the leading Pan-African pioneers who rose up to fight against these problems.

**SECTION ONE: BRESI-ANDO'S ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT
WITHIN THE 1930's GOLD COAST COLONY**

**CHAPTER 4 COLONIALISM'S LIABILITIES AND THE BEGINNINGS OF
NATIONALISM ON THE GOLD COAST IN THE EARLY 20th CENTURY**

Purpose

In order to comprehend Bresi-Ando and be able to discern his life's guiding determination, we have to fully understand the rampant African criticism of colonialism that was growing within his era. The West African context in which Bresi-Ando chose to act was exceedingly complicated and therefore very ripe for the kind of actions he attempted. While the preceding chapter began to describe the colonial framework in terms of *positive* contributions brought by the white foreigners, to complete the picture one must also address the native response to colonialism, which included *negative* criticism of the white missions and the beginnings of a thirsting for emancipation and African nationalism. It is within this educated African critique of colonialism that Bresi-Ando emerged, as he did not come out of a vacuum. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is two-fold: to outline the *liabilities* of colonialism on the Gold Coast, and, to describe its first steps towards emancipation and *nationalism*. All of this background congealed together to give birth to the complex life and actions of Bishop Bresi-Ando in the 1930's.

Sources

The sources of the critique of colonialism on the Gold Coast come from a wide spectrum: educated native Gold Coasters, contemporary Ghanaian academics and theologians, colonial authorities, modern politicians, and the old foreign missions themselves. To begin the complaint by educated Gold Coasters against colonialism, the debate is placed into its time frame by looking at a valuable primary source, *Gold Coast Native Institutions: With Thoughts Upon a Healthy Imperial Policy for the Gold Coast and Ashanti* (1903), authored by Casely Hayford, the famous West African lawyer, educator and politician. As the leading Gold Coast Pan-Africanist in the first three decades of the 20th Century, Casely Hayford remained a mission-trained critic of the white man right up until his death in 1930¹.

¹ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 90.

An example of a contemporary secular Ghanaian author who criticizes the liabilities of colonialism from a modern political perspective is Dr. Kofi Nyidevu Awoonor of Cape Coast University in Ghana, one of the country's most famous contemporary authors. In the field of politics Awoonor served as Ghana's ambassador to Brazil and Cuba in the 1980's and led its diplomatic mission to the United Nations in the early '90s². His book, *Ghana – A Political History* (1990), draws upon his political science background and his love for the history of his country.

Introducing an interdisciplinary approach on the subject will be the work of contemporary Ghanaian theologian and seminary professor Dr. Jones Darkwa Amanor, academic dean of the International Theological Seminary in Accra. In his 2004 journal article, "Pentecostalism in Ghana: An African Reformation," Amanor criticizes colonialism from a spiritual perspective while carefully acknowledging its practical contributions.

The varied efforts of the Basel missionaries to the Gold Coast are defended and criticized in a balanced manner in sociologist Jon Miller's historical religious research on Ghana's foundational mission, *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control: Organizational Contradictions in the Basel Mission on the Gold Coast, 1828-1917* (2003).

An honest self-criticism of the work of the foreign missionaries is found in the missionary survey prepared by J. J. Cooksey and Alexander McLeish and published in 1931. Their *Religion and Civilization in West Africa: A Missionary Survey of French, British, Spanish and Portuguese West Africa, with Liberia* is a self-assessment providing a valuable picture of the strengths and weaknesses in Christian mission strategy on the Gold Coast and across West Africa at the very moment in time when Bresi-Ando began his own work in the colony.

A strong negative critique of the foreign missions comes from the mouth of a former colonial authority himself, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, in his 1929 work entitled, *The Future of the Negro: Some Chapters in the Development of a Race*. Guggisberg served as Governor of the Gold Coast from 1919 to 1927 during which time he greatly developed the infrastructure of the colony and

² The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica. "Kofi Awoonor," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 17 September 2018, (page consulted on 02 February 2019), <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Kofi-Awoonor>. par. 2.

won the hearts of many Gold Coasters, farmer and chief alike³. His work is co-authored by his good friend, Alick G. Fraser, the 1st principal of Achimota College, the government's premier secondary and teacher training school, which Guggisberg founded⁴. Another of Guggisberg's most ardent colleagues was Paramount Chief Nana Sir Ofori Atta I, who is described by historian Martin Wight in his research gem, *The Gold Coast Legislative Council* (1947).

In the face of this full round of criticism, a rebuttal in defense of colonialism is offered by Sir Frederick Lugard in his own 1922 monograph, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*. In the 1920's and '30s Lord Lugard was considered by his British peers in Parliament to be the *supreme authority* on the subject of colonial government, having served as the British commander whose armies had helped "open" Africa to the European colonialists⁵. Then, as Governor-General for Nigeria, Lugard united that colony within its present national boundaries in 1914⁶. Although criticized by some modern minds, Lord Lugard is recognized for having provided Africans a transitional form of government from tribal rule to modern democracy, and as such his opinion on the contributions and liabilities of colonialism should be considered⁷.

Structure

This *fourth* chapter of context Section One is divided into *two* parts: criticism of colonialism and early nationalist beginnings.

- 1) Secular criticism of the "contributions" of British civilization to Africa
- 2) Early nationalist beginnings (legislative assemblies, first nationalist organizations)

The first part will analyze concepts that developed in reaction to the white colonial missions (both in favor and against). The famous Gold Coast lawyer Joseph E. Casely Hayford, the late Ghanaian

³ Richard STUART. "Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg," *The Canadian Encyclopedia, Historica Canada*, put online 29 January 2008, (page consulted on 02 February 2019), <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/sir-frederick-gordon-guggisberg>, par. 2.

⁴ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 53; F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 112; J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa* [...], p. 129-130.

⁵ Margery PERHAM. "Frederick Lugard," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 18 January 2019, (page consulted on 02 February 2019), <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Frederick-Lugard>, par. 3-5, 7, 9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, par. 7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, par. 5.

politician Kofi N. Awoonor, and the legendary colonial governor Sir Frederick Lugard offer opposing secular views, while Ghanaian contemporary theologian Jones D. Amanor brings an alternative religious perspective. While crediting the missionaries' practical contributions to African economic and social development, Amanor shows how the rational Nominalist ideas inherent in the Enlightenment-based Western worldview of the foreign Protestant missionaries demonstrated a lack of understanding of the innate African spiritual mindset and therefore created a back-lash. Thus, the desire for a more African-friendly approach to Christianity plus the strong reaction against the increase in missionary-based racism inherent in New Imperial colonialism marked the beginnings of the criticism brought by the mission-trained African intellectuals, producing independent emancipationist-minded nationals and African religious separatists, such as Bresí-Ando.

The second part of the chapter will describe the country's first baby steps towards emancipation and nationalism. Some important historical personalities who wrestled with these issues—each in his own way—will be introduced: African lawyer John Mensah Sarbah, Chief Sir Ofori Atta I, and Governor Gordon Guggisberg. Each is a representative of the different groupings that had formed within the colonial Gold Coast and were shaping its future—the newly-educated African *intelligentsia*, the traditional chieftaincy, and the colonial authority. Together they set the stage for Bresí-Ando.

1. Secular criticism of the “contributions” of British civilization to Africa

Not all Africans share the view that the British were the “good guys” by “civilizing” the natives and ending slavery. A prime example is the viewpoint of African lawyer J. E. Casely Hayford (1866-1930), a mission-trained nationalist of immense intellectual proportions who was openly critical of the white man's hypocrisies⁸. He is famous for having founded the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) in 1920 as a Pan-Africanist attempt towards political “self-determination”⁹.

⁸ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 110.

⁹ *Ibid.*; David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 381-385.

1.1. Pan-Africanist Casely Hayford's negative view of the British

The author of many articles and books on the theme of emancipation, Casely Hayford took issue with the argument that the British were a “good” enterprise visited upon his people in that they had stopped the ethnic tribal wars, ended the savage practice of human sacrifice, and shut down external and internal slavery¹⁰. Such had been the official view of Sir Matthew Nathan, the Colonial Governor of the Gold Coast in 1901¹¹. Casely Hayford notes the hypocrisy of the pro-colonial authors who speak of this “good” effect while failing to show how the colonial soldiers themselves savagely killed many locals, both poor natives and chiefs alike, with the Maxim machine gun. In his 1903 book, *Gold Coast Native Institutions: With thoughts upon a healthy imperial policy for the Gold Coast and Asante*, Casely Hayford remarks:

[T]he talk of human sacrifices and barbarous customs and slave-raiding is all cant. What lies behind it all is the desire for the good things of Ashanti that would come into the pockets of the British capitalist. How many thousands are mowed down by the Maxim [*machine gun*] in a single expedition? [...] all the world knows that you are simply taking part in the scramble for the black man's country.¹²

Casely Hayford holds that the “virtue” of removing “barbarous customs” from West Africa is bantered about by whites as an excuse disguising the real reason for the British presence in the country—the “scramble” for Africa and its riches.

1.2. Ghana historian Kofi Awoonor's criticism of British colonial policy

Since the time of Casely Hayford it has become very politically fashionable (even considered “correct”) to follow his line of thought and to “damn” the British Government for using their colonial system primarily for their own economic advantage and only secondarily for the well-being of the natives¹³. Colonial critics in London from the opposition Labour Party proclaimed in their early 20th Century newspapers that “[t]he general effects of European policy in Africa have

¹⁰ David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 321.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² CASELY HAYFORD. *Gold Coast Native Institutions: With Thoughts Upon a Healthy Imperial Policy for the Gold Coast and Ashanti*, Coll. “Classic Reprint Series”, London, FB &c Ltd., 2015 [1903], p. 269.

¹³ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 107; Margery PERHAM. “Frederick Lugard,” par. 5, 9.

been almost wholly evil”¹⁴. An example of a modern Ghanaian academic who echoes this cry is Dr. Kofi N. Awoonor. He asserts that there is an admission of imperialist *selfishness* in the famous “dual mandate” expressed by the British government’s own Lord Lugard, the former Governor-General of Nigeria whose armies helped “open” Africa” for European colonization¹⁵. Recognized in the British House of Lords as their chief expert on matters of colonial government during the decades of the ‘20s and ‘30s¹⁶, in his famous work, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (1922), Lugard admitted that the Europeans were not in Africa to do “pure philanthropy,” but “Europe is in Africa for the mutual benefit of her own industrial classes, and of the native races.”

Let it be admitted at the outset that European brains, capital, and energy have *not* been, and never will be, expended in developing the resources of Africa from motives of *pure philanthropy*; that *Europe is in Africa for the mutual benefit of her own industrial classes, and of the native races* in their progress to a higher plane; that the benefit can be made reciprocal, and that it is the aim and desire of civilised administration to fulfil this *dual mandate*.¹⁷

Awoonor sees Lugard’s mention of Europe being “in Africa” for “the native races” as “an obvious after-thought”—not the main reason for its presence, nor an evenly balanced reciprocal arrangement—in which “[a]ny material gain that accrued to the African in the pursuit of this trade was purely accidental”¹⁸.

Professor Awoonor notes that after the 1884-85 Berlin Conference and the “scramble” for Africa, changes in policy allowed the former competing French and British merchant firms in West Africa to operate freely within each other’s colonies, demonstrating how the “[e]xploitation of the Africans united them”¹⁹. Caught in the clutches of the “New Imperialism” (1870-1914) in which the Western Powers rapidly expanded their political and economic global empires, the Africans were squeezed between the voracious appetite of the industries in Europe for raw materials and

¹⁴ Frederick D. LUGARD. *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, Abingdon, Oxon, Frank Cass & Co, Ltd., 2005 [1922], p. 616.

¹⁵ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 107; Margery PERHAM. “Frederick Lugard,” par. 3-5; Frederick D. LUGARD. *The Dual Mandate* [...], p. 617.

¹⁶ Margery PERHAM. “Frederick Lugard,” par. 8.

¹⁷ Frederick D. LUGARD. *The Dual Mandate* [...], p. 617—italics added.

¹⁸ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 107.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

the Western capitalists' need for an ever-expanding global market for their new products²⁰. Local African industry was impeded and squashed in the face of the overwhelming imported competition²¹. Socially, due to the fact that they possessed all the modern gadgets, manufactured products, Western medicine, and practical know-how, the "New Imperialists" arrogantly considered their technologically-advanced scientific modern ways—and their Western culture, and even their "white" persons—to be "superior" when compared to the "inferior" knowledge, manners, and ways of the "backward" natives in the colonies²². As a result, by comparison, it was common for the colonial-era African to feel compelled to Westernize²³.

1.3. *Pax Britannica* - the British defense of colonialism against criticism

The reality of New Imperialism's economic determination having been recognized, it is still historically accurate to acknowledge that the Christian British brought to the Gold Coast and Asante lands a measure of peace—a true *Pax Britannica*²⁴. "Liberty and justice have replaced chaos, bloodshed and war", argued Lord Lugard²⁵. Ghanaian historian F. K. Buah credits the British for having brought "about peace among the warring states in the country" and instead having "promoted agriculture and trade and encouraged the spread of Christian missionary work up the heart of Asante," having "created the atmosphere for proper administration and prosperous trade in the country"²⁶. Lord Lugard, in his *Dual Mandate*, went on to defend the benefits brought by the British to their African colonies, providing an impressive list of positive changes to infrastructure and society:

By railways and roads, by reclamation of swamps and irrigation of deserts, and by a system of fair trade and competition, we have added to the prosperity and wealth

²⁰ "The Age of Imperialism (1870–1914)," Part I: Subject Area Reviews with Sample Questions and Answers, *Tamaqua Area School District*, (page consulted on 04 February 2019), <https://www.tamaqua.k12.pa.us/>, and <http://fliphtml5.com/uztp/uigv/basic>, p. 150.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*; Ronald ROBINSON, John GALLAGHER, and Alice DENNY. *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism*, 2nd ed., London, Macmillan Press, 1981, p. 2-3; David B. BARRETT. *Schism and Renewal in Africa: An Analysis of Six Thousand Contemporary Religious Movements*, Nairobi, Oxford University Press, 1968, p. 266; Hollis LYNCH. "Edward Wilmot Blyden: Pan-Negro Patriot from the Caribbean," *New World Journal*, vol. 4, n° 1, 1967, put online [s.d.], (page consulted on 30 March 2018), <https://newworldjournal.org/africa/edward-wilmot-blyden-pan-negro-patriot-from-the-caribbean>, p. 3.

²³ "The Age of Imperialism (1870–1914)," p. 150.

²⁴ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 90.

²⁵ Frederick D. LUGARD. *The Dual Mandate* [...], p. 617.

²⁶ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 78.

of these lands, and checked famine and disease. We have put an end to the awful misery of the slave-trade and inter-tribal war, to human sacrifice and the ordeals of the witch-doctor. Where these things survive they are severely suppressed. We are endeavouring to teach the native races to conduct their own affairs with justice and humanity, and to educate them alike in letters and in industry.²⁷

Post-abolition Britain brought to the Gold Coast a quality of life, political stability and unity that were very fundamental and necessary foundational stones for the building of the future free and united nation of Ghana. One cannot have a modern democratic nation if its constituent members are divided along ethnic lines mortally continuing their grandfathers' hatreds and endless wars generation after generation. Slavery, tribal warfare, and human sacrifice had to come to an end before a modern Ghana could even begin to be conceived of. It was the post-Abolition British together with the Evangelical and Pietistic missionaries (helped of course by quinine, protecting them from malaria) who had accomplished this task of preparation for primitive nation-formation. It was *not* the Portuguese or the Dutch or the Danes or the Swedes or the English slave traders in the prior three centuries (16th-18th) who had made this lasting impact²⁸. On the contrary, their presence had only fueled the warfare and the murder and the enslavement—by trading guns and liquor for slaves and gold. Rather, it was largely the Evangelical, Pietist (and Pietistically-influenced) Christians of the 18th and 19th Centuries—both in British Parliament and on the mission field—who were motivated to help the Africans in a lasting foundational humanitarian manner which positioned these tribes on the brink of independent nationhood in the middle of the 20th Century. This point cannot be understated. In recognizing the colossal contribution of the Christian mission to his continent, J. N. Kanyua Mugambi put it this way: “Evangelization and civilization have been inseparable”²⁹.

Yet the British during their colonial rule, despite all their good works, were not innocent nor free of racism, but neither were the Africans. The simple truth remains, there was blood on both hands—on those of the colonial authorities who certainly did a lot of killing in the name of civilized law and order, and simultaneously, there was also much African blood on the hands of their own native brothers as well, through their own internal wars and human sacrifices.

²⁷ Frederick D. LUGARD. *The Dual Mandate* [...], p. 617.

²⁸ Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. 16.

²⁹ J. N. K. MUGAMBI. “Chapter 25—A Fresh Look at Evangelism in Africa,” *The Study of Evangelism: Exploring a Missional Practice of the Church*, Paul W. Chilcote and Lacey C. Warner (Eds.), Cambridge, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2008, p. 372.

Unfortunately, warfare and the “State” (whether it be a small tribal chieftaincy or the huge British Empire) are intimately and tragically tied together. What Alexander Solzhenitsyn said for the Soviet states can be applied here: “Quite simply, no state can live without war, that is one of the state’s essential functions. [...] War is the price we pay for living in a state. Before you can abolish war you will have to abolish all states.”³⁰

1.4. Secular criticism of the white missionary

Some African critics of colonialism have even openly disparaged the missionaries, revisioning them as “agents of imperialism”³¹. In this Professor Awoonor goes on the offensive and takes vehement issue against the presence of the white missionary—many of whom actually came with evangelical Pietistic fervor to the harsh tropics and willingly laid down their lives in “the white man’s grave” as “martyrs” for their belief in Jesus Christ and His Gospel.

1.4.1. The missionary as the colonial “tool” for exploitation

Awoonor laments the “whole dismal enterprise” of financially exploitative “race supremacist” colonialism “being dressed up as a civilizing mission” which claims that its purpose was “the bringing of European enlightenment to the satanic Africans”³². In his view, the entire experience was “the greatest fraud in this millennium”³³. Awoonor asserts that the missionaries were *not* altruistic in their intentions, but were mere cogs in the imperialist machinery:

*The missionaries did not come to Africa because they were persuaded that the African did not know God. They came because they were part of the large imperial scheme of things. They came to “soften” us up so that the traders and their political masters could take over our resources. The christian [sic.] priest was to take possession of our minds and make us available for the control systems that the imperial programme had fashioned in order to milk us.*³⁴

Awoonor’s hard line is that the European Pietistic and Evangelical missionaries were the mere *tools* of the European imperialist economic machine, designated and used to “soften” up the

³⁰ Aleksandr SOLZHENITSYN. *November 1916: The Red Wheel/Knot II*, 1984, Translated from Russian by H. T. Willetts, New York, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, p. 53.

³¹ Peter CROWHURST. “The Impact of The Abolition [...]” par. 5.

³² Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 90-92.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 78—italics added.

African for his colonial—and later, post-independent “neo-colonial”— enslavement³⁵. The professor therefore makes the undefendable claim that all the whites who ever came to Africa were the “bad guys,” lumping them all together into a single condemned category of economic imperialist abusers. Whether they be European missionaries, capitalist-fortune seekers, or adventurous soldier/politicians, Awoonor sees a single purpose and motivation behind their presence in his Gold Coast—economic exploitation³⁶. For him, “[t]hey came because they were part of the large imperial scheme of things [...] to ‘soften’ us up [...] in order to milk us”³⁷. According to Awoonor, the goal of the colonial missionary was “to provide the psychological state of eternal hope, amnesia and a pathological sense of well-being conducive [...] to serve as the labourer and programmed consumer in the capitalist exploitative machine”³⁸.

The real picture is more complicated. A clearer analysis of the facts will show that while some colonial-era white missionary clergy might have cooperated with their brother whites in the government, allowing themselves to be used (wittingly or unwittingly) by the British imperial system, officially they were not governmental representatives nor clerks but saw themselves as civilizers, teachers, and preachers³⁹. Research by Jon Miller on the Gold Coast’s Basel Mission has falsified Awoonor’s claim that the missionaries came as mere “tools” of economic imperialist exploitation. Miller’s study shows that it has been well documented that the Basel missionaries were highly motivated by Pietism’s core teachings about Christ, inner rebirth, personal Scripture reading, and social improvement, and therefore were *extremely* devoted to carry an active, disciplined “missionary evangelism” to the tribes of the world still living in what they termed as “unchristian darkness”⁴⁰. The Basel missionaries were instructed by their mission board to steer clear of colonial politics and to make sure that their African converts understood clearly that their mission was *not part* of the colonial government⁴¹. In light of this research, Awoonor’s assertion—that the “missionaries did not come to Africa because they were persuaded that the African did not

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 175-176.

³⁹ Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. 15-16, 20; Peter CROWHURST. “The Impact of The Abolition [...],” par. 5 & 7.

⁴⁰ Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. 13-14.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

know God”—fails as a false statement fashioned to fit the anti-capitalist political/economic thesis of his book.

1.4.2. Criticism of the missionary’s educational program

Another claim of Dr. Awoonor is that the Gold Coast’s colonial educational system “was never conceived to train the people to produce anything”⁴². Here he asserts that the entire educational program of the colonial Gold Coast was designed with no greater good in mind than to further the New Imperialist colonial program by training a cadre of “tally clerks and counters in the warehouses” who would serve as “the staunchest defenders of British interest and political control over their own countrymen”⁴³. Thus, in his opinion, colonial education by design was creating “the labourer and programmed consumer in the capitalist exploitative machine” but was not empowering the locals with skills and technical know-how to become owners and producers of their own African industries⁴⁴. In pointing his finger at colonial education, Dr. Awoonor is laying the blame upon the shoulders of the white missionaries because it was the foreign missions who dominated the education program during the colonial era. For example, in 1931, official Gold Coast colonial records reveal that the government only operated 19 schools and one high school, while the foreign missions were running 568 schools, including a handful of high schools and training colleges⁴⁵. While Awoonor may be describing aspects of the Gold Coast’s British colonial experience during the era of Late Victorian New Imperialism (from 1870’s to 1914) and the 20th Century interwar period, his comments do not equally apply to those white missionary-educators whose presence on the Gold Coast pre-dated the country’s official entry into the British Empire. The Germans, Swiss, and Danish Basel missionaries had been hard at work on the Coast for well over four decades before it became a British Crown Colony in 1874⁴⁶. Having arrived in 1828, they remained there until World War I politics ejected all of them from the Colony⁴⁷.

⁴² Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 175.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 84, 175, 176.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 175-176.

⁴⁵ *Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of the Gold Coast, 1931-32*, Colonial Reports—Annual, No. 1602, London, His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1933, p. 45; J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa* [...], p. 133, 139, 141-144; Jones Darkwa AMANOR.

“Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 4.

⁴⁶ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 5-7.

⁴⁷ Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. 14-15.

Researcher Jon Miller identifies the threefold strategy of the Basel Mission—1) to preach the Good News in vernacular tongues, 2) to educate (specifically using the Bible), and, 3) to teach modern animal husbandry and technical skills⁴⁸. It is a known fact that in addition to evangelism, religious instruction, literacy, and the laying of the educational foundations for the future modern state of Ghana, the Baslers made great efforts to transfer to the Africans productive technical skills for the practical side of life—blacksmiths, carpenters, furniture makers, locksmiths, masons, printers, tailors, and many more⁴⁹. Miller’s research on this is complete with old photographs to prove his point!⁵⁰ All this the Baslers did in order to impart the necessary life skills to the newly-converted Christian Africans in order for them to form their own fully functioning independent new Christian communities where they could live out and retain their new Faith apart from the traditional tribal communal life from which they had been dissociated⁵¹. Therefore, for a modern academic like Awoonor to claim that the foreigners *never* taught the Gold Coasters to *produce* anything is simply historically inaccurate. However, to state that the economic monopolistic policies and practices of the New Imperialists “adversely affected” and even “destroyed” native industry would be more correct⁵².

1.4.3. The “disguise” on the face of *Pax Britannica*

In addition to calling the missionaries (with their evangelical and educational activities) a charade, Professor Awoonor also discredits any true benefit in the development of colonial infrastructure. He sees Lord Lugard’s claim of Europe’s benefitting their colonies by building railroads, highways, harbors, and hospitals, as was evidenced in the Gold Coast Colony particularly during the time of Governor Guggisberg (1919-1927)⁵³, as merely an “alibi” and “disguise” masking “the face of *Pax Britannica*”⁵⁴. After all, Awoonor continues, even though this infrastructure was built in his homeland by the British, it was “essential to the economic exploitative machinery” of New Imperialism⁵⁵. Yet, despite his lament, Awoonor cannot hide the fact that this same

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 15-16.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 15-16, 27-28.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Plates 1-19.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 16, 62.

⁵² “The Age of Imperialism (1870–1914),” p. 150.

⁵³ Frederick D. LUGARD. *The Dual Mandate* [...], p. 617; Richard STUART. “Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg,” par. 2.

⁵⁴ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 90, 176.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

“machinery”—as it served the Gold Coast’s cocoa boom—*directly* contributed to his country’s massive growth in economy, personal wealth, and population during the first half of the 20th Century, realities which he is forced to admit⁵⁶. The opinions of Governors Nathan and Lugard in this regard appear to have been *somewhat* vindicated by history. Somewhat, but not entirely, because Lugard had defended colonialism as a provider of economic development and wealth to the African in part “by a system of fair trade and competition”⁵⁷. But when the imperial authorities allowed that same system to get monopolized by large foreign merchant companies who banded together to *fix* purchasing prices *unfairly* in their favor, as they did with the Gold Coast cocoa⁵⁸, then Lugard’s defense of “a system of *fair* trade” has an obvious hole in it. The benefits of his “dual mandate”—though real to both sides—were not always equally enjoyed.

1.5. Theological criticism of the white missionary

Another Ghanaian academic, Jones Darkwa Amanor, academic dean of the International Theological Seminary in Accra, Ghana, enlarges upon Miller’s research to provide an alternative view to that of Ambassador Awoonor with respect to criticizing the white missionaries. Coming from a theological perspective, Dr. Amanor’s 2004 cyberjournal article, “Pentecostalism in Ghana: An African Reformation,” censures the theological and sociological faults of the early white missionaries while simultaneously recognizing their immense sacrificial contribution to his country⁵⁹. In his balanced critique, Amanor credits the Pietist Basel missionaries for their belief “in the inherent goodness of all people regardless of race”⁶⁰, a virtue which Prof. Awoonor appears to deny to white colonialists and missionaries alike.

1.5.1. Recognition of the missionary’s practical achievements

Professor Amanor, like Miller before him, recognizes the Basel missionaries’ sincere desire for “the propagation of the Gospel and the promotion of Christianity through the introduction of western education,” noting that “their activities brought improvement of general life of the natives

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 176-177.

⁵⁷ Frederick D. LUGARD. *The Dual Mandate* [...], p. 617.

⁵⁸ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 119-120, 169.

⁵⁹ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 1-4.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

in the country⁶¹. Amanor states what is commonly known in scholarship about these Basel missionaries: that their “desire to help bring about improvements in general living conditions among natives was borne out of the desire to compensate Africa for the raping of the African continent of its natural and human resources”⁶² and “to promote other income-generating activity to discourage and end the trade in slaves”⁶³. By introducing them to the practical side of Western civilization with a variety of trades and skill sets, the Baslers hoped to develop an “active middle class” of farmers who were independent of the slave trade⁶⁴.

Amanor shows that the early missionaries to the Gold Coast included the Germans, Danes and Swiss of the Basel Mission, not only English Methodists⁶⁵. German citizens preaching and teaching on the Gold Coast (from 1828 to WWI) were certainly *not* British government agents working to build up a British imperialist capitalist colonial system. Thus, Amanor’s position is that the evangelical Pietistic movement—through its fervent missionaries—was indeed altruistic. They *did not* come in service of imperialist capitalism. They actually came to the Gold Coast both to preach Christ and to do battle with the existing guns-for-slave trade, a formidable opponent supported by both African and European merchants⁶⁶. This was in keeping with the mindset of the Evangelicals who had gained so much influence in the British Parliament during the time of the Abolitionist William Wilberforce and who believed that the power of the Empire should be utilized to Christianize, defend and serve the native Africans, not exploit them⁶⁷. This position was articulated by Lord John Russell, British Prime Minister in 1846, during the Early Victorian time frame when the Pietist Basel Mission was getting firmly established on the Gold Coast. His imperial policy toward the Africans was to “encourage religious instruction, let them partake of the blessings of Christianity, preserve order and internal peace, induce the African race to feel that wherever the British flag flies they have a friend and protector, check oppression and watch over the impartial administration of the law”⁶⁸.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶² *Ibid.*; Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. 15.

⁶³ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 9.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4-7.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8; F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 72; Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. 15.

⁶⁷ Peter CROWHURST. “The Impact of The Abolition [...]” par. 7.

⁶⁸ Lord John RUSSELL, in Peter CROWHURST, “The Impact of The Abolition [...]” par. 7.

The view of hind-sight from one hundred years later gave high marks to the practical achievements of the Basel missionaries, according to mission historians. Stephen Neill summarized their success in introducing Western civilization to the Gold Coast: “The missionaries found Ghana divided, poor, ignorant, and racked by the slave trade. It was in no small measure due to their efforts that in 1957, when Ghana, first of the peoples of tropical Africa to emerge from colonial to national status, attained to full independence, it was united, rich, educated, and able to hold its own in the competitive world of western civilization.”⁶⁹ President Kwame Nkrumah praised the missionaries for their devotion and martyrdom in the cause of the Gospel of Jesus Christ:

Ghana is proud to pay its tribute to the great work of missionaries in West Africa [...] the brave men and women who, in bringing the Christian faith to this country, gave “the last full measure of their devotion.” They knew that they faced the certainty of loneliness and imminent risk of death. Yellow fever decimated them and their families. But still they came. They belong to the martyrs of Christianity. (Kwame Nkrumah’s address to the delegates of the International Missionary Council, WCC, Accra, Ghana, 1957)⁷⁰

Coming from the mouth of one of Ghana’s most famous mission-trained critics of colonialism, this is certainly high recognition of the *altruism* of the missionaries’ genuine inner motivation.

1.5.2. Increase in missionary-based racism

The German, Danish, and Swiss Pietistic Basel missionaries that came first to the Gold Coast in the early/mid-1800’s were less racist than the British and Scottish missionaries whose presence came to dominate later, following the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885⁷¹. One of the most famous German missionaries, the Rev. Johannes Zimmerman, the translator of the Ga Bible⁷², married an African woman (Catherine Mulgrave in 1851)⁷³. A couple of other Basel missionaries followed

⁶⁹ Stephen NEILL. *A History of Christian Missions*, 2nd ed., Coll. “The Penguin History of the Church,” vol. 6, Owen Chadwick (Gen. Ed.), London, Penguin Books, 1990, p. 260.

⁷⁰ Kwame NKUMAH. Address to the delegates of the International Missionary Council, WCC, Accra, Ghana, 1957, in Harris W. MOBLEY, *The Ghanaian’s Image of the Missionary: An Analysis of the Published Critiques of Christian Missionaries by Ghanaians, 1897-1965*, Coll. “Studies of Religion in Africa,” vol. 1, Leiden, Netherlands, E. J. Brill, 1970, p. 24.

⁷¹ David B. BARRETT. *Schism and Renewal in Africa* [...], p. 265-266.

⁷² F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 142.

⁷³ Ulrike SILL. *Encounters in Quest of Christian Womanhood: The Basel Mission in Pre- and Early Colonial Ghana*, Coll. “Studies in Christian Mission,” vol. 39, Leiden, Netherlands, Brill, 2010, p. 110-132; Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], Plate 24.

suit and also took African wives, even though it was officially against their mission's rules⁷⁴. However, it must be noted that the white missionaries of the Late Victorian era and early 20th Century—particularly those from Great Britain—who arrived later in West Africa between 1885 and World War I manifested a “gradual shift of attitude” which grew “increasingly critical” of native life⁷⁵. Their stronger racist stance was typical of the “New Imperialism,” in which “[i]deas on racial superiority came together with ideas on imperial unity to produce an ideology of empire which became the justification of empire and its expansion in the last quarter of the [19th] century”⁷⁶.

Of all the peoples of the various empires in the time of the late-Victorian “New Imperialism” and its “scramble” for Africa⁷⁷, this racist attitude most described the British Victorians, so proud of their Empire on which “the sun never set.” Bolstered by their global leadership in accumulated achievements in “progress”, industry, political power, and economic wealth, their Victorian attitude was that they had the *superior* civilization which they were morally duty-bound to share with the rest of the less privileged world via colonial expansion⁷⁸. In this context, to move from viewing oneself as being the superior civilization to being the *superior* “race” whose “genius” it was “to colonize, to trade, and to govern,” as Lord Lugard put it⁷⁹—was a very easy and tempting step to take. Their “vivid sense of superiority and self-righteousness” and “national arrogance,” although aligned with “every good intention,” self-ranked the British people “at the top” of “the ladder of progress” and placed the “aborigines” of Africa at the bottom, in “need” of help from the higher ones in order to start their own climb to advanced civilization⁸⁰. Thus, “The White Man’s Burden” (as famously expressed by the British poet Rudyard Kipling) became the racist defense used to justify New Imperial ever-expansive colonization⁸¹. But the day-to-day reality on the Gold Coast was discouraging to many Africans. With the widespread growth of New Imperialism in

⁷⁴ Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. 149-151.

⁷⁵ David B. BARRETT. *Schism and Renewal in Africa* [...], p. 265-266; Hollis LYNCH. “Edward Wilmot Blyden [...]” p. 3.

⁷⁶ Peter CROWHURST. “What was New Imperialism in the British Empire?” *The British Empire 1815-1914*, (page consulted on 05 February 2019), <http://www.britishempire.me.uk/newimperialism.html>, par. 8.

⁷⁷ Ronald ROBINSON, John GALLAGHER, and Alice DENNY. *Africa and the Victorians* [...], p. 17.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1-3, 17-21; Frederick D. LUGARD. *The Dual Mandate* [...], p. 618-619.

⁷⁹ Frederick D. LUGARD. *The Dual Mandate* [...], p. 618-619.

⁸⁰ Ronald ROBINSON, John GALLAGHER, and Alice DENNY. *Africa and the Victorians* [...], p. 1-3.

⁸¹ Peter CROWHURST. “What was New Imperialism [...]” par. 8.

Africa following the Berlin Conference “came a correspondingly increased arrogance in the attitude of Europeans towards Africans”⁸².

Furthermore, in the context of World War I, fearing a political sympathy with Germany, in 1914 the British colonial authorities detained many German Basel missionaries⁸³. Then, in 1917 the British arrested and deported all the Basel missionaries from the Gold Coast, replacing them with Scottish Presbyterians who were loyal subjects of the British Crown⁸⁴. Thus, a more pro-white racist, supremacist, pro-British Empire group of missionaries came to populate the Gold Coast Crown Colony (though it would not be fair to portray every *individual* Scottish missionary as necessarily racist). This racial superiority complex was not exclusively Protestant because even most Roman Catholics at the time felt that only *white* missionary clerics were “capable of carrying the weight of the episcopate”⁸⁵. Perhaps it was this type of white “New Imperial” missionary that critics such as Professor Awoonor had in mind. In Section Two, we shall see Bresi-Ando reacting against these clergymen from Great Britain, considering them to be the despised collaborators, pawns and “scouts” of the racist New Imperialist colonial system⁸⁶.

1.5.3. Missionaries’ Western worldview vs. innate African spiritual mindset

Having noted the important distinction between the German/Swiss Pietist missionaries and their later British New Imperialist-era counterparts, we can now follow Amanor’s analysis of the Gold Coast’s religious history as he proceeds to examine the faults of the early missions, not only their “pluses”. Professor Amanor explains how the missionaries’ Western worldview led their first African converts to completely disassociate themselves from their African roots, not selecting or retaining those elements from within the African culture which were salvific or potentially transferable⁸⁷. His insight is backed up by Cooksey and McLeish’s 1931 Missionary Survey which complained that the Basel Mission’s approach “had its disadvantages in that the Christians came to consider everything pagan to be evil”⁸⁸. They segregated their converts out of normal “pagan”

⁸² Hollis LYNCH. “Edward Wilmot Blyden [...],” p. 3.

⁸³ Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. 15.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 15, 26.

⁸⁵ Stephen NEILL. *A History of Christian Missions*, p. 220.

⁸⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 June 1994, Log 26, p. 1666.

⁸⁷ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 1-2.

⁸⁸ J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa* [...], p. 133.

village life by establishing new Christian autonomous villages (called “Salems”) where they could develop and sustain their own new societal network of church life, education, work/vocation, and “truly pious” Christian family life according to the core beliefs of Pietism⁸⁹. The Basel missionaries believed that this was the only way to ensure the permanency of the Africans’ conversions⁹⁰. They applied literally what St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians: “Come out from among them and be separate, says the Lord. Do not touch what is unclean, and I will receive you” (II Corinthians 6:17 NKJV).

Amanor admits that the Basel missionaries worked at reforming the African convert’s life and culture “in such a way that they would feel out of step with their own society”⁹¹. The result was too often—but *not always*—a half-converted African whose mind was in love with Western education and European medicine but whose heart was still linked to the “pull” of African Traditional spirituality⁹². Cooksey and McLeish’s 1931 missionary field report complains of converts backsliding into “superstition” and “heathenism” and the use of fetish “medicine”⁹³. While Cooksey and his colleague place the blame on the lack of sufficient trained staff to support the fast church growth and mission expansion⁹⁴, Amanor puts his finger on the pulse of the deeper problem and blames the Enlightenment-based rational Western worldview of the missionary⁹⁵:

The western missionaries failed to see in African religious thought and imagination any spiritual content and any preparation for the Gospel of Jesus Christ and, in the end, presented a God to the natives who was “alien”.⁹⁶

In the opinion of most 19th Century Western missionaries to the continent, African spirituality and spiritism was just empty, useless, unreal superstition—without “any spiritual content”⁹⁷. To them,

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*; Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. 16.

⁹⁰ Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. 62.

⁹¹ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 1; Amanor draws on the ideas of: Andrew F. WALLS. “The Evangelical Revival, the Missionary Movement, and Africa,” *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700–1990*, Coll. “Religion in America,” Mark A. NOLL, David W. BEBBINGTON, and George A. RAWLYK (Eds.), New York, Oxford University Press, 1994, 448 p.

⁹² Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 1-2, & 28 footnote ii; James ANNORBAH-SARPEI. “The Rise of Prophetism: A Socio-Political Explanation,” *The Rise of Independent Churches in Ghana, Accra, Ghana*, Asempa Publishers Christian Council of Ghana, 1990, p. 27-33.

⁹³ J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa* [...], p. 135-136.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 136-137.

⁹⁵ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 1.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1-2.

it was simply irrational nonsense which needed to be disposed of. The philosophically “Nominalist” rationalist ideas of the “Enlightenment” increasingly embraced by Protestantism over the recent centuries had created this modern worldview, with concepts and convictions such as “there is no such thing as ghosts,” “no such thing as magic,” even, “no such thing as miracles,” and for many, “no such thing as sacraments”, etc.⁹⁸ Therefore, a *great clash of worldviews*—a huge “culture gap”—occurred when these 19th Century Enlightenment-based missionaries arrived in Africa and encountered the “pre-Enlightenment” African cultures which still believed in magic⁹⁹. Professors Jean and John Comaroff have analyzed the “meeting of these two worlds” in which the missionaries were trying to advance God’s Kingdom while simultaneously playing a major role in the “imperial thrust” into Africa of “postenlightment imagination” as “the human vehicles of a hegemonic worldview” of European New Imperialism¹⁰⁰. Dr. Stephen Hayes, a missiologist specialist in South Africa, summed up the missionaries’ conclusion that “pre-Enlightenment culture must make way for the Enlightenment culture, or, as they put it, civilisation must precede Christianisation.”

[M]ost of the missionaries who came to sub-Saharan Africa from Europe in the nineteenth century were thoroughly imbued with the Enlightenment world view. These Western missionaries brought the Christian faith to pre-Enlightenment cultures. They soon became aware of the cultural gap, and the typical way of dealing with it was to say that before the Christian faith could take root, *the pre-Enlightenment culture must make way for the Enlightenment culture*, or, as they put it, *civilisation must precede Christianisation*. Since the Enlightenment such missionaries have said, in effect, “You must abandon your problems and accept our problems and explanations of evil”. Enlightenment missionaries could only offer solutions to Enlightenment problems. Civilised solutions demand civilised problems!¹⁰¹

As modern missionaries evangelizing within premodern societies, these Enlightenment-based rationalist missionaries appeared to be a type of cultural bull-dozer whose job it was to clear the

⁹⁸ Zoltán Gendler SZABÓ. “Nominalism”, *The Oxford Handbook of Metaphysics*, Michael J. Loux and Dean W. Zimmerman (Eds.), Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 20.

⁹⁹ Stephen HAYES. “Christian Responses to Witchcraft and Sorcery,” *Missionalia*, vol. 23, n° 3, November 1995, p. 344-345.

¹⁰⁰ Jean and John COMAROFF. *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa*, vol. 1, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1991, p. 310.

¹⁰¹ Stephen HAYES. “Christian Responses to Witchcraft [...]” p. 344-345—italics added.

African field of its own native culture *first* in order for the “civilized” Western Christian culture and church to be built: “civilisation must precede Christianisation.”

Amanor points out that during this initial early period of missionary work on the Gold Coast, especially with the arrival of the Basel missionaries in 1828 who were so bent on the necessity of civilizing the local African, “to convert to the Christian faith meant a complete denigration of one’s past to accept a God who was largely alien to the culture of the African past”¹⁰². This all began to backfire in the faces of these Pietist and Evangelical missionaries as the African Christian converts stubbornly clung onto their own deep innate African spirituality which endorsed items such as deities and ghosts and magic as part of their spiritual reality¹⁰³. Sadly, too often for too many Africans, an overly-intellectualized and rationalized Western Christianity had failed to demonstrate the divine power it claimed to have. Amanor explains: “When confronted with the need to find solutions to the existential needs of life, they [*i.e. the native converts*] found their [*new, shallow, Nominalist, rationalized, Enlightenment-based, Western Christian*] religion powerless to help” and were tempted to compromise in a syncretistic manner, often secretly revisiting their former pagan shrines in an attempt to seek spiritual solutions¹⁰⁴. Thus, despite his best of intentions, a “Nominalist” Western missionary (with all his efforts to “stop all this nonsense” about pagan “superstition”) could often produce a nominal (*i.e.* half-hearted, in name only) Christian, who had been converted “only in the mind but not in the heart”¹⁰⁵. Sadly, “nominalism” became “the greatest problem of Christianity in Ghana,” according to the findings of the 1989 *National Church Survey* conducted by the Ghana Evangelism Committee¹⁰⁶. Too many Africans—but *not all*—had fallen in love with Western schooling and civilization, but “were not really converted at heart”¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰² Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 1.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 1-2.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*; James ANNORBAH-SARPEL. “The Rise of Prophetism [...],” p. 27-33.

¹⁰⁵ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 1-2.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1; GHANA EVANGELISM COMMITTEE. *National Church Survey: Facing the Unfinished Task of the Church in Ghana*, Accra North, Ghana, Ghana Evangelism Committee, 1989, 128 p.

¹⁰⁷ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 28 footnote ii.

1.5.4. Beginnings of the African religious “separatists”

As a result of the mistakes inherent in the early missionaries’ presentation of the Gospel, by the end of the 19th Century some Gold Coast natives had had enough. They became Christian “separatists” of a Pan-African bent and started the three successive “waves” of fast-growing modern-day African Independent Churches (called “AICs”) which have currently elevated the percentage of Christians in contemporary Ghana to nearly 3/4ths of the population¹⁰⁸. While some scholars feel that these new AICs rose out of a growing Pan-Africanist drive for emancipation from white-controlled religion (due to rising “nationalistic feelings of self-expression and independence from Western missionaries”¹⁰⁹, other scholars lay the blame on the European missions’ “failure” to enculturate appropriate African traditions and perceptions, thereby alienating the Africans and driving them ultimately to form their own style of church, more conforming to their African mentality¹¹⁰. They desired an Africanization of the presentation of the Christian Gospel more in tune with their innate African cultural and spiritual conceptions, thereby appearing “less alien”, in which they could feel more “at home”¹¹¹. They desired a church which both recognized the reality of the African spiritual world and could manifest the Gifts of the Holy Spirit to heal, protect and liberate them from the demons which move in that unseen realm¹¹². Thus, instead of denying their African spiritual experiences, they could remain “African” in mentality while upgrading to a higher spiritual plane where they as Christians could be emancipated from bondage to negative spiritual entities and forces, and instead enjoy God’s favor and protection¹¹³.

The following chapters will show that all these reasons were valid. Whatever the reason, an all-embracing definition of “Pan-Africanism” held true for the experience of these new African denominations. Their “separatist” mentality desired “to bring total liberation to the African in all

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2, 12-14; GHANA STATISTICAL SERVICE. *2010 Population & Housing Census* [...], p. 40, Table 16.

¹⁰⁹ Kofi Asare OPOKU. “A Brief History of Independent Church Movements [...],” p. 12, 14-15, 19; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 13.

¹¹⁰ James ANQUANDAH. “The Ghana Independent/Pentecostal Movement,” *The Rise of Independent Churches in Ghana*, Accra, Ghana, Asempa Publishers Christian Council of Ghana, 1990, p. 22-26; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 13.

¹¹¹ Kofi Asare OPOKU. “A Brief History of Independent Church Movements [...],” p. 20; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 2, 13.

¹¹² James ANQUANDAH. “The Ghana Independent/Pentecostal [...],” p. 22-26; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 13.

¹¹³ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 2.

areas of human existence—political, social, economic, cultural and religious”¹¹⁴. Growing from a handful of new indigenous churches in the 1880’s, the movement now numbers over 10,000 African denominations less than 150 years later¹¹⁵, and is the main engine for the phenomenal growth of Christianity across Africa in the 20th Century¹¹⁶. Because Bresi-Ando himself participated in this ecclesial movement, Chapter Six—“Pan-African Theology and African Independent Churches (AICs)”—is devoted entirely to discussing the wide-spread AIC phenomenon which has currently engulfed so much of the continent.

Dr. Amanor is careful to point out how some scholars admit that the arrival of these new “separatists” cannot be explained only in a limited way as merely a sociological response to “external factors”¹¹⁷. Rather, the leaders of the AICs frequently claim a divine inspiration. Therefore, Amanor argues that their activity could be seen as being “initiated by God” since, as he notes, “[t]hey were often motivated by a profound sense of call, often experienced in dreams or visions”¹¹⁸. Many of these separatists were therefore more in line with the manner of indigenous evangelization carried out by the first 20th Century native “prophets” who preached on the Gold Coast—Prophet William Wadé Harris, Prophet John Swatson, Prophet Sampson Oppong (Opon)—whose efforts as African evangelists won twice as many converts out of pagan fetishism and idolatry in two decades than the European Basel missionaries had gained in 100 years¹¹⁹. Ambassador Awoonor would deny the genuine spirituality of such a heavenly call and divine empowerment, basing his thought on the external factors of imperialist economics and being convinced that the white missionary did not operate with altruistic aims of evangelization. He basically ignores the entire phenomena and motivation of independent *black African* evangelists. On the other hand, theologian Amanor, while critical of white missionary failures, shows a depth of appreciation for the genuineness of their motivations and their various practical contributions to his land. Amanor definitely does not see the Christian priest as simply an obedient blind cog in

¹¹⁴ Emmanuel MARTEY. *African Theology* [...], p. 8.

¹¹⁵ “African Independent Churches,” *Patheos*. (Page consulted on 21 March 2018), <http://www.patheos.com/library/african-independent-churches>, par. 1.

¹¹⁶ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]”, p. 14.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2; Amanor draws on the ideas of: J. CHATFIELD. *African Independent Churches: Friends or Foes? An Exercise in Doctrinal Dialogue*, vol. 4, 2002, <http://www.teenet/vol4p8.htm>, p. 8.

¹¹⁸ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]”, p. 2; J. CHATFIELD. *African Independent Churches* [...]. p. 8.

¹¹⁹ J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa* [...], p. 133, 138-141; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]”, p. 15-18.

the imperialist exploitive economic machine, and he certainly praises the indigenous missionary initiative.

Transition to Part Two

Truly, there is no doubt about it, the British colonial authorities and merchants were in Africa to expand their self-oriented imperialistic Western economic system—unfair and lop-sided as it was. However, that being said, to further claim that the missionaries came along as the mere willing *tools* of the white colonial imperialist economic system to “soften” up the natives in order to enslave them at home in a new form of domestic colonial exploitation is as one-sided of an argument as the position which Professor Awoonor is condemning (i.e. that the British came to Africa to share the blessings of Western Christian civilization). This all having been said, a more balanced review of history shows that the colonial whites were a mixed bag—good and bad—leading the colony towards development and eventual nationhood, while both benefiting and exploiting the Africans along the way.

In order to further understand Bresi-Ando’s historical context and decade, let us now briefly pass down the colonial pathway that pointed towards Ghanaian independence and see how the all the major players interacted: the British colonial authorities, the traditional rulers (i.e. the chiefs), the new merchant middle class (i.e. the cocoa farmers), the new educated class (i.e. the *intelligentsia* of African lawyers, teachers, PhD graduates, mission-trained clergymen, and rising politicians), and the illiterate masses. Together they stumbled and staggered through the end of the 19th Century and into the 20th Century towards African emancipation, nationalism, and ultimately, independence.

2. Early nationalist beginnings (legislative assemblies, first nationalist organizations)

A tug of war for power and control describes the historical-political context of the colonial Gold Coast into which Bresi-Ando was born and raised. In this process were many ups and down, many assets and many liabilities. Although the whites brought many “pluses” into the country, they also dragged in many “negatives”.

2.1. The beginnings of nationalism on the Gold Coast

At first the British, like all the other Europeans who had arrived on the Gold Coast before them, operated within their trading forts along the sea, establishing friendly relations with the local Fante tribes who traded with them¹²⁰. These same tribes also began to look to the foreign military presence for protection from rival inland warring tribes, such as the Asante¹²¹. Thus, all throughout the long 19th Century, and before officially establishing the Gold Coast Crown Colony in 1874, British influence and rule for the purpose of peaceful “trade, commerce and evangelization” gradually expanded and spread beyond the forts and coastal settlements in the south via various treaties with local native kings in 1831, 1844, and 1852¹²². Desiring to rule through local puppets in a colonial governmental arrangement later known as “indirect rule”¹²³, in 1852 the British gathered together some chiefs whom they viewed as “important and powerful” in order to pass a law establishing a head tax on all the citizenry within their sphere of influence¹²⁴. This first “legislative assembly” (of sorts) organized by the British on the Gold Coast began a long tradition of cooperation between London and the chiefs (especially the top ones—the Paramount Chiefs)¹²⁵. Awoonor laments that the chiefs overlooked their native African council system which empowered them, and instead, as “hirelings and tools of British power,” were placed “on the pay roll” of the British administration together with the new class of African civil servants working for the foreign government, collecting their taxes¹²⁶. Thus, he writes, began “that army of leeches who, for services to the British authorities, became the staunchest defenders of British interest and political control over their own countrymen”¹²⁷.

Since time immemorial locals have hated two things: seeing their leaders become vassals of a foreign super-power, and, seeing their countrymen become the tax collectors of that same super-power. Awoonor points out an interesting fact. The Gold Coast chiefs, in rushing to get the recognition and favor of the colonial authorities, disconnected themselves to some degree from

¹²⁰ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 76-77, 82-84.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 83-85.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 76-87.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 82-83.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 83; Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 84.

¹²⁶ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 84; F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 83.

¹²⁷ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 84.

their own complicated yet democratic indigenous political system in which the chiefs were selected, enthroned, and sometimes deposed by the united voice of the people¹²⁸. Now, under the British, the chiefs were changing that tradition by allowing a foreign power to exercise authority over them¹²⁹, a power which for centuries had been the prerogative of the citizenry¹³⁰. The authority of a Gold Coast chief came from his traditional council of elders and the people who elected him¹³¹. However, from the British perspective, it was normal to view the chiefs as “kings”—as “absolute rulers” and “natural rulers” in the European feudal sense—who through treaties had assumed a vassal position under the imperial British Throne¹³². *Pax Britannica* changed the fundamental role of the Gold Coast chief, from being the elected war lord to being a local colonial government functionary who could easily abuse his new position to amass personal wealth and power, viewing himself as more important than his people who had placed him on his throne (or, in Ghana, his “stool”)¹³³.

At first, not all the Gold Coast chiefs desired to “kiss up” to the British. A group of Fante States, with their chiefs and newly-educated mission-trained African scholars, seeing the rise of British power in their area, in 1868 devised a plan to form their own “Fante Confederation” and live as their own nation, separate from British authority¹³⁴. This early budding of nationalism was squashed by the British who upped their game by throwing these chiefs in prison (temporarily) and proclaiming the Gold Coast a “Crown Colony” in 1874¹³⁵.

2.2. The Aborigines Rights Protection Society (ARPS)

The next important local nationalist attempt followed the 1884-1885 Berlin Conference which carved up the African continent into multiple colonies as the European imperialist empires “scrambled” to gain access to their “part” of the Dark Continent’s rich resources¹³⁶. The British Crown desired to take full control of all “unused” Gold Coast lands which the natives viewed as

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 21-24, 84, 126-127; Martin WIGHT. *The Gold Coast Legislative Council*, Coll. “Studies in Colonial Legislatures,” vol. II, Margery Perham (Ed.), London, Faber & Faber, 1947, p. 33-35.

¹²⁹ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 126-127.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 21-24; Martin WIGHT. *The Gold Coast Legislative Council*, p. 34.

¹³¹ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 22, 84, 127.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 105, 126.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 102-103, 127; Martin WIGHT. *The Gold Coast Legislative Council*, p. 36.

¹³⁴ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 85-87.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 87-88.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 91; F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 97.

always belonging to them¹³⁷. Led by the powerful African lawyers John Mensah Sarbah and Casely Hayford, the chiefs, the new African merchant middle class, the African educated class (teachers, lawyers, and clergymen) and the masses united in 1897 to form the Aborigines Rights Protection Society (ARPS) which successfully won the legal debate¹³⁸, defending native land ownership and establishing itself in the process as the “the first anti-colonial organization”¹³⁹ and “first national political movement on the Gold Coast”¹⁴⁰. Calling it “the precursor of the independence movement of the mid 20th century,” Ambassador Awoonor is convinced that the Ghanaian nation building politics of the late 1940’s and 1950’s could not have come into existence if there had been no ARPS first¹⁴¹. Not to be defeated on the land issue, the British authorities simply found another way to give the foreign companies access to the African resources (of gold, mines, timber forests, etc.). Through the “Concessions Ordinance” of 1900, these expatriate firms were granted legal “concessions” of natural resources¹⁴². Since they could not steal the land outright, they “stole” the items growing on it or buried under it—by paying very little for them.

2.3. The Provincial Councils of 1925

The “divide and conquer” methodology was used by the British to separate the chiefs from the new African *intelligentsia* of school-educated men (especially the lawyers) by establishing several regional “Provincial Councils” in 1925 which permitted even more chiefs to participate in lower level governance of the colony (in addition to the ongoing policy of “indirect rule”)¹⁴³. Thus, the chiefs again were pulled back into the comfortable (yet “vassal”) position, separated from the educated ones who had learned all about the white man’s ways from books and schools, and who simply desired to have that democracy equally for themselves as well¹⁴⁴. It is important to note at this point that most of the chiefs were illiterate and non-radical (i.e. traditional and very conservative in mentality)¹⁴⁵. They had traditionally enjoyed the trusting allegiance of their

¹³⁷ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 132; Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 91.

¹³⁸ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 132.

¹³⁹ Alistair BODDY-EVANS. “J E Casely Hayford,” *ThoughtCo*, put online 14 October 2015, (page consulted on 06 April 2017), www.thoughtco.com/je-casely-hayford-44434, [out of print], par. 9.

¹⁴⁰ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 91.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 92.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 88, 92-93, 99-100, 103, 128; F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 101, 106, 109.

¹⁴⁴ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 93, 102-103.

¹⁴⁵ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 109.

tribesmen who had been raised within the tribal system and therefore believed that the chiefs were the most important spokesmen for the people by “reflecting the will” of their tribal councils of elders¹⁴⁶. However, the chiefs’ claim to “speak for” the masses was increasingly challenged by the growing elite group of African *intelligentsia* who considered that their educated status had earned for them the true right to speak on behalf of the people¹⁴⁷. This competition for the hearts of the people would not disappear but continued to grow until the political Pan-Africanist Kwame Nkrumah stole the masses from both the chiefs and the educated elite and a new nation was born as a result in 1957¹⁴⁸.

2.4. Famous Friends: Chief Ofori Atta I and Governor Gordon Guggisberg

At the higher level of governance, the actual authority—the colonial governor—had a prestigious advisory body, the colonial “Legislative Council”¹⁴⁹. This committee originally was composed of a few British colonial administrators and European merchants¹⁵⁰. Over the decades as the Gold Coast marched towards its 1957 Independence, this Council gradually received more and more African representation (i.e. some leading Paramount Chiefs and a few educated Africans), though at first only as a token membership, and for the longest time, as a minority representation¹⁵¹. As one of only three *non-chief* African members, Joseph E. Casely Hayford served on the Legislative Council from 1916-1925 and was often in noisy disagreement with the chiefs on the Council¹⁵².

2.4.1. Paramount Chief Nana Sir Ofori Atta I

The most famous chief to serve on the Legislative Council was Paramount Chief Nana Sir Ofori Atta I, who was not an illiterate “stooge” as some accused them of being¹⁵³, but rather was a very “enlightened chief,” “vigorous and assertive” in the best way¹⁵⁴. In his day, the only other chief

¹⁴⁶ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 21.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 103, 123-128.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 135, 139, 147-150.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 94, 99.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 94; F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 101-103.

¹⁵¹ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 94, 99; F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 101-103.

¹⁵² Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History: Political Figures from Africa and the Diaspora since 1787*, London and New York, Routledge, 2003, p. 83; Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 94, 126.

¹⁵³ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 103.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 109; Martin WIGHT. *The Gold Coast Legislative Council*, p. 68.

in the whole land who equaled him in position and power was the Asantehene himself¹⁵⁵. Joining as the second African member of the Legislative Council in 1916 until he passed away in 1943¹⁵⁶, Sir Ofori Atta became the leader of the African council members and closest native advisor to many Gold Coast Governors¹⁵⁷. Considered by colonial-era historian Martin Wight as “by far the ablest and most experienced politician in Legislative Council”¹⁵⁸, Chief Atta carried out a war of words with lawyer Casely Hayford, his fellow Legislative Council member, fighting over which group best represented the masses: the chiefs or the African *intelligentsia*¹⁵⁹. On occasion, Ofori Atta had reason to interact with Bresi-Ando’s 1930’s adventures, which shall be described in the later chapter on Bresi-Ando’s *Commercial* Emancipation efforts. In 1942 Sir Ofori Atta I became one of the first two Africans to serve at the very highest level, on the Governor’s elite Executive Council (his most intimate and smallest advisory committee)¹⁶⁰.

2.4.2. Governor Guggisberg—the colonial friend of the Gold Coast

Sir Ofori Atta I is remembered for “canonizing” the “blessed” Governor Frederick Gordon Guggisberg as a “saint” in the fond memory of the Gold Coasters¹⁶¹. Reportedly a very God-fearing Canadian from Ontario, Canada, who served the Gold Coast Colony from 1919-1927¹⁶², Guggisberg wrote that he desired for the colony “the best that England can give us” in regard to professional workers who were also “men and women imbued with the real Christian spirit”¹⁶³. He wanted *real* Christian servants to come to the colony to serve the African, because, in the Governor’s words, “there is no greater work that an Englishman can do for mankind than to go to

¹⁵⁵ Martin WIGHT. *The Gold Coast Legislative Council*, p. 69 footnote 2.

¹⁵⁶ F. M. BOURRET. *Ghana: The Road to Independence, 1919-1957*, 3rd ed., Palo Alto, California, Stanford University Press, 1960, p. 161.

¹⁵⁷ Martin WIGHT. *The Gold Coast Legislative Council*, p. 68-69.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

¹⁵⁹ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 123,126-128.

¹⁶⁰ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 101.

¹⁶¹ Martin WIGHT. *The Gold Coast Legislative Council*, p. 29 footnote 3; Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 126.

¹⁶² Sir Gordon GUGGISBERG and A. G. FRASER. *The Future of the Negro: Some Chapters in the Development of a Race*, New York, Negro Universities Press, 1969 [1929], p. 69-70, 100; Daniel GUGGISBERG. “Brigadier-General Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg,” *The British Empire*, (page consulted on 27 February 2019), <https://www.britishempire.co.uk/biography/guggisberg.htm>, par. 1 & 4.

¹⁶³ Sir Gordon GUGGISBERG and A. G. FRASER. *The Future of the Negro* [...], p. 99-100.

the help of these mighty African races, now in the throes of the greatest change of life in their history”¹⁶⁴.

[W]e want more and more the best that England can give us; not only the best in science and the professions, but men and women imbued with the *real Christian spirit*—the spirit of the life and teachings of Jesus, love of mankind and a desire for service. And the best share we can take in the task is to present to the African, through our political officers, agricultural and forestry officers, engineers, business men, bankers, in fact, through everyone with whom the African has to do, *an example of decent Christian life*. As in the case of schools in our own country, the *example* of the men and women who are teachers counts for far more than the spoken lesson.¹⁶⁵

Unfortunately, not all white men working in the colony lived up to the Governor’s vision and morally high standards as examples of “decent Christian life,” as will be seen in the Biography of Bresì-Ando (Section Two).

Sir Gordon was most beloved to the locals over all their colonial governors due to his practical physical efforts to develop the colony—building roads and railways, constructing the first major hospital (Korle Bu Teaching Hospital), digging the first deep-water harbor (Takoradi Harbor), and starting the first major college for Africans on the Gold Coast (later known as Achimota College)¹⁶⁶. Guggisberg was a firm believer in Lugard’s “Dual Mandate” and considered it his duty and responsibility to enact it¹⁶⁷. He wanted to educate the African and improve his physical life-style, while also keeping him for many more decades “a time-server in the imperial cause”¹⁶⁸.

2.4.3. Governor Guggisberg’s criticism of the Basel mission schools

Ambassador Awoonor points out that the Governor’s major infrastructural accomplishments in fact served the overall imperialist scheme¹⁶⁹. Therefore both he and historian F. K. Buah insist that Guggisberg’s development of the Colony was intended not as a preparation for its independence but rather for the economic goals of New Imperialism¹⁷⁰. However, “Guggisberg

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 99-100—italics added.

¹⁶⁶ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 112-115, 128-130.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 98, 106.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 106; F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 115.

Genealogien” Daniel Guggisberg contends that “[t]he aim of Guggisberg’s whole policy was the development of the country by and for the native rather than for the benefit of European capitalists”¹⁷¹. To be fair and balanced in criticism, Sir Gordon Guggisberg—as a “Dual Mandate” Imperialist—actually loved Africa and the Africans, seeing himself as a servant *both* of the Empire *and* the natives. From his own hand he wrote: “my heart is in Africa, and I believe that away from the trammels of the Colonial Office, there is opportunity for me to do something useful *both for the Empire and for the natives of Africa*”¹⁷². He wrote that the imperialists “should not disregard and destroy African civilizations, or attempt to replace them hastily by a civilization for which the masses have not had time to acquire the knowledge required for the wise selection of those of their own institutions to be discarded, retained, or blended with our Western institutions”¹⁷³. Therefore, Governor Guggisberg was saddened by the disservice that the well-intentioned but misguided missions (such as the Basel Mission) had done to the local Africans. He felt they had destroyed what could properly have been adapted. He wrote:

In our anxiety to Christianize, we have *tended far too much to destroy*, with little thought of adaption, yet the religious sanctions in which the African believes are the sanctions which govern his every action. In our conviction that our own methods of government and life must be suited to the African because they are suited to us, we have allowed to fall into decay many excellent native institutions capable of adaptation to the new conditions.¹⁷⁴

Here the governor sounds very much like “neo-traditionalist” Casely Hayford on this topic¹⁷⁵, whose own book, *Gold Coast Native Institutions*, argues for the retention of various “native institutions” within the service of the Empire, developing it “on purely aboriginal lines”¹⁷⁶. (This topic will be examined in detail in Chapter 5—“Pioneers of Pan-Africanism”). Yet Guggisberg went further. He not only felt that the white colonial missionaries had “tended far too much to destroy” rather than to adapt, he also admitted a “partial failure” in Christian evangelism due to the fact that the purest “teaching and life of Christ” were not always being conveyed to the natives.

¹⁷¹ Daniel GUGGISBERG. “Brigadier-General Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg,” par. 3.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, par. 4—italics added.

¹⁷³ Sir Gordon GUGGISBERG and A. G. FRASER. *The Future of the Negro* [...], p. viii-ix.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 68-69—italics added.

¹⁷⁵ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 135.

¹⁷⁶ CASELY HAYFORD. *Gold Coast Native Institutions* [...], p. ix.

I cannot but feel that a reason for [our] *partial failure* lies in the fact that too often dogma, ceremony, and doctrine are given undue prominence over practical Christianity. By *practical Christianity* I mean the *teaching and life of Christ*. Those teachings form the foundation of the highest civilization the world has yet evolved, and it is to that civilization that we want to lead the African peoples along their own racial lines.¹⁷⁷

Here Gov. Guggisberg identifies the failures of the imported European missionary establishment, despite their best of intentions to evangelize, and notwithstanding the huge “practical” successes of the Basel Mission. He referred to the mission schools as utilizing “ill-selected systems of education” and he advocated that there should be a complete alteration of the colony’s “educational methods”¹⁷⁸. Sir Gordon envisioned providing Africans access to higher education—located right in their own land—in order to train up a cadre of future African leaders, while simultaneously giving the entire nation a solid elementary education that would, in his words, “enable the masses to select and understand those leaders”¹⁷⁹. Guggisberg envisioned a state-of-the-art African school of higher education “along their own racial lines” which would study both African and European cultures¹⁸⁰. To help achieve this goal, Governor Guggisberg founded Achimota College in Accra in 1927, one of the largest of its kind for Africans in its day and producer of many of Ghana’s future politicians and presidents¹⁸¹.

2.4.4. Case history of Ephraim Amu, former Basel school music teacher

The religious and social challenges facing the Colony in the 1920’s were still in place for Bresiano to confront during the decade of the 1930’s. The same failure that Governor Guggisberg confronted during his tenure during the 1920’s was described in a 1940 article published in the *International Review of Missions* by a mission-trained critic, an African named Ephraim Amu, a

¹⁷⁷ Sir Gordon GUGGISBERG and A. G. FRASER. *The Future of the Negro* [...], p. 69-70—italics added.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. viii.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. ix.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 70; Fred AGYEMANG. *Amu The African: A Study in Vision and Courage*, Accra, Asempa Publishers Christian Council of Ghana, 1988, p. 104.

¹⁸¹ J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa* [...], p. 129-130; “History of The School,” *Old Achimotan Association*. Put online 2019, (page consulted on 16 February 2019), <http://www.oldachimotan.net/school/history>, par. 1 & 9; “The real truth about Achimota School houses,” *GhanaWeb*. Put online 27 February 2018, (page consulted on 16 February 2019), <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/The-real-truth-about-Achimota-School-houses-629900#>, par. 2.

former music teacher at the Basel Presbyterian Teachers' Training College in Akropong.¹⁸² Amu was of the opinion that the Christian Gospel had not been planted in West Africa in the most optimal way for its power and message to be best grasped and experienced by the African¹⁸³. He cried out for a change of methodology, one which recognized seeds of truth found within the African culture, rather than its complete eradication:

Christianity must be intelligible and full of life to achieve its purpose, otherwise it is doomed to failure.[...] As things are now, we are like a *seedling taken out of its bed, its roots cut-off* and then planted in another bed [...] We have no root to support us, how can we stand, how can we grow? [...] It is generally accepted, and rightly too, that the African is naturally religious. There are deep truths underlying our indigenous religions, truths which may not be equal in weight to Christian truths, but which are dim representations of the great Christian truths. *Let these truths be made use of in teaching the greater truths to the African.*¹⁸⁴

In 1933 Amu was fired from his job by the British missionaries (the Scottish Presbyterians who had replaced the earlier German Basel missionaries). He was put out because he wanted to “Africanize” (i.e. “alter”) educational matters a little bit, by teaching drumming and dancing, and encouraging the wearing of a native cloth when preaching¹⁸⁵. Known as a sincere and pious Christian instructor¹⁸⁶, Amu only wanted to present the Gospel in a more culturally “acceptable” manner that made things look less “alien”, less “foreign”, to the Gold Coaster¹⁸⁷. However, the Scottish missionaries refused Amu’s attempts, wanting everything to be done according to what was “acceptable” to their European fashion and cultural dictates, even down to the littlest of details (i.e. the type of cloth worn in the pulpit)¹⁸⁸. It was as if everything that the African did was “wrong” and “heathen” and needed to be completely abandoned in order to become a Christian. Thus, the African had to embrace the European “way” in everything, not only to have faith in Christ (Who Himself wore Middle Eastern robes, not British pants), but also to look and sound British—to be black “Euro-Christians”¹⁸⁹. This approach to evangelism denigrated the African culture in a racist

¹⁸² Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 135.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ Ephraim AMU. *International Review of Mission*, vol. 29, 1940, p. 479-480—italics added.

¹⁸⁵ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 135; Fred AGYEMANG. *Amu The African* [...], p. 87-91, 104.

¹⁸⁶ Fred AGYEMANG. *Amu The African* [...], p. 104.

¹⁸⁷ Ephraim AMU. Letter, from Presbyterian Training College, Akropong, Gold Coast, to Synod Committee of the Gold Coast Presbyterian Church, July 1933, in Ebenezer Obiri ADDO, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Case Study of Religion and Politics in Ghana*, Lanham, MD, University Press of America, Inc., 1999, p. 210-212.

¹⁸⁸ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 135; Fred AGYEMANG. *Amu The African* [...], p. 104.

¹⁸⁹ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 134.

manner, making native culture appear “inferior” to the “superior” imported white culture. This kind of white European ethnocentrism in which the Scottish Presbyterians wrapped their Gospel message when they presented it poisoned their sincerest evangelical witness in the long run, driving some of their African converts to seek “separatist” options¹⁹⁰. In Amu’s case, after the Scots fired him, the new government-run Achimota College founded by Gov. Guggisberg immediately hired him to teach African music to their students instead¹⁹¹. We see a fresh openness to the African ways in Guggisberg’s new college. It is interesting to note that one of the first and most famous nationalist-minded students to graduate from Achimota College was Ghana’s future first president, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the leader of Africa’s 20th Century independence movement¹⁹². Achimota produced subsequent Ghanaian Presidents—Edward Akufo-Addo, Jerry John Rawlings, John Atta Mills, John Dramani Mahama, and Prime Minister Kofi Abrefa Busia¹⁹³.

Conclusion

The goal of this chapter has been to continue to describe the historical colonial context in which Bresi-Ando emerged in 1932. This work was begun in the preceding chapter, which detailed the colonial *contributions* to the Gold Coast. This current chapter followed up by focusing on the *liabilities* that New Imperialism brought to the Colony. Divided into two parts, the first half of the chapter reviewed criticisms and rebuttals from a variety of sources, while the second has described particular individuals and institutions (involved with this criticism) who aided their country’s initial steps towards nationalism, emancipation, and independence.

Secular criticism of the contributions of British civilization to Africa has become quite common, beginning with the writings of Pan-Africanist Casely Hayford at the dawn of the 20th Century, right during the heart of the colonial era. His negative view of the British exposed the New Imperialists’ hypocrisy of hiding their true economic agenda behind the “virtue” of being on a “civilizing” mission¹⁹⁴. Ghana historian Kofi Awoonor’s criticism of British colonial policy continues Casely Hayford’s argument into the present day, noting that Lord Lugard’s “Dual

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

¹⁹¹ Fred AGYEMANG. *Amu The African* [...], p. 104.

¹⁹² Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 53.

¹⁹³ “The real truth about Achimota School houses,” par. 2.

¹⁹⁴ CASELY HAYFORD. *Gold Coast Native Institutions* [...], p. 269.

Mandate” (to enrich the Empire while developing the colonies) was not evenly balanced, but amounted to much selfish European imperial exploitation of, and with relatively little return to, the African¹⁹⁵.

As a rebuttal in strong defense of colonialism, Lord Lugard (the leading voice of British Imperialism in the 1930’s), together with Ghanaian historian F. K. Buah and mission historian Stephen Neill, list the benefits brought by *Pax Britannica*: liberty, unity, justice, life, peace, economic development, prosperity, cessation of constant tribal conflict, end of slavery and human sacrifice, improvements in roads, railways, agriculture, trade, education and medicine, all of which combined to weld together a set of formerly warring tribal States into a united, educated, rich, new, independent African nation¹⁹⁶.

Unable to truly move from politics to religion, Awoonor’s secular criticism of the white missionary views them merely as the colonial “tool” for imperialist exploitation, claiming that their motives were not altruistic in regard to evangelization¹⁹⁷. Jon Miller’s research on the Pietist Basel Mission to the Gold Coast has disproved this thesis, clearly displaying the sincere motivation of these missionaries to bring Christ’s light to the spiritually endarkened world, to civilize, and to avoid the colonial political machine¹⁹⁸. Any criticism of the missionary’s educational program must first recognize the Basel Mission’s strong emphasis on technological training and craft skill-set development, which Jon Miller has fully demonstrated.

By asserting that the large-scale infrastructure developments brought to the colony by colonialism—railways, hospitals, harbor, and schools—were just a “disguise” on the face of *Pax Britannica*, Ambassador Awoonor misses the appropriate approach to unmask the mistakes of the colonial missionary¹⁹⁹. Instead, he is forced to admit that these infrastructure developments did in fact lead to huge economic and population growth within his country²⁰⁰.

¹⁹⁵ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 107.

¹⁹⁶ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 78; Frederick D. LUGARD. *The Dual Mandate* [...], p. 617; Stephen NEILL. *A History of Christian Missions*, p. 260.

¹⁹⁷ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 78.

¹⁹⁸ Jon MILLER. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control* [...], p. 13-20.

¹⁹⁹ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 90.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 176-177.

On the contrary, Dr. Jones Darkwa Amanor, a modern Ghanaian theologian, has found a more historically balanced and accurate interdisciplinary approach to fault the white missionary. He starts with a positive recognition of the missionaries' historically-demonstrated practical achievements and their proven altruistic devotion to their cause (i.e. their martyric deaths which even President Nkrumah praised), before examining their socio-religious mistakes in their presentation of the Christian Gospel²⁰¹.

It is important to keep in mind the increase in missionary-based racism which came about with the advent of the New Imperialism during the "scramble" for African colonies beginning in 1884-1885. The earlier group of Basel missionaries were pre-New Imperial men and women—Germans, Swiss, and Danes—who were less racist than the New Imperial-era British missionaries who followed them, especially after the Basler's got evicted during WWI. Late Victorian New Imperialism created a white supremacist mindset in which ideas of British "superiority" mandated that they bring the "blessings" of their "greatest-ever" civilization to the whole world via empire and colonies²⁰². The newer crop of missionaries were no exception²⁰³.

Amanor does not fault the less-racist Basel missionaries for their efforts to bring practical commercial, educational, and agricultural improvement to his land. Rather, his theological criticism of the white missionary goes to the heart of the matter. There he identifies a fundamental war of worldviews: the missionaries' Western mentality vs. an innate African spiritual mindset. As products of the Western rationalism coming from the Enlightenment, 19th Century Protestant missionaries (Baslers included) came to Africa with an Enlightenment-based rationalist perspective that completely dismissed the African's existing pre-Enlightenment worldview²⁰⁴. The European missionaries' "Nominalism" discounted the African's sincere belief in the unseen world—of magic, spirits, and deities—as mere "nonsense". As a result, the Basel missionaries had difficulty in truly converting the *heart* of the African, who was still tied to his or her belief in spirits, but which had attracted many African *minds* to Western education, medicine, and life-

²⁰¹ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. "Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]," p. 8-12; Harris W. MOBLEY, *The Ghanaian's Image of the Missionary* [...], p. 24.

²⁰² Ronald ROBINSON, John GALLAGHER, and Alice DENNY. *Africa and the Victorians* [...], p. 1-3; Peter CROWHURST. "What was New Imperialism [...]," par. 8.

²⁰³ Stephen NEILL. *A History of Christian Missions*, p. 220; David B. BARRETT. *Schism and Renewal in Africa* [...], p. 265-266.

²⁰⁴ Stephen HAYES. "Christian Responses to Witchcraft [...]," p. 344-345.

style²⁰⁵. The result often was the creation of a “nominal” half-converted African who easily backslid into pagan fetishism²⁰⁶. However, those converts who willingly followed the Baslers more zealously as black “Euro-Christians” came to completely cut themselves off from their African heritage²⁰⁷, viewing everything “pagan” as “evil”²⁰⁸. The later arrival on the mission field of the more racist New Imperial missionaries only intensified this culture clash.

The war of worldviews brought by the Enlightenment-based missionaries and the increased racism of New Imperialism combined to spark the African religious revolution. The “separatists” wanted out, and over the next 100 years they formed three waves of African Independent Churches (AICs), beginning in the late 1800’s. These were: 1) the embryonic political reactions to racism and colonialism, 2) the sincere desire for the Africanization of the presentation of the Christian Gospel more in tune with their innate pre-Enlightenment worldview, and 3) the desire for the free operation of the Gifts of the Holy Spirit which would provide spiritual liberation from—not denial of—the evil spirits that troubled them²⁰⁹.

Having analyzed the faults of the colonial missionary, the second part of the chapter quickly surveyed important events and people from all levels of the developing Colonial society whose actions were intertwined with the liabilities of imperial colonialism and, as such, helped develop the complicated context from which the rebel known as Bishop Bresi-Ando emerged. These included the government authorities, the local chiefs, the new farmer/merchant middle class, the newly-educated elite, and the illiterate masses. A competition for influence over the general public—a real “tug-of-war”—arose. Exercising their trademark colonial policy of “indirect rule,” London drew in the chiefs at the lowest level of government and utilized them to carry out their imperial rule over the citizenry²¹⁰. An important early manifestation of nationalism on the Gold Coast was the attempt by the tribes of the Fante Confederation to establish their own country

²⁰⁵ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 1-2, 28 footnote ii.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1-2; J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa [...]*, p. 135-136.

²⁰⁷ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah [...]*, p. 134; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 1.

²⁰⁸ J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa [...]*, p. 133.

²⁰⁹ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 1-2, 13; James ANQUANDAH. “The Ghana Independent/Pentecostal [...],” p. 22-26.

²¹⁰ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 106.

separate from Great Britain, an effort which the British made sure was a failure by annexing the Gold Coast and proclaiming it a Crown Colony in 1874²¹¹.

Two decades later, in 1897, the Aborigines Rights Protection Society (ARPS) led by lawyers Casely Hayford and John Mensah Sarbah, temporarily united all the locals—chiefs, lawyers, teachers, merchants, farmers, and the masses—against the Crown in the fight over land ownership, a feat which came down as a big legal win for the Gold Coast “aborigines”²¹². London however, was able to “divide and conquer” this budding national unity by attracting more chiefs into its embrace via an expansion of lower-level government, through the creation of the Provincial Councils of 1925, which alienated ARPS and its educated leaders²¹³. The famous “tug-of-war” between the new African *intelligentsia* and the chiefs escalated in the persons of lawyer Casely Hayford and Paramount Chief Sir Ofori Atta I, both of whom were unique in that they were among the first Africans to sit on the Gold Coast Legislative Council²¹⁴. Ofori Atta I led the argument for the chiefs as being the true “natural rulers,” and therefore the “real” representative voice of the people, against Casely Hayford who thought that the intellectuals, due to their education, had earned the right to speak for the people as a sort of “aristocracy of intellect,” as some were calling it²¹⁵.

Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg—the colonial friend of the Gold Coast and very close associate of Chief Ofori Atta I—as the Governor between 1919-1927 implemented Lugard’s “Dual Mandate” by vastly developing the Colony while simultaneously enriching the Empire²¹⁶. As a colonial leader who truly loved the African, he was able to make an honest criticism of the white man’s failures in Africa. He discerned the educational failures of the old Basel mission schools and set out to make some corrections, providing for the Colony both a set of educational standards and a model institution, Achimota College²¹⁷. It was at this school that the disenfranchised former

²¹¹ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 87-88.

²¹² Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 132; Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 91.

²¹³ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History*, p. 88, 92-93, 102-103.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 94, 103, 123, 135, 139; Martin WIGHT. *The Gold Coast Legislative Council*, p. 68; Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 83.

²¹⁵ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 123-126.

²¹⁶ Martin WIGHT. *The Gold Coast Legislative Council*, p. 29, 29 footnote 3, 69; Richard STUART. “Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg,” par. 2; F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 115.

²¹⁷ Sir Gordon GUGGISBERG and A. G. FRASER. *The Future of the Negro* [...], p. viii, 68-69; 78-100.

Basel school music teacher, Ephraim Amu, found a refuge, being hired to teach some African culture in his music classes after being fired by the Scottish missionaries who had taken over the Basel Mission²¹⁸. His personal example—as Addo shows—has come to exemplify the societal turmoil that was taking place in early 20th Century colonial Gold Coast²¹⁹, setting the stage for Bresi-Ando while shaping and molding his mentality at the same time.

In this chapter we begin to witness the emergence of a link—actually, a movement—from religion and racism to emancipation and Africanization to nationalism and politics. The well-intentioned white European missionaries had come to the Gold Coast—not to enslave natives in colonial economic imperialism—but to be an *asset* to the African: to evangelize, to do humanitarian work, to civilize. Yet they were handicapped by their *liabilities*: 1) their non-spiritual, rationalistic, Enlightenment-based “Nominalist” *worldview* (which undergirded the theology of their largely Protestant denominations), and 2) their cultural *racist myopia* which viewed the “white way” to be the “only right way”. Africans like music teacher Amu simply wanted a little Africanization, not cultural suicide nor homicide upon conversion. However, the negative byproduct of the British colonialist’s mistake of mixing their culture so thoroughly with their evangelism was the impression given to many black Africans that the Europeans were intolerant white supremacists, mean and proud and racist²²⁰. This became especially evident when good men (like teacher Amu) got fired over minor details²²¹. These colonial *liabilities* were highly motivational to Bresi-Ando—himself a mission-school trained native Methodist clergyman—causing him to *separate* and do *his own thing*, as is described in detail in Section Two, his Biography. Bresi-Ando’s battle cry was that he had been “inspired” to set up *his own church* in order to deliver the African from the white man in every way²²².

The voice of Governor Guggisberg united with the lament of African instructor Amu to represent the cry of many Gold Coasters who felt that the foreign mission churches—even the entire white colonial program itself—had unkindly removed the African from his or her own culture. The

²¹⁸ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 135.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 135, 209-215.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

²²¹ *Ibid.*

²²² RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 3, Log 2, p. 54—italics added.

desire of Africans for ownership of their roots and control of their own churches ultimately led them to thirst for nationalism and self-rule, beginning first in the church and later in politics. The colonial *liabilities*, therefore, sparked a reaction that forged a link between religion and politics on the Gold Coast and elsewhere across the great continent. The Pan-African emancipationist movement, with its dual cry for *Africanization* and *liberation*, began to grow and take flight in Africa as the 19th Century gave way to the 20th. For several decades, this cry was heard loudest from the mouth of Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford, the famous Gold Coast author, educator, lawyer, politician, and Pan-African nationalist, who is known in history as the Gold Coast's *first* great Pan-Africanist.

The next chapter (Five) will explain the emergence of *Pan-Africanism* as a concept and will introduce its early pioneers, one of whom is Casely Hayford. As famous as he is in Gold Coast history, Casely Hayford was overshadowed globally by his more renowned contemporary, Marcus Garvey, whose Pan-Africanist philosophy will also be introduced within the same next chapter as it too greatly impacted the Colony. Chapter Six follows, and it will clearly delineate how Pan-Africanist ideology impacted African Christianity, launching the huge African independent church movement of religious separatists. Then, in Chapter Seven, Marcus Garvey's vocal assistant in Florida, U.S.A., a female Gold Coast preacher named Laura Adorkor Kofey, will connect everything to Bresi-Ando, as he—strangely enough—received the ecclesiastical mandate to import her Pan-African Garveyist “African Universal Church” denomination from America into West Africa at the beginning of the 1930's.

***SECTION ONE: BRESI-ANDO'S ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT
WITHIN THE 1930's GOLD COAST COLONY***

CHAPTER 5 PIONEERS OF PAN-AFRICANISM

Purpose

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the philosophies of leading Pan-Africanists who paved the road for the younger generation, which included Bresi-Ando. This effort will be to describe in sufficient detail the Pan-Africanist context within which the young Bresi-Ando was nurtured. He did not come from out of nowhere, from a vacuum, when he planted his African Universal Church on the Gold Coast in 1932. Since the hypothesis of this research project is that Pan-Africanism was indeed the guiding determination in Bresi-Ando's life work, we must search for proof. We must use this chapter to go on an excursion into modern Pan-Africanist history in order to discern a definition of the term applicable to the 1930's and to meet its founders and greatest leaders. If we look carefully into the writings and philosophies of the founding fathers of Pan-Africanism, such as Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832-1912), William E. B. Du Bois (1868-1963), Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford (1866-1930), and Marcus Garvey (1887-1940), we will be enabled to determine by comparison whether or not Bresi-Ando (1884-1970) was a true Pan-Africanist belonging to his era who was simply trying to implement the splendid ideas laid out before him by great black thinkers, or whether Bresi-Ando was an eclectic intellectual, tossed to and fro by various contradictory ideologies which he met in the path of life.

Sources

For primary sources, this chapter utilizes the writings of the most famous West Indies Pan-Africanist in the early 20th Century, Marcus Garvey, as well as the works of the most celebrated Gold Coast Pan-Africanist of that period, Casely Hayford.

GARVEY, Marcus. *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*. Amy Jacques-Garvey (Ed.), Volume I (1923) & Volume II (1926), New York, Universal Publishing House [2014 Martino Pub. reprint in one volume], 518 pages

CASELY HAYFORD. *Gold Coast Native Institutions: With Thoughts Upon a Healthy Imperial Policy for the Gold Coast and Ashanti*, London, Sweet and Maxwell, 1903 [2015 London, FB & c Ltd. reprint,] 418 pages

CASELY HAYFORD, J. E. *Ethiopia Unbound*, Milton Keyes, UK, Lightning Source UK Ltd., 1911, [2014 reprint], 219 pages

Additional information comes from Garvey's own papers which have been collected by editor Robert A. Hill into a fifteen-volume set which has established itself as the definitive scholarship on Garveyism in contemporary times: *The Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers* (University of California Press and Duke University Press). As the most massive academic collection of Garvey's speeches and writings, this is a valuable primary source of information on the man and his UNIA movement. In addition, Garvey's famous African-American rival, W. E. B. Du Bois, is quoted in two of his books, *Darkwater: Voices From Within the Veil* (Harcourt Brace, 1920), and *Dusk of Dawn* (Harcourt Brace, 1940).

For secondary sources, in the discipline of political science, an extremely helpful overview of the subject is the 2005 Marc Matera article in the *New Dictionary of the History of Ideas* entitled "Pan-Africanism", which utilizes multiple primary sources. Additional information on Pan-Africanism comes from the doctoral dissertation of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Emmanuel Martey, *African Theology: Inculturation and Liberation* (Wipf and Stock Pub., 2009). As one of Ghana's leading contemporary theologians, Dr. Martey is a former Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana and served as Chairman of the Christian Council of Ghana (CCG).

In the field of Ghanaian political science, the scholarship of three academics was consulted, two Ghanaians and one expatriate from Oxford. *Ghana: A Political History* (Accra, Sedco Pub., 1990) by Dr. Kofi Nyidevu Awoonor is very useful, since as a Ghanaian academic, Cape Coast University professor, and former Ghanaian ambassador to Brazil, he currently enjoys the status of being one of Ghana's most popular authors¹. In conjunction with Awoonor's book is the PhD dissertation of contemporary Ghanaian academic Ebenezer Obiri Addo: *Kwame Nkrumah: A Case Study of Religion and Politics in Ghana* (University Press of America, 1999). Extremely helpful is Oxford historian David Kimble's classic work on African nationalism, *A Political History of Ghana, 1850-1928*, (Oxford, 1965), his doctoral dissertation which drew upon his many years of living as an academic in Ghana.

¹ Ian UTLEY. *Culture Smart! Ghana*, London, Kuperard, 2011, p. 118.

For the biographies of Blyden and Garvey, information came from the 1967 *New World Journal* article, “Edward Wilmot Blyden: Pan-Negro Patriot from the Caribbean,” by Hollis Lynch, and from the well-known standard, *Black Moses, the Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Improvement Association* (University of Wisconsin, 1969), by E. David Cronon. Biographical information on Du Bois and Casely-Hayford came from works such as that of Hakim Adi and Marika Sherwood, *Pan-African History: Political Figures from Africa and the Diaspora since 1787*, (Routledge, 2003).

Structure

This *fifth* chapter of the seven context chapters comprising Section One is structured with *three* separate parts, which will relate the philosophies of four very famous Pan-Africanists: Blyden, Du Bois, Casely Hayford, and Garvey:

- 1) Political Science and the early Pan-Africanists—Blyden and Du Bois
- 2) Casely Hayford, the Gold Coast’s greatest Pan-Africanist
- 3) Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA)

The first part of the chapter begins by attempting to define the slippery term “Pan-African”. From there the structure of the logic flows historically, tracing the development of “Pan-Africanism” from its 19th Century “Founding Father,” Edward W. Blyden (1832-1912), in the mid-1800’s down to Marcus Garvey in the 1920’s and 1930’s. Blyden’s trailblazing race philosophy was echoed and enlarged upon by the men who came after him. His beliefs in the “Redemption of Africa” via “Back-to-Africa” repatriation, black pride, African-run schools and churches, and use of journalism to further his cause will be examined.

The next important individual in this study is W. E. B. Du Bois (1868-1963), the “Father of Modern Pan-Africanism,” who conveyed Blyden’s black race consciousness into the 20th Century. Although he differed in practical approach to some of Blyden’s ideas, this study—using minimal space—will seek to show how Du Bois served as a critical segue for the next generation of 20th Century Pan-Africanists.

Bringing home to the Gold Coast the various emancipationist ideas of Blyden and Du Bois (and men like them) was Joseph E. Casely Hayford (1866-1930), the third philosopher to be studied in this chapter. As the “father” of the Gold Coast’s secular nationalism, the tremendous impact of this lawyer/journalist upon the younger generation in West Africa, such as Bresi-Ando and his half-brother Ando-Brew, will be highlighted, due to his political aspirations and connections with the educated elite of the colony. The Pan-Africanist philosophy of Casely Hayford centered on conserving the African mentality and its native institutions in several areas of concern: social/cultural institutions, political institutions, commercial institutions, religious institutions, and educational institutions.

The remaining lion’s share of the chapter is dedicated to the fourth Pan-Africanist of this overview—the famous Marcus Garvey (1887-1940)—whose emancipationist efforts impacted not only the U.S.A. and the Caribbean, but West Africa and the rest of the world. His ideas were spread widely in the Gold Coast press. The purpose and social goals of Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) will be studied in order to display his full continuity of thought with the ideas of Blyden: black pride, universal black race consciousness, full equality of blacks with whites, full liberty, race redemption and race emancipation. The “Redemption of Africa” via a “Back-to-Africa” repatriation program will be seen as part of Garvey’s ambitious political emancipation agenda. His views of commercial and educational emancipation will be described, as well as his perspectives on religion and racism. Garveyism dominated the 1920’s, the time frame during which Bresi-Ando was forming his own ideology and launching his own independent churches and schools in Nigeria, leading to the importing of his organization into the Gold Coast in 1932. Understanding Garvey and the Pan-Africanists who proceeded him will help the reader to comprehend the context from which Bresi-Ando emerged. As Marcus Garvey in the 1920’s and 1930’s made the largest impact from among the four Pan-Africanists studied, more pages are devoted to Garveyism in hopes of being able to make some very specific comparisons with the thoughts and actions of Bresi-Ando in later chapters.

1. Political Science and the early Pan-Africanists—Blyden and Du Bois

From a political scientific perspective, the term “Pan-Africanism” can be hard to contain within one definition as “it refers neither to a single political ideology nor a clearly discernible

philosophical tradition”². Both Matera and Martey admit this fact³. In an early form, “Pan-Africanism” can be simplified as a “black internationalism” which

has varied drastically according to time and place. Indeed, various conceptions of Pan-Africanism have been aligned with disparate political and theoretical positions, from largely religious to communist [...] to even fascist forms. Yet, the concept can be said to signify a set of shared assumptions. Pan-Africanist intellectual, cultural, and political movements tend to view all Africans and descendants of Africans as belonging to a single “race” and sharing cultural unity.⁴

Over the years, different forms of Pan-Africanism have focused on a variety of topics, such as “preserving African ‘traditions’,” fighting “racial discrimination,” seeking civil and political freedoms for all blacks, both in Africa and abroad, while “emphasizing the contributions of Africans and those in the diaspora to the modern world”⁵. Pan-Africanists were usually “anti-imperialist”, and “often espoused a metaphorical or symbolic (if not literal) ‘return’ to Africa”⁶.

Thus, the slippery term “Pan-Africanism” has seen its definition modified over the decades. The term has shifted from defining “Back-to-Africa” movements of freed slaves⁷, to being a global understanding of “black internationalism”⁸, to being an active “African nationalism” which politically revolted against the old racist colonial imperialism in post-World War II Africa⁹. Thus, “Pan-Africanism” became an “international liberation movement” which—as a “broad-based mass movement in Africa”—ultimately freed the Africans from their white European colonial masters in the years following WWII¹⁰. Later impacted by Cold War politics, OPEC, Pan-Arabism, the formation of the OAU (the Organization of African Unity), and the fall of apartheid in South Africa, the term “Pan-Africanism” continued to morph through the second half of the 20th

² Marc MATERA. “Pan-Africanism”, *New Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, vol. 4, Maryanne Cline Horowitz (Editor in chief), Detroit, Michigan, Thomson Gale, 2005, put online [s.d.], (page consulted on 24 May 2019), https://archive.org/stream/NewDictionaryOfTheHistoryOfIdeas/New+Dictionary+of+the+History+of+Ideas+2005_djvu.txt, p. 1701.

³³ *Ibid.*; Emmanuel MARTEY. *African Theology: Inculturation and Liberation*, Eugene, OR, Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2009, p. 9.

⁴ Marc MATERA. “Pan-Africanism”, p. 1701.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1702.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1701.

⁹ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah: A Case Study of Religion and Politics in Ghana*, Lanham, MD, University Press of America, Inc., 1999, p. 71.

¹⁰ Marc MATERA. “Pan-Africanism”, p. 1704.

Century¹¹. However, throughout all its variations, Martey discerns a fundamental commonality for the term “Pan-African”: “for all the seeming differences and contending strategies, the fundamental objective of the Pan-African movement has always been the oneness of all people of African descent and the commitment to black liberation”¹². Black unity and black emancipation.

1.1. Blyden as the 19th Century Father of Pan-Africanism

Going back to the beginning, the idea of “Pan-Africanism” (but not the term) received its early historical impetus from the famous “Back-to-Africa” movements which formed the British Colony of Sierra Leone for freed slaves in 1787 and returned American slaves to Liberia via the American Colonization Society in 1816¹³. The phrase, “Africa for the Africans,” became the battle cry of such “Back-to-Africa” movements as early as 1850¹⁴. Black political and race philosopher Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832-1912), known as “the Father of Pan-Africanism” and “foremost pan-Negro patriot” of his century, used it in West Africa at that time when he personally put his ideology into action by re-locating to the independent Republic of Liberia, West Africa, from his native Caribbean island of St. Thomas in 1850¹⁵. An accomplished academic, Dr. Blyden is praised as “the most outstanding English-speaking Negro literary figure of the nineteenth century” and “the most brilliant West African of his time”¹⁶. Pan-Africanist Casely Hayford of the Gold Coast later wrote that Blyden was “the foremost thinker of the race” who reached beyond the “provincial” thinking of other famous Western blacks by philosophizing “for the race as a whole”¹⁷:

The work of men like Booker T. Washington and W. E. Burghart Du Bois is exclusive and provincial. The work of Edward Wilmot Blyden is *universal*, covering the entire *race* and the entire race problem. [...] Blyden has sought for more than a quarter of a century to reveal everywhere the African unto himself; to fix his attention upon original ideas and conceptions as to his place in the economy

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1704-1706.

¹² Emmanuel MARTEY. *African Theology* [...], p. 10.

¹³ Marc MATERA. “Pan-Africanism”, p. 1702.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Hollis LYNCH. “Edward Wilmot Blyden: Pan-Negro Patriot from the Caribbean,” *New World Journal*, vol. 4, n° 1, 1967, put online [s.d.], (page consulted on 30 March 2018), <https://newworldjournal.org/africa/edward-wilmot-blyden-pan-negro-patriot-from-the-caribbean>, p. 1-2; “The Giants of Pan-Africanism,” *The African-American Plan For Africans In America And In The African Diaspora*. Put online 2014, (page consulted on 14 June 2018), <https://web.archive.org/web/20180616073214/www.abafa.org/the-giants-of-pan-africanism>, par. 1.

¹⁶ Hollis LYNCH. “Edward Wilmot Blyden [...]”, p. 1.

¹⁷ J. E. CASELY HAYFORD. *Ethiopia Unbound*, Milton Keynes, UK, Lightning Source UK Ltd., 2014 [1911], p. 166-167.

of the world; to point out to him his work as a race among the races of men; lastly, and most important of all, to lead him back unto *self-respect*.¹⁸ Casely Hayford, *Ethiopia Unbound*

These concepts of the “universal” brotherhood of the “Negro” “race” which was “proud” to be black would soon be taken up and proclaimed loudly all around the world by another Caribbean Pan-Africanist—Marcus Garvey. His thoughts will be addressed later in this chapter as his ideas are crucial to understanding the emancipationist mentality of Bresi-Ando.

1.1.1. The Redemption of Africa via “Back-to-Africa” repatriation

Blyden’s writings championed the return to Africa by Negroes as the solution to their racial suppression and discrimination¹⁹. Believing that blacks in the United States and the Caribbean should resettle in Africa and “redeem” it²⁰, Blyden promoted this concept of the “redemption of Africa” via massive emigration and colonisation as “the only means of delivering the coloured man from oppression and of raising him up to respectability”²¹. “‘The object of Liberia’, he wrote, ‘was the *redemption* of Africa and the disenthralment and elevation of the African race’.”²² His vision was that by importing their “Christian civilization” with its Western education and technical/industrial knowledge, these repatriates would help their black African brothers create powerful, capable, black independent nation states on the continent, beginning with Liberia²³. According to him, education and technology would ultimately give birth to political freedom²⁴. Promoting political unity in West Africa was very important for Blyden, as a Liberian politician. He even dreamed of a future federation of African states, or at least a huge anglophone state in West Africa²⁵. This concept of the “redemption” of Africa by black returnees would become a major element within Pan-Africanist thought in later decades, as Blyden’s ideas impacted the next

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 167—italics added.

¹⁹ Hollis LYNCH. “Edward Wilmot Blyden [...]” p. 1.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1, 3; Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History: Political Figures from Africa and the Diaspora since 1787*, London and New York, Routledge, 2003, p. 12.

²¹ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 12.

²² *Ibid.*—italics added.

²³ *Ibid.*; Hollis LYNCH. “Edward Wilmot Blyden [...]” p. 1.

²⁴ Hollis LYNCH. “Edward Wilmot Blyden [...]” p. 3.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

generation of Pan-Africanist thinkers, such as Casely Hayford and Marcus Garvey, as we shall see shortly.

1.1.2. Black pride

During the 1800's, the whole effect of slavery, the movements of Africans around the Atlantic, the interaction of enslaved Africans with Europeans, the abolition movements, and the "Back-to-Africa" colonization efforts all worked together to begin to form a common "Pan-African" vision of a unified Negro/Black/African "race" within the minds of many blacks²⁶. Blyden openly favored darker skin—"purer" black—over mixed or light-colored negros (mulattos)²⁷. As a race philosopher, Blyden aspired to use his "Pan-Negro" concept to describe the "blackness" of the "Negro Personality"²⁸. In his own words, he taught "self-respect, a proper appreciation of our powers, and those of other people"²⁹, along with a greater appreciation for the local African institutions and culture³⁰. He wrote:

It is sad to think that there are some Africans, especially among those who have enjoyed the advantages of foreign training, who are blind enough to the radical facts of humanity as to say, "Let us do away with our African personality and be lost, if possible, in another race". Preach this doctrine as much as you like, no one will do it, for no one can do it, for when you have done away with *your personality*, you have done away with yourselves. Your place has been assigned you in the universe *as Africans*, and there is no room for you as anything else.³¹

Blyden, who was once accused of adultery, openly promoted the local African "institution" of polygamy. This was not well-received by the European missionaries nor by other Christian Africans, as neither was his later-in-life promotion of Islam³².

²⁶ Marc MATERA. "Pan-Africanism", p. 1702.

²⁷ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 12-13.

²⁸ Emmanuel MARTEY. *African Theology* [...], p. 14.

²⁹ Hollis LYNCH. "Edward Wilmot Blyden [...]", p. 1.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³¹ "The Giants of Pan-Africanism," *The African-American Plan* [...], par. 1—italics added.

³² Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 14; Hollis LYNCH. "Edward Wilmot Blyden [...]", p. 1, 3.

1.1.3. African-run schools and churches

As a teacher all his life, Dr. Blyden desired that Negro leaders be highly educated³³, especially as a preparation for future African self-rule³⁴. At one time the President of Liberia College, he promoted education among the “Negro race” and was adamant that Africans be allowed to operate their own African-run schools and churches as the primary vehicles of culture³⁵. Decrying the colonialists’ disruption of African culture and institutions³⁶, Blyden was adamant that Africans must design a curriculum that served their particular situation and desires, reflecting their own history, customs and languages, while also including studies in Bible, Latin, Greek and Arabic³⁷. Furthermore, he desired the establishment of a secular West African university (run by Negro academics) which would prepare and unite local leaders for future self-government, and towards this long-term goal Blyden was successful in opening the first Western-style school for Muslim children in Nigeria³⁸. The first of its kind in West Africa, its purpose was to generate understanding and collaboration between Christian and Islamic African communities³⁹, since Blyden was convinced that education and technology would foster progress, unity, and ultimately, African political independence⁴⁰. In the meantime, until his loftier educational goals could be adopted and implemented, Blyden viewed that the best way for European colonial authorities to develop and rule their territories would be via native institutions (such as the African chieftaincy)⁴¹. This was due to the fact that later in life Blyden moderated his previous repatriation stance and began to accept European colonial imperialism as a temporary vehicle towards the modernization of West Africa and the possible construction up of a huge future West African empire⁴². He weighed the long-term benefits (acquirement of technology and education) against the short-term losses (white domination and exploitation), calculating that the harsh tropical

³³ Hollis LYNCH. “Edward Wilmot Blyden [...]” p. 1.

³⁴ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 14.

³⁵ Hollis LYNCH. “Edward Wilmot Blyden [...]” p. 1, 3.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³⁷ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 13.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 13-14; Hollis LYNCH. “Edward Wilmot Blyden [...]” p. 1, 3.

³⁹ Hollis LYNCH. “Edward Wilmot Blyden [...]” p. 1.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 3; Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 14.

⁴¹ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 14.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 13-14.

climate and sicknesses would prevent the whites from establishing permanent settlements in West Africa and that eventually they would leave. In this view, Blyden was correct⁴³.

To counter the level of racism and white superiority which was greatly magnified in Africa during the rise of the New Imperialism in the last twenty years of the 1800's, Blyden advised Africans to form a united, independent, non-denominational church in West Africa which would gather all Christian denominations and sects into one huge black-run organization⁴⁴. In addition to side-stepping white racism, his desire was to undo the religious sectarianism which the white missionaries had introduced into the African life with their various denominations⁴⁵. The United Native African Church was birthed in 1891 as a result⁴⁶, but it did not serve to unite all African Christians. Rather, it was among the first of thousands of new denominations—African Independent Churches (known in scholarship as “AICs”)—which came into existence over the last century since the late 1800's as Africans began to seek religious emancipation⁴⁷. This movement will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6: “Pan-African Theology and African Independent Churches (AICs).”

1.1.4. Journalism educates the masses about Pan-Africanism

As a journalist and editor, Blyden used the press to disseminate his Pan-Africanist ideas as widely as he could. At first, he edited the *Liberia Herald*, and later he founded the *Negro* newspaper and helped start both the *West African Reporter* and the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* in Freetown, Sierra Leone, while also helping start the monthly educational journal entitled the *Ethiopian*⁴⁸. He also published articles in important “white” quarterlies in Britain (*Fraser's Magazine*) and in the U.S. (*Methodist Quarterly Review*)⁴⁹. Through these articles, essays, and his many pamphlets, such as, *West Africa Before Europe* (London, 1905), and especially his books, such as his well-known opus, *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race* (London, 1887), Blyden's Pan-Africanist ideas entered

⁴³ Hollis LYNCH. “Edward Wilmot Blyden [...],” p. 3.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

the 20th Century circulating within the minds of his West African readers⁵⁰. Ghana political historian David Kimble in his *A Political History of Ghana, 1850-1928* (Oxford, 1963) points out that Blyden's opus along with his pamphlet *West Africa Before Europe* were available on the Gold Coast and "became the treasured property of several influential Gold Coast families," including that of Gold Coast Pan-Africanist Casely Hayford, who wrote the introduction to this famous pamphlet⁵¹.

1.2. Du Bois as the 20th Century Father of Modern Pan-Africanism

After Blyden, the next important early Pan-African was the famous Black American William E. B. Du Bois (1868-1963), the first Afro-American to earn a PhD from Harvard⁵². Belonging to a younger generation than Blyden, Du Bois is considered by many scholars to be the "true father of modern Pan-Africanism" since he lived and worked well into the 20th Century, right up to the time of the mid-20th Century Civil Rights Movement in the United States⁵³. From the end of the 1800's and into the 1920's Du Bois picked up the torch of Pan-Africanism, promoting and developing Blyden's idea of a Black African "race consciousness"—a common vision of a unified Negro/Black/African "race"⁵⁴. His most famous phrase was: "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line"⁵⁵.

At the turn of the century, Du Bois was involved with a series of international gatherings of blacks which contributed to the growth of the usage of the term "Pan-African", ultimately leading to the advent of independent sovereign African nations in the middle of the 20th Century⁵⁶. Negroes, blacks, Africans, peoples of African descent, men of color (different terms were used) came

⁵⁰ David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana: The Rise of Gold Coast Nationalism, 1850-1928*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1965, p. 538.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Marc MATERA. "Pan-Africanism", p. 1702-1703; Nicholas Michael SAMBALUK. "Du Bois, W.E.B.," *1914-1918 Online—International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, put online 08 October 2014, (page consulted on 29 March 2018) https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/du_bois_web, par 1.

⁵³ Peter KURLA. "Pan-Africanism", *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 29 April 2016, (page consulted on 30 March 2018), <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Pan-Africanism>, par. 4.

⁵⁴ Marc MATERA. "Pan-Africanism", p. 1702.

⁵⁵ DSONLINE. "Du Bois and the Question of the Color Line: Race and Class in the Age of Globalization," *Journal of the Research Group on Socialism and Democracy online*, vol. 17, n° 1, put online 19 April 2011, (page consulted on 05 March 2015), <http://sdonline.org/33/du-bois-and-the-question-of-the-color-line-race-and-class-in-the-age-of-globalization>, par. 1.

⁵⁶ Marc MATERA. "Pan-Africanism", p. 1702-1704.

together in conferences of historic proportions which developed the meaning of the term “Pan-Africanism”. At the 1893 Chicago “Congress on Africa,” the exact term “Pan-African” was used for the first time as the concept transitioned “from an idea to a recognizable movement”⁵⁷. Other scholars point to the first “Pan-African Conference,” held in London in 1900, as the place where “Pan-Africanism” began to manifest itself as a modern, organized program. The goal in London was to bring “into closer touch with each other the Peoples of African descent throughout the world”⁵⁸. Du Bois participated in this conference and gave his famous speech: “Address to the Nations of the World” in which he openly tackled “the problem of the colour line”⁵⁹.

Following World War I, Du Bois stepped forward and organized a series of “Pan-African Congresses” of his own: 1919 in Paris; 1921 in London, Brussels and Paris; 1923 in London and Lisbon; 1927 in New York; in 1945 in Manchester, England⁶⁰. During the interwar congresses, the definition of “Pan-Africanism” meant the “unification of all black people, commitment to the empowerment of black people and the liberation of all black people”⁶¹. All persons of African descent were to unite to bring about their own emancipation/liberation. Strategies to achieve these goals varied—assimilation, protest, or “Back-to-Africa” movements⁶². Through these successful conferences, Du Bois contributed to the dramatic growth of the Pan-African movement of “black internationalism” following WWI as black soldiers from around the world, having successfully defended their “democratic” colonial states, came home to face ugly racism⁶³. They saw firsthand the tragic disparity between vocalized claims of the value of Western democratic freedom versus the reality of imperial subjugation. In 1920 Du Bois predicted the future struggle of blacks against their colonial white overlords, saying that the members of the “Dark World” would be soon ready to fight if they had to, in order to gain their liberty from the “White World”:

as wild and awful as this shameful war [*W.W.I*] was, *it is nothing to compare with that fight for freedom which black and brown and yellow men must and will make unless their oppression and humiliation and insult at the hands of the White World*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1702.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*; David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 542.

⁶⁰ Marc MATERA. “Pan-Africanism”, p. 1703; David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 542-543.

⁶¹ Emmanuel MARTEY. *African Theology* [...], p. 10.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Marc MATERA. “Pan-Africanism”, p. 1703.

*cease. The Dark World is going to submit to its present treatment just as long as it must and not a moment more.*⁶⁴ (Du Bois, *Darkwater*)

Such promotion of “blackness” within a united “Dark World” worked to bring about “an unprecedented growth in a sense of racial unity and the popularity of black internationalism” during the period between the two world wars⁶⁵. The African soldiers who had fought for the British Crown during World War I returned home to the Gold Coast Colony with a new thirst for social equality⁶⁶. History would later repeat itself in much greater proportions when Gold Coast soldiers would return home following World War II to begin their real drive for political national independence, leading to the birth of their nation of Ghana in 1957⁶⁷. In 1921 *The Gold Coast Independent* wrote, “if they were good enough to fight and die in the Empire’s cause, they were good enough [...] to have a share in the Government of their countries”⁶⁸. Du Bois had correctly predicted that the blacks’ political fight for freedom would certainly come to pass.

W. E. B. Du Bois was one of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP—1909), which sought for full equality within the white world of the United States using an “integrationist agenda” instead of the segregationist/separatist “Back-to-Africa” approach of Blyden⁶⁹. The stated mission of the NAACP is “to secure the political, educational, social, and economic equality of rights in order to eliminate race-based discrimination”⁷⁰. Central to Du Bois’ vision was his concept that the cream of the Afro-Americans—the “talented tenth”⁷¹—would advance to the highest levels of education and thereby become leaders in pursuit of racial equality within America, rather than being satisfied with the lesser agricultural/vo-tech approach of the well-known American Black educator, Booker T.

⁶⁴ W. E. B. DU BOIS. *Darkwater: Voices From Within the Veil*, [s.l.], Dover Publications, 1999 [1920], p. 28—italics in original.

⁶⁵ Marc MATERA. “Pan-Africanism”, p. 1703.

⁶⁶ David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 545.

⁶⁷ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 133-134.

⁶⁸ David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 545; *The Gold Coast Independent*, 22 October 1921.

⁶⁹ Nicholas Michael SAMBALUK. “Du Bois, W.E.B.,” par 3.

⁷⁰ “What is the Mission of the NAACP?” *NAACP*. (Page consulted on 25 July 2018), <http://www.naACP.org/about-us>, par. 1.

⁷¹ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 77.

Washington, which was geared to the masses⁷². Resisting the advocates of black separatism⁷³, Du Bois' approach of integrationist emancipation eventually succeeded in the United States decades later via the Civil Rights Movement of Martin Luther King Jr. Although Du Bois did not live to see that day, his ground-breaking work helped pave the way by his writings, by organizing the NAACP, and by hosting international Pan-African congresses.

2. Casely Hayford, the Gold Coast's greatest Pan-Africanist

The Pan-Africanist work of W. E. B. Du Bois was widely publicized in the West African press⁷⁴. Copies of his own periodical, *The Crisis*, were being read across the Gold Coast⁷⁵. His efforts in organizing the first Pan-African Congress in Paris in 1919, its decisions and resolutions, as well as the follow-up Congresses throughout the decade of the 1920's were fully covered by the editors of the local Gold Coast papers, which were being run by educated elite Africans such as Casely Hayford⁷⁶. A friend of both Edward Blyden and W. E. B. Du Bois⁷⁷, journalist/editor Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford (1866-1930) was a Cambridge-educated lawyer, politician and Gold Coast native son who ran much of the local press⁷⁸. As a black intellectual "giant" in his day⁷⁹, Casely Hayford towered over all his contemporary native politicians, not only in the British Colony of the Gold Coast, but across the whole of Africa⁸⁰. He is fondly remembered as being the Gold Coast's first Pan-African, the father of the Gold Coast's secular side of nationalism (as distinct from a rising parallel "ecclesiastical nationalism")⁸¹. George Padmore regarded Casely Hayford

⁷² David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 542. Note: the agricultural/vocational/technical educational approach of Booker T. Washington was similar to that of the Basel missionaries working on the Gold Coast, who aspired to educate, train and form a society of African converts whose new Christian lifestyle replicated the common German 19th Century peasant village.

⁷³ Nicholas Michael SAMBALUK. "Du Bois, W.E.B.," par. 10.

⁷⁴ David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 543.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 544.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 543.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 82; Alistair BODDY-EVANS. "J E Casely Hayford," *ThoughtCo*, put online 14 October 2015, (page consulted on 06 April 2017), <http://www.thoughtco.com/je-casely-hayford-44434>, [out of print], par. 1; "J. E. Casely Hayford Facts," *Encyclopedia of World Biography*. The Gale Group, Farmington Hills, Michigan, 2010, (page consulted on 06 April 2017), <https://web.archive.org/web/20150907230723/https://biography.yourdictionary.com/j-e-casely-hayford>, par. 3. There is no available monograph of the life of Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford. Therefore, biographical material has been drawn from related books, journal articles, and websites.

⁷⁹ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 110.

⁸⁰ Alistair BODDY-EVANS. "J E Casely Hayford" [...], par. 1.

⁸¹ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 132.

as “the greatest national political leader and social reformer” in West Africa prior to 1930, while many of his contemporaries dubbed him the “uncrowned king of West Africa,” who “tutored and mentored all the nationalist leaders in West Africa”⁸².

Young Casely Hayford gathered his emancipationist ideas not only from Du Bois but initially from the very “father of Pan-Africanism” himself, Edward Blyden, while a student in Sierra Leone⁸³. Blyden had moved there from Liberia in 1871 and was editing West Africa’s first Pan-African newspaper, *Negro*, when Casely Hayford attended Fourah Bay College in Freetown from 1872-1874⁸⁴. Hakim Adi notes that Blyden’s Pan-Africanist teachings had a “significant influence” on his disciple Casely Hayford and those among his generation⁸⁵. Casely Hayford later transferred Blyden’s Pan-Africanist teachings directly to many Gold Coasters amongst his contemporaries and within the younger generation via his own ventures into the West African press once he had concluded his studies abroad and had returned to the Gold Coast. In his own novel, *Ethiopia Unbound* (1911), which called for the future emancipation of his own Fante tribe as well as all Africans, Casely Hayford hailed Blyden as the Negro philosopher who worked hard “to reveal everywhere the African unto himself [...] to lead him back unto self-respect” and to help the African discover “his true place in creation upon natural and national lines”⁸⁶. Forwarding Blyden’s ideas into the ears of his Gold Coast readers, Casely Hayford praised Blyden as “the greatest living exponent of the true spirit of African nationality and manhood” who “has been the voice of one crying in the wilderness all these years, calling upon all thinking Africans to go back to the rock whence they were hewn by the common Father of the nations [...] to learn to unlearn all that foreign sophistry has encrusted upon the intelligence of the African”⁸⁷. Although Casely Hayford is remembered to have been personally in communication with Du Bois whom he also

⁸² CASELY HAYFORD. “Speech at the Founding Conference of the National Congress of British West Africa,” Accra, Gold Coast, ca. 11 March 1920, in KWEKUDEE, “Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford: ‘Uncrowned King of West Africa,’ Father of Ghana’s Nationalism, Pan-Africanist and the Founder of the National Congress of British West Africa,” *Trip Down Memory Lane*, put online 12 November 2013 (page consulted on 07 June 2018) <https://kwekudee-tripdownmemorylane.blogspot.com/2013/11/joseph-ephraim-casely-hayford-uncrowned.html>, par. 2-3.

⁸³ Alistair BODDY-EVANS. “J E Casely Hayford” [...], par. 5.

⁸⁴ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 12-13; “J. E. Casely Hayford Facts,” *Encyclopedia of World Biography* [...], par. 1.

⁸⁵ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 14.

⁸⁶ J. E. CASELY HAYFORD. *Ethiopia Unbound*, p. 167-168.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

respected as a great Afro-American thinker⁸⁸, he openly preferred Blyden's more "sublime" approach of rediscovering one's true place as a proud African in Africa with an authentic, original African mentality over Du Bois' approach of seeking equality in America "along the lines of progress of the white man"⁸⁹. In fact, while Blyden's philosophy primarily emphasized African culture and native institutions more than political nationalism⁹⁰, Casely Hayford tried his hardest to set in concrete the rather vague political dreams of his mentor, Blyden.

2.1. Casely Hayford's bold Pan-Africanist dream: a united West Africa

By serving as one of the *first* non-chief members on the Legislative Council for the Colony of the Gold Coast, Casely Hayford was a very important early black African politician⁹¹. His nationalist aspirations broadened into a full vision for the Pan-African emancipation of West Africa⁹², an idea that his hero Blyden himself had cherished in vain when he had (decades before) called for a large anglophone political state in West Africa⁹³. In his day, Casely Hayford actively sought to unite the African leaders of all the British colonies of West Africa—the Gold Coast, Nigeria, the Gambia, and Sierra Leone⁹⁴—in the "first Pan-African political movement in West Africa"⁹⁵ to peacefully politic for a type of "home rule"⁹⁶. His dream was a sort of "United States of West Africa"⁹⁷. With the chiefs firmly in the hands of the British authorities, in 1920 members of the new Gold Coast educated *intelligentsia*, led by Casely Hayford, set about in a practical manner organizing a wide regional nationalist political effort, the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA)⁹⁸. The NCBWA pressed the Crown for "immediate" reform of the colonial constitution, desiring a popularly-elected legislative body and a genuine electoral process which would bring Africans into the actual governing of their land⁹⁹. They had their eyes initially set on

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*; David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 543.

⁸⁹ J. E. CASELY HAYFORD. *Ethiopia Unbound*, p. 167-168.

⁹⁰ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 14.

⁹¹ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 130; F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, Oxford, Macmillan, 1998, p. 103.

⁹² Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 110.

⁹³ Hollis LYNCH. "Edward Wilmot Blyden [...]" p. 3.

⁹⁴ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 110.

⁹⁵ Alistair BODDY-EVANS. "J E Casely Hayford" [...], par. 21.

⁹⁶ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 110.

⁹⁷ Marc MATERA. "Pan-Africanism", p. 1704.

⁹⁸ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 110, 123-125; Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 84.

⁹⁹ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 125.

a *limited* form of political independence: to become a Pan-Africanist united West Africa, loyally under the British monarch but run by Africans¹⁰⁰. Knowing full well that economy supports politics, they clamored for their own African-run banking system, shipping, stores and co-ops¹⁰¹—ideas which Bishop Bresi-Ando would champion and try to bring into reality on the Gold Coast in the decade of the 1930's. (This will be examined in detail in Chapter 16, “Bresi-Ando's *Commercial Emancipation*”). These NCBWA ideas would return decades later in the Pan-African political adventurism of President Nkrumah who dreamed of a “United States of Africa”¹⁰².

Sadly, Paramount Chief Sir Ofori Atta I, the loyal servant of the Governor and fellow member with Casely Hayford on the Legislative Council, led the important chiefs in a strong opposition to this new lawyer-run NCBWA movement¹⁰³. This first attempt to launch a limited form of united nationalism on the Gold Coast failed as the chiefs and the black *intelligentsia* began to argue over who really and truly spoke for the interests of the masses—the chiefs or the educated African lawyers¹⁰⁴. The British response was to ignore the NCBWA and let the chiefs drive it into extinction, which occurred when Casely Hayford died in 1930¹⁰⁵. African discord and lack of unity broke this early political aspiration¹⁰⁶. To his disunited audience at their last conference in 1930 just prior to his death Casely Hayford lamented:

the African God is weary of your wranglings, weary of your vain disputations, weary of your everlasting quarrels which are a drag upon progress and which keep from you, as a people, the good that is intended for you.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 83-84.

¹⁰¹ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 125.

¹⁰² LaVerle BERRY (Ed.). “Nkrumah, Ghana, and Africa,” *Ghana: A Country Study*, Coll. “Area Handbook Series,” Washington, D.C., Federal Research Division, U.S. Library of Congress, 1994, put online 1994, (page consulted on 27 August 2015), <http://countrystudies.us/ghana/15.htm>, par. 7; Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 125.

¹⁰³ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 123.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ CASELY HAYFORD. “Presidential address by Casely Hayford, Lagos, Dec. 1929,” *West African Leadership: Public Speeches of J. E. Casely Hayford*, Coll. “Africana Modern Library,” vol. 10, Magnus J. Sampson (Ed.), London, Frank Cass Publishers, 1969, chapter v.

Awoonor aptly adds his own comment on Casely Hayford's lament:

It was the voice of the African nationalist crying in the wilderness. Nkrumah and Rawlings, thirty and fifty years later, will take up this same agonizing cry with greater frustration in the forums of the so-called independent Africa.¹⁰⁸

2.2. Casely Hayford's connection with the famous Brew family

Casely Hayford, as one of the most famous of the early educated Gold Coast class, a Cambridge-trained lawyer, a member of the Colonial Legislative Council, a president of the ARPS, and the founder of the NCBWA, was too “big” of a star in the constellation of contemporary African thinkers and writers for educated locals of the younger next generation (e.g., Bresi-Ando) to overlook during the first three decades of the 20th Century. As an individual the man was too famous to miss, plus, there was *his family*. Casely Hayford came from one of the Gold Coast's most privileged and established families: the prestigious Brew clan. His mother was a Brew, within the Fante tribe's matriarchal family system¹⁰⁹. The Fante Brews lived on the coastline and were all descended from a white trader named Richard Brew and his local Fante concubine in 1745¹¹⁰. In constant contact with the Europeans who for centuries had ventured to the shores of the Gold Coast (as traders, colonial authorities, missionaries, and educators), the Brew clan were among the Gold Coast's early educated cultural elite who had both European names and ancestors¹¹¹. It is not hard to imagine that the younger generation were following the writings of their famous Brew relative—a high-profile local political leader—with great interest, as Casely Hayford for decades wrote prolifically, submitting articles to local Gold Coast newspapers and publishing books on African culture, politics, nationalism, Pan-Africanism, and emancipation¹¹². With the educated elite like Casely Hayford and the other Brews stirring the minds of locals, it was not surprising that the local Gold Coast press was buzzing with excitement about the growing international Pan-Africanism. The *Gold Coast Independent* in March 1919 read:

¹⁰⁸ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 130.

¹⁰⁹ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 82.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*; Alistair BODDY-EVANS. “J E Casely Hayford” [...], par. 4.

¹¹¹ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 82.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 82-83.

Negro peoples throughout the world are demanding, not as a favour but as of right, their place among the Nations of the Earth [...] Anyone who stands aloof in order to buy the whiteman's favour, betrays his country.¹¹³

2.2.1 Rev. Samuel Richard Brew Attoh-Ahuma — father of the Gold Coast's "ecclesiastical nationalism"

In Ghana's history, the well-positioned Brew family made significant early contributions towards its ultimate independence. Indeed, something of a Pan-African emancipationist recipe was "brewing" in this famous Gold Coast clan. Ghanaian political historian Ebenezer O. Addo credits a Brew relative—Methodist minister Rev. Samuel Richard Brew Attoh-Ahuma—as being the father of the Gold Coast's "ecclesiastical nationalism," "the first to express national sentiments" from among the native Gold Coast educated clergymen at the end of the 19th Century¹¹⁴. (It must be noted that during the colonial period at the turn of the century "[t]wo levels of nationalism operated side by side"—ecclesiastical and secular¹¹⁵.) This second Brew, Rev. Samuel Richard Brew Attoh-Ahuma started a newspaper in 1896, *The Gold Coast Methodist Times*¹¹⁶, which "became the mouthpiece of nationalist agitation" in the Colony¹¹⁷, of which his relative, Casely Hayford (Brew), became joint editor¹¹⁸. In this periodical and in his published books the Gold Coasters heard the ecclesiastical Brew (Rev. Attoh-Ahuma) criticize the negative aspects brought to their land by the white foreigners:

As a people, we have ceased to be a thinking nation [...] Western education or civilization undiluted, unsifted, has more or less enervated our minds and made them passive [...] Our national life is semi-paralysed [...we are] a race of men and women who think too little and talk too much.¹¹⁹

Being a man of letters and words who advocated "an ardent affection for our motherland, and an intelligent appreciation of her history and destiny"¹²⁰, Rev. Attoh-Ahuma attempted to stir up racial

¹¹³ *The Gold Coast Independent*, 1st and 8th March 1919, in David KIMBLE, *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 543.

¹¹⁴ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 132-133.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

¹¹⁶ "Gold Coast Methodist Times," *Library of Congress*. (Page consulted on 12 November 2019), <https://www.loc.gov/item/2003225504>.

¹¹⁷ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 133.

¹¹⁸ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 131.

¹¹⁹ ATTOH AHUMA. *The Gold Coast Nation and National Consciousness*, 2nd ed., Coll. "Africana Modern Library," vol. 16, London, Routledge, 1971, p. 6-7.

¹²⁰ ATTOH AHUMA, Samuel Richard Brew. *Memoirs of West African Celebrities, Europe, &c. (1700-1850): With Special Reference to the Gold Coast*, Liverpool, D. Marples and Co., 1905, Preface.

pride and patriotic nationalism by writing articles in praise of men of black color who had achieved various levels of accomplishment in their lives¹²¹. He championed the idea that Gold Coasters should renounce their European names and change back to African ones¹²².

2.2.2. Casely Hayford — as the Brew who was the father of the Gold Coast’s “secular nationalism”

With one Brew—Rev. Attoh-Ahuma—holding the title of “father” of the Gold Coast’s “ecclesiastical nationalism” as the 19th Century drew to a close, Addo credits another Brew—Casely Hayford—as being the father of Ghana’s “secular nationalism”¹²³. Promoting nationalism from the secular side as a lawyer/journalist/author, Brew clan member Casely Hayford made sure that he too had some periodicals from which to propagate his emancipationist views. His uncle, James Hutton Brew, owned the *Western Echo* (later known as the *Gold Coast Echo*) and gave him a beginning journalist position in 1885¹²⁴. Casely quickly became its editor and went on to become owner/editor of the *Gold Coast Chronicle*, wrote articles for the *Gold Coast Independent*, was joint editor with Rev. Samuel Richard Brew Attoh-Ahuma of the *Methodist Times*, and co-founder/editor of the NCBWA’s *Gold Coast Leader*¹²⁵. In fact, Casely Hayford was the first to use the news press to foment nationalist and racial pride by writing articles about accomplished Gold Coasters¹²⁶. This he did even before Rev. Attoh-Ahuma, from as early as 1896¹²⁷. Spanning a prolific writing career of 45 years (1885-1930), Casely Hayford churned out many books and hundreds of articles on important African and Pan-African themes, stirring up a call for nationalism and emancipation which he did not live long enough to see, but which arrived eventually, none the less, and certainly due in some degree to his nationalist impulse¹²⁸. Casely Hayford’s ideas impacted those around him, especially the younger generation of Bresi-Ando and Ando-Brew, who would carry the emancipation baton a little farther towards the desired goal.

¹²¹ David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 539-540.

¹²² Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 133.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

¹²⁴ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 82.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*; Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 131; “J. E. Casely Hayford Facts,” *Encyclopedia of World Biography* [...], par. 3.

¹²⁶ David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 539.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 131-132.

2.3. Casely Hayford's philosophy

Much of Casely Hayford's Pan-Africanist philosophy can be found in his books, the two most famous being—*Gold Coast Native Institutions: With Thoughts Upon a Healthy Imperial Policy for the Gold Coast and Ashanti*, (1903), and *Ethiopia Unbound* (1911). The first was originally drafted as a legal brief for the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society (ARPS) in their historic case against the Lands Bill of 1897 which successfully prohibited the British government from taking control of tribal lands in the Gold Coast Colony¹²⁹. The second work is an African novel which showcases Casely Hayford's Pan-Africanist ideas of equality, emancipation, and indigenous education via a "national university"¹³⁰.

2.3.1. Equality and Social/Cultural Institutions

Equality was a guiding theme for Casely Hayford. The African was smart, had great ideas, and needed to be a part of his own destiny: "We are anxious to take part in the race of nations towards the attainment of higher ideals, if you will only give us a chance to work out our own salvation."¹³¹ In his philosophizing, Casely Hayford turned to Blyden to emphasize the fact that African culture was often misunderstood by non-Africans, and therefore abused, belittled, and removed. To rectify this situation, Casely Hayford advocated for an approach that included the African and took a strong second look at those "Institutions" that were "native" to the Gold Coast and the Asante and which had been pushed aside by the advent of the white man. The African input was needed in the equation.

Africa, I believe, has been compared somewhere by Dr. Blyden in his writings to the Sphinx of old, which, sitting by the wayside, calmly propounded riddles. Trouble and great confusion to the nation, European or otherwise, which would attempt to read them without her aid [...] without the cooperation of the sons of the soil.¹³²

¹²⁹ "J. E. Casely Hayford Facts," *Encyclopedia of World Biography* [...], par. 7; Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 132.

¹³⁰ J. E. CASELY HAYFORD. *Ethiopia Unbound*, p. 19-21.

¹³¹ CASELY HAYFORD. *Gold Coast Native Institutions: With Thoughts Upon a Healthy Imperial Policy for the Gold Coast and Ashanti*, Coll. "Classic Reprint Series", London, FB & c Ltd., 2015 [1903], p. 7.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

The mishandling of things African in colonial society and culture needed to be repaired, according to Casely Hayford. He proclaimed to the British: “You have disorganised our institutions, you shall help to reorganise them.”¹³³ “[T]he object of an enlightened Government should be to promote the healthy national development of the governed *by conserving and not destroying* the institutions of the people.”¹³⁴ “Why, in the name of reason and common sense, should not the Native bear his own name and wear his own native garments? Why, indeed, except that the simple missionary has, from the beginning, ruled that all these things are against the letter, if not the spirit, of the Gospel?”¹³⁵

2.3.2. Political Institutions

Casely Hayford was convinced that this institutional repair work should include the explosive arena of politics, and he was not afraid to call for this, honestly and vocally. Advocating a good second look at the Native political institutions of his country as a way to include the African in political power sharing, Casely Hayford wrote: “[I]t is about time, I hold, that the Authorities at Downing Street confined themselves more to *external* administration, leaving the *internal* government of the people to develop upon the natural lines *of their own institutions*.”¹³⁶ Critical of the existing colonial administrative system which was so exclusive of African participation, Casely Hayford felt “that apart from the Natives of the soil any attempt at statesmanlike administration is doomed to failure”¹³⁷. Instead he promoted the indigenous Native form of “representative government”¹³⁸, the multi-tiered system of African chieftaincy, which had federal, provincial, and municipal territories complete with offices for various levels of officials, a judiciary system with court of appeal, and military units¹³⁹.

If you are free to admit it, you will see that you find here already a *system of self-government* as *perfect and efficient* as the most forward nations of the earth to-day can possibly conceive. A people who could, indigenously, and without a literature, evolve the orderly representative government which [*sic.*] obtained in Ashanti and the Gold Coast before the advent of the foreign interloper, are a people to be

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*—italics added.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7—italics added.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. ix.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19-94.

respected and shown consideration when they proceed to discuss questions of self-government.¹⁴⁰

Casely Hayford makes his case for the use of the traditional native form of government, while downplaying the national peace provided by the strong British military presence in which he lived so secure. The centuries of intratribal and intertribal warfare inherent in the traditional system had prevented his Fante Akan people from ever peacefully unifying on a grander-scheme with their neighboring Asante Akan kinsfolk, as wars between the two tribes often arose over trade routes and access to the foreign trading forts along the coast¹⁴¹.

2.3.3. Commercial Institutions

Using his talents as lawyer, journalist and politician, Casely Hayford defended the poor farmers and uneducated traders whom he saw as the unfair victims of the rich, colonial, imperialist system¹⁴². Concerning trade, Casely Hayford believed that much could be gained by examining the old African way of commerce. Admitting that a *known* British imperialism was the lesser of two evils when compared to an *unknown* potentially greater evil¹⁴³, and admitting that the British had repented of their role in the slave-trade which resulted in the saving of many lives¹⁴⁴, Casely Hayford called for the British to include the use of native institutions in the arena of commerce as a solution which would mutually benefit both the British and the Africans “on purely aboriginal lines”¹⁴⁵. He praised the African’s former (pre-1874) commercial system—“a most active trade”¹⁴⁶—in which the Asante traders were the middlemen, obtaining European goods from Fante merchants on the coast and re-selling them into the deeper parts of Africa¹⁴⁷.

It was a trade based on *good-will and mutual confidence* between merchants on the Gold Coast and their friends, the middlemen, in Ashanti.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 128-129—italics added.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁴² Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 130-131.

¹⁴³ CASELY HAYFORD. *Gold Coast Native Institutions* [...], p. 6.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. ix.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*—italics added.

While emphasizing the requirement of “good-will and mutual confidence” for trade to exist between warring rivals, Casely Hayford admits, however, that the Asante’s accumulation of wealth was not only through goods trade and dealing in gold and ivory, but also in the selling of prisoners of war for slave-profit and using slaves as low-cost labor to carry the goods on foot back into the Asante hill country¹⁴⁹. The British, however, ended slavery on the Gold Coast in 1874 and “shattered” this indigenous institutional commerce system, leaving the Asante native commercial network to “lie crumbling in the dust”¹⁵⁰. According to Casely Hayford, “Downing Street policy has killed the goose—the Ashanti middleman, that is—which laid the golden egg”¹⁵¹.

2.3.4. Religious Institutions

In the arena of religion, Casely Hayford’s outspoken voice speaks for himself: “Overshadowing and permeating the political, judicial, and social economy of the Aborigines is that system of faith and worship known as Fetishism. In no department of his life is the Gold Coast Native more faithful to the traditions of his forefathers than in matters of faith and worship [...] The Native of the Gold Coast profoundly believes in the world of spirits.”¹⁵². Then the Protestant (philosophically Nominalist-oriented) “missionary comes along, simple soul that he is, and gives the would-be converted Native the comprehensive command to give up all fetish as a thing abominable in the sight of God”¹⁵³. “And why should he? When he comes to examine the teaching of the missionary, he finds there is a good deal in it that is unsuitable to his condition, and that he is required to give up practices which to the unscientific mind seem barbarous, but which, when critically examined, cover a mine of truth and inspiration.”¹⁵⁴ Casely Hayford concludes that the missionaries would have done better if they had carefully sifted the good from the bad, allowing various degrees of Africanization within Native Christian religious worship, rather than being so prejudiced and binary—i.e. our ideas are all right, yours are all wrong—so as to throw out the baby with the bath water. He wrote in his *Institutions*:

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 30, 95-98.

¹⁵⁰ FOREIGN OFFICE, The Librarian and Keeper of the Papers. *Great Britain, Foreign Office: British and Foreign State Papers, 1874-1875, Vol. LXVI*, H.M. Stationery Office, London, William Ridgway, Piccadilly, 1882, p. 969-975; CASELY HAYFORD. *Gold Coast Native Institutions* [...], p. 97-99.

¹⁵¹ CASELY HAYFORD. *Gold Coast Native Institutions* [...], p. 98.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 101.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

Yet, what a different state of things would *prevail if the missionary had first studied* the Religious System of the Native before trying to improve it, or, which is worse, before introducing a new one! Why, for example, should not the native convert sing his own native songs, and play his native airs in church? [...*or*] be invited to church by the call of the big drum?¹⁵⁵

2.3.5. Educational Institutions

Well-educated by Western standards, Casely Hayford—as seen in the above quotes—still fully believed that there was much to learn from the “Native Institutions” as repositories of centuries of local African wisdom, which he, like his mentor Blyden, valued. He therefore demanded a “scientific study” of the same:

We want an intelligent and scientific study of Native Institutions, and a right understanding of the nature of the work Great Britain is called upon to do in the Gold Coast and Ashanti, and the limit of her capacity to carry out such work apart from the Aborigines of the country.¹⁵⁶

Similar to Blyden, Dr. Casely Hayford dreamed of having an African university with a curriculum geared to the African situation and requirements (rather than Europe), as he firmly believed in providing Africans education “at all levels along ‘racial and national lines’”¹⁵⁷. He devised an (unsuccessful) educational plan for the “proper education” of Fante children, which included classes in Gold Coast culture, institutions, history and the Fante language, while also attempting (unsuccessfully) to start independent secular secondary schools¹⁵⁸. He was the *first* political figure on the Gold Coast to champion the teaching of indigenous languages in local schools¹⁵⁹. For a while he served as principal of his *alma mater*, Wesleyan Boys’ High School (later known as Mfantipim School), in Cape Coast¹⁶⁰. As an African educator, he was a friend to other famous black educators. As a personal friend and correspondent of both Dr. Edward Blyden and Dr. Booker T. Washington (whom he met in Alabama in 1912 and with whom he stayed in

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 105—italics added.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁵⁷ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 83; “J. E. Casely Hayford Facts,” *Encyclopedia of World Biography* [...], par. 4.

¹⁵⁸ “J. E. Casely Hayford Facts,” *Encyclopedia of World Biography* [...], par. 4-5.

¹⁵⁹ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 131.

¹⁶⁰ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 82.

communication)¹⁶¹, and a contact of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois¹⁶², Casely Hayford brought “home” to the Gold Coast all the Pan-Africanist ideas that were germinating and fermenting around the world during the first three decades of the 20th Century¹⁶³. In fact, he actively contributed to the global growth of Pan-Africanism across the Atlantic Ocean through the distribution of his book, *Ethiopia Unbound*, within America¹⁶⁴, as well as his personal correspondence with the leading Pan-Africanists overseas¹⁶⁵, while actively promoting Pan-Africanism at home through his constant flow of nationalist articles, his books exposing the hypocrisy of colonial rule, and most importantly, through his National Congress of British West Africa. Kimble reports that by the advent of World War I, the cross-fertilization of emancipationist ideas being shared by these international Pan-African leaders produced “a growing interest in ‘Pan-African’ and ‘Back to Africa’ movements, on both sides of the Atlantic”¹⁶⁶.

While this research (in Section Three) will look for proof to see if Pan-Africanist philosophy reached Bresi-Ando and became for him his determining motivation, simply tracing a straight line of influence from Blyden through Casely-Hayford to Bresi-Ando does not do justice to the multiple sources of emancipationist inspiration available to someone like Bresi-Ando in the 1920’s and 1930’s. There were also the Pan-Africanists from across the Atlantic—W. E. B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, Laura Adorkor Kofey, and Marcus Garvey—whose work certainly impacted Bresi-Ando as well¹⁶⁷. No matter how locally famous Casely Hayford was in West Africa, and whatever important role he might have played in planting the seeds of Blyden’s ideas into the mind of a young impressionable Bresi-Ando through his publications and the press, Casely

¹⁶¹ David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 541.

¹⁶² See footnote 1 at J. E. CASELY HAYFORD, “Excerpt of Speech by J. E. Casely Hayford at the Founding Conference of the National Congress of British West Africa,” in Robert A. HILL (Ed.), *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, Columbia, S.C., Model Editions Partnership, 2000, (page consulted on 21 January 2015), <https://web.archive.org/web/20160303174918/http://wyatt.elasticbeanstalk.com/mep/MG/xml/mg080030.html>, par. 4, electronic version based on Robert A. HILL (Ed.), *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, vol. VIII, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1995.

¹⁶³ G. I. C. ELUWA. “Background to the Emergence of the National Congress of British West Africa,” *African Studies Review*, vol. 14, n° 2, 1971, p. 213; David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 544.

¹⁶⁴ J. E. CASELY HAYFORD. “Excerpt of Speech by J. E. Casely Hayford [...],” footnote 1, par. 4.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.* Casely Hayford corresponded with Edward Blyden, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, J. R. Ralph Casimir, John E. Bruce, and Marcus Garvey; David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 541.

¹⁶⁶ David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 541.

¹⁶⁷ For information on Booker T. Washington as a Pan-Africanist, see: *Booker T. Washington and Africa: The Making of a Pan-Africanist*, by Tyrene Wright, Global Africa Press, 2015. For space, he is not included in this present work, except in passing or for an occasional point of comparison.

Hayford was nowhere near as famous as the huge international Pan-Africanist figure of the 1920's and '30s, the Jamaican Marcus Garvey (1887-1940), the father of modern history's largest global Negro anti-colonial movement, whose philosophical influence was felt literally all around the world¹⁶⁸.

By 1916 and all throughout the decade of 1920's Garveyism was being widely reported in the Gold Coast press¹⁶⁹. In 1921 *The Gold Coast Independent* newspaper in Accra hailed Garvey's Pan-Africanist social association as the "most potent organization in the United States"¹⁷⁰. Newspapers all across the Gold Coast openly credited the global Garveyite "great Negro awakening" for the huge increase of "colour consciousness" within their own African colony, which helped birth the N.C.B.W.A. as a result¹⁷¹. Casely Hayford was in contact with Marcus Garvey, and although the two did not agree on all points¹⁷², in 1929, the year before he died, Casely Hayford openly stated that Garvey's UNIA had exceeded all others in bringing "to the notice of world opinion the disabilities of the African race"¹⁷³. With such loud acclaim, Section Three therefore shall definitely search for clues to see how Garveyist Pan-Africanism impacted Bresi-Ando's emancipationist inclinations.

3. Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA)

The hugely famous Marcus Garvey—the founder of "the first and largest mass movement of black Americans"¹⁷⁴, even larger than the famous black American Civil Rights Movement of the 1950's and 1960's¹⁷⁵—was recognized in his day as a real Pan-Africanist who, in a popular sense, brought home to the world of men and women of color the idea of *black pride*—the now famous "black is

¹⁶⁸ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 76.

¹⁶⁹ David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 543-544.

¹⁷⁰ *The Gold Coast Independent*, 22 October 1921, in David KIMBLE, *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 543.

¹⁷¹ *The Gold Coast Independent*, 22 October 1921, in David KIMBLE, *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 544.

¹⁷² J. E. CASELY HAYFORD. "Excerpt of Speech by J. E. Casely Hayford [...]" footnote 1, par. 4, and footnote 2, par. 3.

¹⁷³ CASELY HAYFORD. *The Disabilities of Black Folk and their Treatment, with an Appeal to the Labour Party*, Accra, [s.n.], 1929 [out of print], cited in David KIMBLE, *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 544.

¹⁷⁴ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion: Essays and Reviews*, West Cornwall, CT, Locust Hill Press, 1987, p. 86.

¹⁷⁵ Ayanna GILLIAN. "Garvey's Legacy in Context: Colourism, Black Movements and African Nationalism," *Race and History*, put online 17 August 2005, (page consulted on 07 May 2018), <http://www.raceandhistory.com/historicalviews/2005/1708.html>, par. 4.

beautiful” concept¹⁷⁶. He is viewed by many to be “the most influential black man in modern history”¹⁷⁷.

Garvey believed in the solidarity and unity of all the blacks of the world and therefore devoted his entire life to work for their freedom—politically, commercially, educationally, socially, and racially¹⁷⁸. In fact, Blyden’s Pan-Africanist concepts of political emancipation via separatist “Back-to-Africa” repatriation, commercial emancipation, educational self-improvement, and social-racial emancipation for the black man defined Garvey’s movement in his over-all quest for equality¹⁷⁹. Garvey fired up his black audience with a lofty and comprehensive emancipationist vision for their future: “I say to the 400 million Negroes of the world, prepare yourselves for the higher life, the life of liberty, industrially, educationally, socially and politically”¹⁸⁰.

Due to the huge magnetic success of Marcus in attracting the crowds during the years between the two World Wars, many people recognized that Garveyism was the most well-known Pan-African movement in its day¹⁸¹, as Garvey appealed to the multitudes of black common folk rather than to the limited black *intelligentsia*¹⁸². For him, to be a “Negro” was an honor, and the blacker one was, the better, as he himself was very dark¹⁸³. Garvey’s stress on racial purism actually temporarily diminished the appeal of his rival lighter-toned black American leaders, Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois¹⁸⁴. Central to his movement was the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), a huge international Negro organization founded by Garvey in Jamaica in 1914, which flourished in the United States in the early 1920’s as “a Black separatist

¹⁷⁶ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 222; “People & Events: Marcus Garvey, 1887-1940, American Experience: Marcus Garvey—Look For Me in the Whirlwind,” PBS. (Page consulted on 04 April 2011), https://web.archive.org/web/20110519194555/http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/garvey/peopleevents/p_garvey.html, par. 1; Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 77.

¹⁷⁷ Ayanna GILLIAN. “Garvey’s Legacy in Context [...],” par 4.

¹⁷⁸ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*, vol. I & II, Amy Jacques-Garvey (Ed.), Mansfield Centre, CT, Martino Publishing, 2014 [1923 vol. I, 1926 vol. II], vol. 1, p. 10; Columbus SALLEY. *The Black 100: A Ranking of the Most Influential African-Americans, Past and Present*, Secaucus, NJ, Citadel Press, 1999, p. 80-81.

¹⁷⁹ Kip VOUGHT. “Racial Stirrings in Colored Town: The UNIA in Miami during the 1920’s,” *TEQUESTA: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida*, vol. LX, 2000, p. 57; Columbus SALLEY. *The Black 100* [...], p. 80-81.

¹⁸⁰ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 21.

¹⁸¹ Marc MATERA. “Pan-Africanism”, p. 1703.

¹⁸² David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 543.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 543 & footnote 5.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 543.

and Pan-Africanist organization”¹⁸⁵. Its complete name was the “Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities (Imperial) League”¹⁸⁶.

3.1. The UNIA and social improvement for all Negroes

As a global Negro association, Marcus Garvey and his UNIA aspired to unite all Africans (and people of African descent) in the whole world “with the goal of improving the social conditions of blacks, establishing racial pride and solidarity, and reclaiming Africa from European control and making it the new homeland for African Americans”¹⁸⁷.

Garvey was tired of seeing his people being exploited and subjected and, as he said, “kicked about by all the other races and nations of the world”¹⁸⁸, crushed under a white superiority which robbed them of their own black personal self-worth¹⁸⁹. Except for the independent African countries of Liberia and Ethiopia, Africa was divided into white-run colonies. Seeing that the black man had no king, no army, no government, and no equal status with the white world, Garvey decided that he would help bring these into reality¹⁹⁰. In his own words, Garvey started his huge political/social UNIA “with the program of uniting all the Negro peoples of the world into one great body to establish a country and Government absolutely their own”¹⁹¹.

3.1.1. A universal black race consciousness

Full of vigor, enthusiasm and confidence, Garvey called out to all Negroes everywhere in the world: “Up, you Mighty Race!” “You can accomplish what you will.”¹⁹² He really helped promote

¹⁸⁵ Barbara BAIR. “‘Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth Her Hands Unto God’: Laura Kofey and the Gendered Vision of Redemption in the Garvey Movement,” *A Mighty Baptism: Race, Gender, and the Creation of American Protestantism*, Susan Juster and Lisa MacFarlane (Eds.), Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1996, p. 39.

¹⁸⁶ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. II, p. 26.

¹⁸⁷ Kip VOUGHT. “Racial Stirrings in Colored Town [...],” p. 57. The UNIA Manifesto further clarified that its overall purpose was “To establish a Universal Confraternity among the race; to promote the spirit of race pride and love; to reclaim the fallen of the race,” to help needy blacks, to civilize Africa, to build up independent African countries, to protect all Negroes globally, to encourage the spread of Christianity in Africa, to found black schools, and to buildup commerce and industry among blacks around the world (*UNIA Manifesto*, Booker T. Washington MSS, Library of Congress, in David E. CRONON, *Black Moses* [...], p. 17).

¹⁸⁸ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. II, p. 126.

¹⁸⁹ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 77.

¹⁹⁰ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. II, p. 126.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² George PADMORE. *Pan-Africanism Or Communism?: The Coming Struggle for Africa*, London, D. Dobson, 1956, p. 95.

into the widest mass circulation possible the “race consciousness” concept which mushroomed into political power decades later, as he dramatically gave millions of blacks in the world self-confidence, love for their color, and a hope for a better day¹⁹³. Knowing that “negro” means “black” in Spanish, Garvey insisted on calling the black man a “negro” with a capital “N”, as a proud *unifying* term describing an “all black humanity” which avoids divisions into particular identities and national allegiances¹⁹⁴. He was promoting Pan-Africanist black internationalism by means of a “universal vision” which did *not limit* itself to simply North America or the Caribbean or any one nation, but extended beyond all borders to all the blacks of the world “in one grand racial hierarchy”:¹⁹⁵

The Black man must unite in one grand racial hierarchy. Our union must know no clime, no nationality. But let us all hold together in every country, in every clime, making a racial empire upon which the sun shall never set.¹⁹⁶

Garvey preached that blacks should be proud of their natural color and avoid committing “race suicide” by trying to change one’s skins, because “like the leopard we cannot change our skins”¹⁹⁷. He shouted:

BE BLACK, BUY BLACK, THINK BLACK, AND ALL ELSE WILL TAKE CARE OF ITSELF!¹⁹⁸

3.1.2. Full equality of blacks with whites

Completely at home in his own black skin, Garvey loudly preached his conviction that blacks are *equal* to whites due to the fact that all humans, according to the classic Christian dogma—“the Doctrine of Imago Dei”—are made in the image of God (Genesis 1:27)¹⁹⁹. He held that “from this

¹⁹³ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 223.

¹⁹⁴ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. II, p. 127.

¹⁹⁵ GARVEY, Marcus Mosiah. “Look For Me In A Whirlwind Or A Storm,” [A Partial Recording and Transcript of a Speech Delivered (speculation) in Harlem, New York circa 1924], Marcus Garvey—Past, Present, Future: Marcus Garvey’s Audio Recordings, *Buy Black Movement*, (page consulted on 07 June 2018), <https://www.buyblackmovement.com/MarcusGarvey/AudioRecordings/index.cfm#LookForMeInAWhirlwind>, (17 minutes 10 seconds).

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 18.

¹⁹⁸ GARVEY, Marcus Mosiah. “Look For Me In A Whirlwind [...],” [partial transcript of audio recording]—emphasis is in the original.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

premise comes the equality of all men and brotherhood of all men”²⁰⁰. Garvey further supported his view of the full equality of the “races” with the Scriptural “one blood” doctrine—“And He has made from *one blood* every nation of men to dwell on all the face of the earth” (Acts 17:26 NKJV)²⁰¹.

3.1.3. Full equality brings full liberty

Since Garvey taught that blacks were fully equal to whites—as human beings made in God’s Image—his logic followed that then they should be allowed to live in and control their own continent of Africa.

The black peoples of the world are entitled to a country and government of their own where they can develop their own culture, industry and commerce, and elevate themselves to an equal status with the white races of the world. Africa is their ancestral home and the most natural place for them to go.²⁰²

By far Garvey’s most famous theme and rallying cry summarized it all: “Africa for the Africans!”²⁰³ He insisted that “God Almighty created us all to be free”²⁰⁴. He wrote that his work was “to help his race in the desire for freedom and liberty in their ancestral home, a land originally theirs”²⁰⁵. Garvey dreamed of “a free Africa,” liberated from white colonial governments with their institutional racism, where emancipated blacks were free to be black, a vision which in time became reality²⁰⁶. Garvey cried: “Let Africa be our guiding Star—OUR STAR OF DESTINY”²⁰⁷.

3.1.4. Race redemption, race emancipation

Garvey’s movement, however, was not limited to “the redemption of a great country and the re-establishment of a greater government”, but with a wider lens Garvey was also proposing “an

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² “Garvey and the ‘Garvey Movement,’” *Opportunity: A Journal of Negro Life*, vol. 16, January 1928, p. 4-5, in Robert A. HILL (Ed.), *The Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, vol. VII, Berkley, University of California Press, 1991, p. 123.

²⁰³ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 14, 34, 68; vol. II, p. 138.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 37.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, vol II. p. 267.

²⁰⁶ George Alexander McGUIRE. “Preface”, in Marcus GARVEY, *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*, vol. I & II, Amy Jacques-Garvey (Ed.), Mansfield Centre, CT, Martino Publishing, 2014 [1923 vol. I, 1926 vol. II], vol. II, p. vi.

²⁰⁷ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 6—bold is in the original.

Emancipated Race” by its entire redemption—a program of “race redemption”²⁰⁸—a “race independence” for all black peoples “at home or abroad”²⁰⁹. He was really looking “forward to the emancipation of 400,000,000 oppressed souls” of “Negros” around the world²¹⁰, who together would form one “international black nation [...] modeled on the British Empire”²¹¹. Therefore, Garvey felt that the “black race” should look to God and themselves for salvation, to become great again, to solve their own problems, and thereby fulfill the prophecy in the Book of Psalms: “Princes shall come out of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* shall stretch forth her hands unto God” (Psalm 68:31)²¹². This was a favorite Bible verse that Garvey used in his speeches²¹³. Since the political nation of Ethiopia (Abyssinia) was already both independent and Christian, the Garveyites saw this verse as a symbolic expression of the entire race of Negroes rising to the ancient glory of Africa’s past civilizations. In this way the UNIA would bring about “the restoration of Ethiopia’s ancient glory”²¹⁴.

Garvey looked back to the old Egyptian and Ethiopian civilizations as both being “African” and worthy of praise, and therefore he used them as sources of inspiration for his audiences. (There is some inconsistency here with the color of skin, which butted against his “blacker is beautiful” model, but perhaps he followed an old academic argument which contended that the ancient Egyptians were dark in color²¹⁵, or he recognized that within ancient Egypt there were some dark-skinned Egyptians. (The majority of modern scholars in this debate feel “that Egyptians in antiquity looked pretty much as they look today, with a gradation of darker shades toward the Sudan”²¹⁶.) Using his “Ethiopian spectacles”²¹⁷, Garvey assimilated *both* Egypt and Ethiopia within his Pan-African view as he constantly quoted Psalm 68:31 and sang the praises of the civilizations of ancient Egypt and ancient Ethiopia, setting them as a standard for his movement²¹⁸.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 181, 216; David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 18.

²⁰⁹ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. II, p. 415-416.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 181;

²¹¹ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 89.

²¹² Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 81—italics added.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 96.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 131.

²¹⁵ Edith SANDERS. “The Hamitic Hypothesis: its origin and functions in time perspective,” *The Journal of African History*, vol. 10, n° 4, 1969, p. 521–532.

²¹⁶ Bernard R. ORTIZ DE MONTELLANO. “Melanin, Afrocentricity, and Pseudoscience,” *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, vol. 36, n° S17, January 1993, p. 33-58.

²¹⁷ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 44.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 131; Wilson J. MOSES. “Marcus Garvey: A Reappraisal,” *The Black Scholar*, vol. 4, n° 3, November-December, 1972, p. 43.

He said: “When the great white race of today had no civilization of its own, when white men lived in caves and were counted as savages, this race of ours boasted of a wonderful civilization on the Banks of the Nile”²¹⁹.

3.1.5. The fast numerical growth of the UNIA

“Men of the Negro Race, Men of Ethiopia, follow me.”²²⁰. Garvey’s words enthused black communities everywhere. His initial success was absolutely amazing. Within ten years, by the mid-1920’s, millions of Africans and people of African descent around the world reportedly had joined his UNIA organization²²¹. Historian Kimble states that the UNIA had branches all around the world, including the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and South Africa, with a membership at one point alleged to total four million²²². Garvey later claimed it grew to 6 million with 900 branches worldwide²²³. E. David Cronon, in his famous biography of the man, *Black Moses, the Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Improvement Association* (1969), is of the opinion that Garvey’s claim of millions of members by mid-1919 was “dubious” since Garvey’s numbers were “always questionable”²²⁴. Yet Cronon admits that Garvey did have an extremely large global following²²⁵.

3.1.6. Global impact of the UNIA

Garvey’s message resounded not only in the ears of American blacks, but across the ocean in far off Africa, where the Gold Coast press acknowledged that “this great Negro awakening” was contributing to the emergence of “color consciousness” in their own land as well²²⁶, which traditionally had not attached much importance to race or color until the mid-1800’s²²⁷.

²¹⁹ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 19.

²²⁰ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 96.

²²¹ David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 543.

²²² *Ibid.*

²²³ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. II, p. 130-131.

²²⁴ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 44.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 44, 214, 220.

²²⁶ *The Gold Coast Independent*, 22 October 1921, in David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 544.

²²⁷ David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 537.

Martin Luther King, the winner of the American Civil Rights Movement for blacks, sang the highest praises of Garvey, recognizing him as a *pioneer* and world leader of the black movement:

He was the first man of color in the history of the United States to lead and develop a mass movement. He was the first man on a mass scale and level to give millions of Negroes a sense of dignity and destiny. And make the Negro feel that he was somebody.²²⁸

History has shown the effects of Garvey's efforts on the behalf of Africans everywhere, with the impact of his ideology being much greater and more far-reaching than his actual work in his day. His ideas eventually led to the building of modern African independent nations.

It is on the shoulders of Garvey that tenets of *political, social and economic self-determination* for Africans and the creation of a *global* African nation were built. In fact the widespread influence of Garveyism as a Pan-Africanist and liberation ideology far outstripped his actual achievements in his lifetime.²²⁹

In his day Garvey succeeded in grabbing global attention—not only of blacks around the world—but that of whites as well. His black arch-rival, W. E. B. Du Bois, admitted that Garvey's movement, which had spread across the USA, the Caribbean and Central America, had also stretched to Europe and Asia, and had “penetrated every corner of Africa”²³⁰. It was not surprising that “in the 1920s and 1930s he was the most famous, most loved and most hated black man in the world [...] his newspaper *Negro World* was sold—and banned—wherever there were Africans”²³¹. Becoming very numerous in the United States throughout the 1920's, Garvey's UNIA also drew in many followers from colonized Africa, where his UNIA periodical, *Negro World*, with its global circulation of over 50,000²³², was mailed or smuggled in by sailors²³³, and avidly read²³⁴. This circulation included the Gold Coast Colony where the *Negro World* was available for eager eyes²³⁵. The paper openly attacked colonialism and white racism, while encouraging the blacks of the world to get motivated and do something positive for themselves. This stirred up an antagonism

²²⁸ Columbus SALLEY. *The Black 100* [...], p. 82.

²²⁹ Ayanna GILLIAN. “Garvey's Legacy in Context [...],” par. 2—italics added.

²³⁰ W. E. B. DU BOIS. *Dusk of Dawn*, New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1940, p. 277.

²³¹ Kim JOHNSON. “How Marcus Garvey Influenced Trinidad & Tobago,” *Africa Speaks*, put online 23 August 1998, (page consulted on 28 November 2010), http://www.africaspeaks.com/marcus_garvey/23081998.html, par. 2.

²³² Columbus SALLEY. *The Black 100* [...], p. 81.

²³³ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 79.

²³⁴ Robert A. HILL (Editor in chief). *The Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, vol. X, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2006, p. cxlii.

²³⁵ David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 544-545.

to Garveyism among fearful colonial authorities, which was especially strong in the British Empire²³⁶.

3.2. Political emancipation

Garvey's solution to racism was the same as Blyden's: a separatist approach calling for blacks in the Western Hemisphere to make an exodus out of the white world and return to their ancestral homeland of Africa to reclaim it as their own and build their own independent black nation(s)²³⁷. Garvey wrote saying that his visionary UNIA was "fighting for the founding of a Negro nation in Africa, so that there will be no clash between black and white and that each race will have a separate existence and civilization all its own without [...] hatred"²³⁸. "Let them have countries of their own, wherein to aspire and climb without rancor."²³⁹ This would be the "African Redemption"²⁴⁰. Garvey proclaimed: "the Negro peoples of the world should concentrate upon the object of building up for themselves a great nation in Africa" via "the colonization of Africa by the black race"²⁴¹. The *New York Times* reported Garvey's mantra in 03 August 1920:

If Europe is for the Europeans, then Africa shall be for the black peoples of the world. We say it; we mean it. [...] The other races have countries of their own and it is time for the 400,000,000 Negroes to claim Africa for themselves²⁴².

Garvey spoke of the UNIA's "new program of building a racial empire of our own in our Motherland" by "rehabilitating Africa in the interest of the Negro"²⁴³. In anticipation Garvey styled himself as the "Provisional President of Africa"²⁴⁴ and—in the vein of thought of Blyden, Casely Hayford, and Kwame Nkrumah—openly called for the establishment of the "United States

²³⁶ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 77, 79.

²³⁷ "Garvey and the 'Garvey Movement,'" *Opportunity: A Journal of Negro Life*, vol. 16, January 1928, p. 4-5, in Robert A. HILL (Ed.), *The Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, vol. VII, Berkley, University of California Press, 1991, p. 123.

²³⁸ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. II, p. 133.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 122.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 216.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 68.

²⁴² David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 65.

²⁴³ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 68, 70.

²⁴⁴ David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 544.

of Africa”²⁴⁵. Garvey’s Carnegie Hall speech in 1920 was shocking to the white world whom he called “to clear out of Africa now”:

we say to the white man who now dominates Africa that it is to his interest *to clear out of Africa now*, because we are coming [...] and we mean to retake every square inch [...] to get what has belonged to us politically, socially, economically, and in every way.²⁴⁶

Garvey prophesied of the coming “conflict for freedom in Africa”²⁴⁷. Like Du Bois had also said, Garvey warned that the black world would someday soon be prepared to fight for its freedoms, down to “the last drop of their blood”²⁴⁸. He admitted that his generation might “not live to see the higher accomplishment of an African Empire,” but they should “so work and act as to make the dream a possibility within another generation”²⁴⁹. Words that became true as the next generation of Pan-Africanists, led by Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, made this Pan-African view the new reality of modern-day liberated Africa, as the colonies were turned into free independent countries, and were gathered together into Nkrumah’s OAU (Organization of African Unity), which included Egypt, it should be noted.

Politically in his day, however, Garvey was mainly all talk and little action²⁵⁰, but his radical anti-colonial, separatist stance had white political leaders in Africa in the 1920’s shaking in their boots with fear as the Garveyite movement rapidly expanded worldwide. Rumors even started flying around parts of Africa in 1923 and 1924 that armies of African-American Garveyites were on their way to free Africans from their colonialist white masters²⁵¹. Various colonial governments eventually banned the *Negro World* periodical due to their fear of its promotion of “dangerous nationalism”²⁵², while on the Gold Coast Garvey’s book, *Philosophy and Opinions*, allegedly came

²⁴⁵ GARVEY, Marcus Mosiah. “Look For Me In A Whirlwind [...],” [partial transcript of audio recording].

²⁴⁶ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 66—italics added.

²⁴⁷ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 97.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 32.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 14.

²⁵⁰ Kwame NKUMAH. *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*, New York, International Publishers, 1971 [1957], p. 53-54.

²⁵¹ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. cxxxvii and cxlii.

²⁵² David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 46.

under an embargo by the white authorities, according to the *The Gold Coast Leader* (29 May 1926)²⁵³.

3.3. The Redemption of Africa via “Back-to-Africa” repatriation

While Garvey’s “armies” of Afro-American soldiers sailing to Africa to “redeem” it by military might from the European powers were only rumors, the UNIA at one time did have a major plan to repatriate blacks back to Africa, their true homeland. This “Back-to-Africa” plan was a huge part of Garvey’s over-all early UNIA program²⁵⁴. He took Blyden’s idea of the “redemption” of Africa and loudly promoted the emigration of Afro-Americans and blacks from the New World back to Africa to colonize it²⁵⁵. The Garveyites were to emigrate “to redeem their motherland Africa, there to create a government for Negroes, of Negroes and by Negroes, so they can be protected everywhere”²⁵⁶. This was his way to reclaim “Africa from European control and making it the new homeland for African Americans”²⁵⁷. Garvey explained: “What we want is an independent African nationality” comprised of former New World blacks living and working as helpful brothers alongside the African “natives”, not as migrant over-lords²⁵⁸. Garvey predicted: “It is only a question of a few more years when Africa will be completely colonized by Negroes, as Europe is by the white race.”²⁵⁹

To make the most practical start for his “Back-to-Africa” repatriation plan, Garvey’s UNIA negotiated with the Government of Liberia for a huge land grant that could house 20,000 to 30,000 emigrate families!²⁶⁰ In an effort to help get more locals behind the cause and help obtain legal status within the country, in 1920 the UNIA graciously honored the mayor of Monrovia, Liberia, with the high-sounding title of “Supreme Potentate”²⁶¹. This new representative then secured

²⁵³ David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 544.

²⁵⁴ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. II, p. 122, 126, 133.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

²⁵⁶ J. A. CRAIGEN, UNIA Special Representative. Letter to the Editor of the *Miami Daily News*, 07 April 1928, in Robert A. HILL (Ed.), *The Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, vol. VII, Berkley, University of California Press, 1991, p. 168.

²⁵⁷ Kip VOUGHT. “Racial Stirrings in Colored Town [...]” p. 57.

²⁵⁸ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 70.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁰ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 78.

²⁶¹ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 125.

Liberian incorporation status for the local Liberian UNIA in 1921²⁶². (This historical action will repeat itself in Bresi-Ando's own repatriation scheme when he would be given the title "Supreme Pontiff.")

Between 1921-1924, the Liberian authorities welcomed the UNIA repatriated settlers²⁶³, but their colony came to a sudden dismal end when the Liberian government expelled the UNIA in 1924 fearing a fomenting revolution²⁶⁴. Undaunted, Garvey would not give up. Between 1922 and 1931 he made four attempts to persuade the League of Nations to grant to native control the lands of the former German colonies in Africa, but each was unsuccessful²⁶⁵.

With his "Back-to-Africa" repatriation plan Garvey looked towards a racial separatist solution to the problem of discrimination. This was because he—unlike his rival W. E. B. Du Bois—had no hope that the black man would ever be able to achieve true equality in white America: "This belief is preposterous."²⁶⁶ Not all African-Americans agreed with Garvey's "Back-to-Africa" plan, and black counter movements were initiated in the U.S.²⁶⁷ Du Bois and his NAACP were totally against Garvey's separatist exit plan, with Du Bois calling Garvey an "enemy of the Negro people"²⁶⁸. However, the eyes and ears of West Africa were watching Garvey with great interest. In 1926 Casely Hayford's *Gold Coast Leader* newspaper noted that Garvey had become such a powerful force in America that the only thing the whites could do to curtail him was to put him in jail²⁶⁹.

²⁶² *Ibid.*

²⁶³ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 78; David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 125-129.

²⁶⁴ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 129-130. When Liberia evicted the UNIA, they gave the UNIA's land grant to the U.S.-based Firestone Tire and Rubber Company for a massive rubber tree plantation on a 99-year lease. Garvey's emancipationist anti-imperialism had lost to American imperialism (Robert A. HILL. *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. cxlviii).

²⁶⁵ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 78.

²⁶⁶ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 26.

²⁶⁷ Columbus SALLEY. *The Black 100* [...], p. 82; Barbara BAIR. "Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]," p. 43; Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. II, p.132-133; David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p.106, 109, 112.

²⁶⁸ Columbus SALLEY. *The Black 100* [...], p. 79.

²⁶⁹ David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 544.

3.4. Commercial emancipation

Garvey understood that in order to have a black political machine one needed a viable economic and industrial engine. This too would have to be run by blacks, lest the whites sabotage it. Therefore, Garvey believed in the commercial emancipation of the black man—that he could free himself from the bondage of always having to serve under a white man in companies belonging to white men²⁷⁰. On this point he followed Booker T. Washington’s attitude that blacks should control their own capital and businesses²⁷¹. Therefore Garvey called out for blacks to take the economic initiative and “shape” their own “destiny”²⁷² by being proud share-holders, owners, and operators of their own all-black business enterprises²⁷³. Moving beyond the ideology of his predecessor, Booker T. Washington, Garvey held that education and industry alone were not sufficient, but political engagement also was required²⁷⁴. The “industrially educated Negro” could not advance on mere “industrial opportunity alone”²⁷⁵. He needed to add to this momentum “the awaked spirit of the New Negro” who seeks “a political voice” through which “he is demanding a place in the affairs of men”, and ultimately, political independence and self-rule²⁷⁶.

Therefore, believing that commerce will aid in politics, Garvey started several commercial ventures to put his policy into action. In sync with his plan of ferrying thousands of blacks across the ocean back to Africa, in 1919 Garvey launched his famous commercial shipping operation—the Black Star Line—with hopes that his ships could help both transport black repatriates while also facilitating commerce and industry among blacks worldwide²⁷⁷. This news excited many Africans²⁷⁸. Local West Africans merchants needed help because white shippers often refused to carry their cargo²⁷⁹—a dark theme that will reappear to haunt Bresi-Ando’s own commercial venture, as will be described in detail in Chapter 16. Sadly, Garvey’s Black Star Line quickly sank into bankruptcy in 1922, due to the fact that unscrupulous white businessmen out to make a fast

²⁷⁰ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 51.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 51, 152.

²⁷² Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 8-9.

²⁷³ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 51-52.

²⁷⁴ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 56.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 8, 56.

²⁷⁷ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 50, 52, 121; Columbus SALLEY. *The Black 100* [...], p. 81.

²⁷⁸ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 78.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

buck had sold dilapidated old vessels to the unsuspecting blacks at exorbitantly high prices²⁸⁰. Modern-day Ghana keeps waving Garvey's famous "Black Star" in his honor and memory as the black star from his "Black Star Line" is proudly displayed on the center of the Ghanaian national flag²⁸¹. President Nkrumah further forever commemorated Marcus Garvey by naming both the Ghanaian national shipping line, the "Black Star Line," and the Ghanaian national football team, "the Black Stars"²⁸². Not quick to give up the fight, in 1924 Garvey incorporated a second shipping venture, his Black Cross Navigation and Trading Company, but this too died in debt after its first ship failed to return to port with any profits²⁸³.

After the tragedy of Garvey's shipping ventures and the disaster of his failed "Back-to-Africa" repatriation attempt, Garvey took a momentous decision to re-tool and de-radicalize his once-radical UNIA program, moving it away from its former hostile, anti-colonialist stance²⁸⁴. In 1925 Garvey announced that he was forsaking his "outdated model of political radicalism" and his opposition to established colonial governments, replacing it with a conservative approach that advocated more positive inter-cooperation among blacks and whites, like the constitutional approach favored by the West African (and Gold Coast) intellectuals at that time²⁸⁵. This was good news to men such as Casely Hayford, who, as early as 1920, had expressed his fear that the UNIA's ships would one day ferry across the Atlantic over-zealous African-Americans settlers who would be ignorant of the Gold Coaster's "constitutional methods," particularly the native rights to property for which he and the ARPS had fought so hard and won²⁸⁶.

Shipping was not the only area of commerce in which Garvey had hoped to lead his fellow Negroes into economic liberty from the white-run business world. In order to bring blacks into full financial equality with whites, Garvey started the Negro Factories Corporation in 1919, which grew to include black-owned businesses for grocers, tailoring, hatmaking, restauranting, laundering and

²⁸⁰ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 54, 84-87, 101, 114-115, 248 footnote 75.

²⁸¹ Hans W. DEBRUNNER. *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, Accra, Waterville Publishing House, 1967, p. 331.

²⁸² Kwame NIMAKO. "Nkrumah, Kwame (1909–72)," *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism*, A. D. Smith, X. Hou, J. Stone, R. Dennis and P. Rizova (Eds.), *Wiley Online Library*, put online 30 December 2015, (page consulted on 03 May 2018), <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118663202.wberen541>.

²⁸³ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 121-124.

²⁸⁴ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. lxxxiii-lxxxv.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. lxxxiv-lxxxv.

²⁸⁶ CASELY HAYFORD. "Speech at the Founding Conference [...]", par. 22. Casely Hayford advocated both welcoming the UNIA newcomers and quickly educating them on the constitutional laws of the land, thereby bringing them to appreciate the fact that smart, capable Africans already existed on the continent (*Ibid.*).

publishing²⁸⁷. Additionally, Garvey used his UNIA as a fraternal organization for Negroes and offered health insurance and death benefits²⁸⁸.

3.5. Educational improvement

Educational improvement was another Pan-African theme of Garvey and his UNIA. He was particularly angered by the white supremacy/superiority which was built into America's existing educational curriculum and he envisioned schooling for blacks built on the lines of Washington's Tuskegee Institute.²⁸⁹ He tried to lay the foundations for new colleges and universities in Africa by attempting to establish his UNIA colony in Liberia²⁹⁰. Garvey voiced his cry to his fellow Negroes to get educated: "Negroes ought to take better advantage of the cause of higher education"²⁹¹. He insisted that if blacks were going to rise up in the world and take their rightful place, then they should "be learned in all that is worth while knowing," from both inside the classroom and outside of it²⁹².

Garveyism believed that *education* would aid *commerce*, and together they would further the ultimate *political* goal. Many decades before him, the father of Pan-Africanism, Blyden, had advocated that the emigration of technically educated blacks from North America could improve the lives of their local brothers in Africa by developing African commerce and industry, and thereby ultimately working towards the creation of independent African nations²⁹³. Garvey completely embraced Blyden's philosophy on this point and tried his hardest to implement it. This was why he sent his UNIA colonizers to Liberia not as missionaries, but as "technical experts" (i.e. surveyor, builder, agriculturalist, etc.)²⁹⁴. Garvey wrote in his *Philosophy and Opinions*: "We could make of ourselves better mechanics and scientists, and in cases where we can help our brothers in Africa by making use of the knowledge we possess, it would be but our duty."²⁹⁵ Dr.

²⁸⁷ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 60.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 60-61.

²⁸⁹ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 76-78.

²⁹⁰ Marcus GARVEY. *Negro World*, 06 November 1920, in David E. CRONON, *Black Moses* [...], p. 125.

²⁹¹ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 59.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 117.

²⁹³ Hollis LYNCH. "Edward Wilmot Blyden [...]," p. 1.

²⁹⁴ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 125-128.

²⁹⁵ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 59.

Blyden, the life-long academic, scholar, college professor and promotor of African education, would have been proud of Garvey.

3.6. Marcus Garvey, George McGuire, and religion

While promoting racial, social, political, commercial, and educational improvement and emancipation for the “Negro”—for all men and women of African descent—it was in the arena of religious freedom where Garvey chose to tread lightly. The UNIA’s *Manifesto* stated that its religious purpose was “to promote a conscientious Christian worship among the native tribes of Africa”²⁹⁶. (In later editions, the word “Christian” was replaced with “spiritual”²⁹⁷.) Endeavoring to retain a universal appeal attractive to all Negroes everywhere while also being openly Christian, Garvey was very careful that his political/social improvement association *not* become a new Protestant denomination²⁹⁸. He wanted to draw all blacks into his UNIA and to do so needed to reach across denominational lines, not invent new artificial barriers. Therefore, as his political/social organization grew, Garvey insisted that the UNIA was not a new black church or a religious movement, nor should his meeting halls (i.e. “Liberty Halls”) function as local parish churches²⁹⁹. He wrote in the *Negro World*, “We are in sympathy with all Negro Churches, but we have no particular Church to support”³⁰⁰. Garvey did have chaplains for the local UNIA chapters (which he called “divisions”) as well as a national UNIA Chaplain-General, the most well-known of which was Rev. George Alexander McGuire³⁰¹. To make sure that his social association was not perceived as a church organization, Garvey mandated that his local UNIA chapter meetings be held on Sunday evenings so as not to compete with normal Sunday morning church worship, lest the black ministers of various denominations get upset with Garvey and turn against his movement³⁰². As it was, not all black ministers were behind him, though many were³⁰³.

²⁹⁶ *U.N.I.A. Manifesto*. Booker T. Washington MSS, Library of Congress, 23 August 1926, in David E. CRONON, *Black Moses* [...], p. 17.

²⁹⁷ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 17.

²⁹⁸ Barbara BAIR. “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...],” p. 43.

²⁹⁹ Marcus GARVEY. *Negro World*, 24 December 1921, in Barbara BAIR, “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...],” p. 43 and footnote 12; Kip VOUGHT. “Racial Stirrings in Colored Town [...],” p. 65.

³⁰⁰ Marcus GARVEY. *Negro World*, 08 October 1921, in Barbara BAIR, “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...],” p. 43 footnote 12.

³⁰¹ Barbara BAIR. “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...],” p. 41-42.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 43.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*

On the other hand, UNIA Chaplain-General George McGuire was dreaming of full black religious emancipation. As a frustrated black Protestant Episcopal priest who was denied the office of bishop due to his American denomination's "institutional racism"³⁰⁴, McGuire wanted to have an autonomous "universal black church" that would bring into one fold all the Negroes of the world from out of every denomination and sect³⁰⁵. This echoed Blyden's earlier similar call in West Africa. Not wishing to be in any way under a parent white ecclesial organization, McGuire envisioned a black-run church that would be absolutely "controlled by Colored Churchmen, gathering people of African descent in all quarters of the globe, yet showing prejudice to no other racial group, nor refusing such in its membership and privileges"³⁰⁶. Membership at the lay level was open to people of any color, just not the hierarchy. McGuire viewed such an independent Negro church to be the *spiritual pathway* to attain Pan-African emancipation³⁰⁷. Garvey, however, remained dead set against this idea and would not tolerate any official affiliation of his UNIA with such a church. Therefore, Garvey's UNIA Assistant President-General, John Dawson Gordon, issued an official statement in the *Negro World* newspaper on 16 July 1921:

To the divisions of the U.N.I.A. throughout the world: [...] there has been an effort on the part of many in different parts of the country to start a Universal Church. I want it to be distinctly understood, that the U.N.I.A. is not a church, and it does not intend to be one. [...] there will be no church connected with the U.N.I.A. [...] We favor all churches, but adopt none as a U.N.I.A. Church.³⁰⁸

Determined to stick to his dream, McGuire resigned from the UNIA after serving only one year as its Chaplain-General and quickly started his own church in 1921, the "African Orthodox Church" (AOC), of which he became the Archbishop³⁰⁹. He developed the AOC into his own international ecclesial organization as he ideologically merged his emphasis on black identity to loftier claims of apostolic succession³¹⁰. This history eventually intertwined a bit with that of Bresi-Ando, as will be shown in Section Two, the Biography. Although McGuire borrowed the term "Orthodox", his black North American "church" was—from the perspective of the Orthodox East—non-

³⁰⁴ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 84-86.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 85, 88.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

³⁰⁸ John Dawson GORDON. *Negro World*, 16 July 1921, in Richard NEWMAN, *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 89.

³⁰⁹ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 86, 90-95.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

canonical (i.e. not a recognized member of the global communion of Eastern Orthodox Churches, nor of the Oriental Non-Chalcedonians). It is important to note that McGuire received his episcopal consecration (on 28 September 1921) at the hands of the (in)famous independent *episcopus vagans* (wandering bishop) Archbishop Joseph René Vilatte (Mar Timotheos) of the schismatic Old Catholic Church of America³¹¹, whose name factors majorly into the life and work of Bresi-Ando, as will be described in detail in the Biographical Section Two. (It is interesting to note that the present-day Orthodox Churches of Uganda and Kenya were both for a short time associated with McGuire's AOC, which they later abandoned to join the canonical Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa in 1946³¹².)

Researcher Richard Newman sets the historical record straight, correcting previous authors' mistakes who often have too closely associated McGuire's African Orthodox Church (AOC) with Marcus Garvey and his UNIA. The truth is that Garvey did *not* found nor join the AOC³¹³. (Newman,) (Garvey was baptized in the Wesleyan Methodist Church in his youth, but converted to Roman Catholicism on his deathbed³¹⁴.) Although McGuire's African Orthodox Church was not part of Garvey's UNIA, the *Negro World* periodical did print news about the AOC which gave it some notoriety³¹⁵. Further, the AOC and the UNIA did share many of the same members and some similar views. McGuire began to preach a black-skinned Christ³¹⁶, and Garvey bought into this idea too due to his racial promotion of blackest skin possible³¹⁷. This radical concept back-

³¹¹ McGuire was consecrated a bishop on 28 September 1921 by the famous independent *episcopus vagans* Archbishop Joseph René Vilatte of the schismatic "Old Catholic Church of America." Vilatte was at one time a hierarch of the Syro-Jacobites in India, having been duly consecrated a bishop by the Metropolitans of Malabar with permission from their Jacobite Patriarch in Syria. Vilatte is responsible for single-handedly ordaining many men as heads of their own personal "autocephalous" churches. The Syro-Jacobites became upset over these uncanonical consecrations by Vilatte and excommunicated him. However, the independent-minded Vilatte continued his consecration efforts just the same, ordaining men such as Lloyd (in 1915) and McGuire (in 1921). In 1938 the frustrated Syro-Jacobites widely published their official rejection of Vilatte and all of his episcopal consecrations. Vilatte and all his followers are under the ban of excommunication by the Syro-Jacobite (Syriac) Church, being considered not a part of but rather "alien" to their church (Henry R. T. BRANDRETH. *Episcopi Vagantes and the Anglican Church*, Berkeley, CA, Apocryphile Press, 2006 [1947], p. 32, 34, 40, 42, 70; Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, Berkeley, CA, The Apocryphile Press, 2006 [1964], p. 123; Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 93-95).

³¹² Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 97-98; Metropolitan Makarios TILLYRIDES. "The Origin of Orthodoxy in East Africa," *Orthodox Research Institute*, (page consulted on 06 November 2010), http://www.orthodoxresearchinstitute.org/articles/church_history/makarios_tillyrides_east_africa.htm, par. 9.

³¹³ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 104 footnote 26.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 89-90.

³¹⁶ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 179.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 177-180.

fired among black American congregations, as most were not ready to replace the Semitic-skintoned Middle Eastern Jesus Christ of history with pure fiction³¹⁸.

3.7. Garvey's "pure black" racism

Throughout all his pro-Negro efforts Garvey was accused of racism and of stirring up color prejudice³¹⁹, but he denied the charge, saying: "I am not opposed to the white race as charged by my enemies. I have no time to hate any one. All my time is devoted to the up-building and developement [*sic.*] of the Negro Race"³²⁰. "We love all humanity," he explained, claiming that he could find good and bad people of any color³²¹. Yet Garvey openly supported racial separation with his promotion of "racial organization, racial solidarity and racial self-government"³²². He truly "believed in separate but equal," not in the "separate but unequal" reality of segregation in the pre-1960's American South³²³. As a result, many American blacks questioned his racial philosophy. An angry Du Bois called Garvey "the most dangerous enemy of the Negro race in America and the world. He is either a lunatic or a traitor"³²⁴.

In fighting the white man's unfair discrimination against blacks, Garvey ended up believing that it was okay to discriminate by being separate on the basis of color³²⁵, while at the same time holding to his belief that neither group—white or black—was superior to the other³²⁶. Garvey arrived at a form of racial discrimination because he was against interracial marriage and looked

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 181-182.

³¹⁹ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. II, p. 132-133; David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 88.

³²⁰ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 13.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 132, 134.

³²² George Alexander McGUIRE. "Preface", in Marcus GARVEY, *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*, [...], vol. II, p. vi.

³²³ Ibram X. KENDI. "Colorism as Racism: Garvey, Du Bois and the Other Color Line," *Black Perspectives*, put online 24 May 2017, (page consulted on 26 April 2018), <https://www.aaihs.org/colorism-as-racism-garvey-du-bois-and-the-other-color-line>, par. 19.

³²⁴ W. E. B. DU BOIS. "A Lunatic or a Traitor," *Crisis*, vol. XXVIII, May 1924, p. 8-9, in David E. CRONON, *Black Moses* [...], p. 190.

³²⁵ According to Malcom X, the difference in the terms "separation" versus "segregation" lies in their underlying inequalities. A "separate" group internally controls its economy and life, whereas a "segregated" group usually is still economically controlled by an external group and therefore has not equal status but remains inferior. (Malcom X. "The Race Problem," African Students Association and NAACP Campus Chapter, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 23 January 1963, [Transcribed text from audio excerpt of speech], *The Autobiography of Malcom: Speeches and Interviews*, put online [s.d.], (page consulted on 19 November 2019), <http://ccnmtl.columbia.edu/projects/mmt/mxp/speeches/mxt14.html>, par. 2-5.)

³²⁶ Ibram X. KENDI. "Colorism as Racism [...]," par. 19.

down upon mulattoes. He desired to keep the “blood” of his “race” “pure,” to keep it proud, and to help it find its equal place in the world of races³²⁷. However, in promoting race pride for the darkest skin, Garvey attacked W. E. B. Du Bois and the NAACP as hypocrites who claimed to stand up for the Afro-American community but were actually promoting what Garvey called “racial amalgamation or general miscegenation” (racial interbreeding) which he feared would end up “creating a new type of colored race by wiping out both black and white”³²⁸. He truly feared “race suicide”³²⁹.

Garvey further criticized Du Bois for promoting a light-skinned “privilege” which allowed blacks to pass for “white” in American society, thereby creating a lighter, “socially superior,” “colored” middle class versus a darker, neglected, inferior Negro underclass³³⁰. Garvey honestly believed that only “pure” blacks could genuinely lead the Negro community³³¹. In response, “colorism” began to be debated fiercely between the two men³³².

Ibram Kendi points out that Garvey’s focus on black purity—the darker the better³³³—was in fact an alternative form of color racism, because it ended up de-valuing in the minds of the Negro masses the personal value of blacks with light-skin, such as Du Bois³³⁴. Therefore, in this sense, ironically, while searching for equality, Garvey’s extreme views led him into the opposite form of racism: that dark black Negroes were *superior* to their very light-skinned Negro brothers, whom he disdainfully called “colored” or “near white”³³⁵. His view was similar to the “purist” Blyden who himself also came to oppose what he called the “mulatto,” the “mixed” race³³⁶. Since colorism is actually a form of racism, to be purely antiracial, Garvey should have welcomed equally all shades of “black”³³⁷. Cronon notes that Garvey’s pro-black “racial chauvinism” actually proved to be one of his chief philosophical flaws leading to his movement’s eventual failure as “Garvey

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, par. 15-19. The modern science of genetics has since disproven such “race” blood theories (par. 15).

³²⁸ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. II, p. 84.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 17.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 84-86.

³³¹ Columbus SALLEY. *The Black 100* [...], p. 82.

³³² Ibram X. KENDI. “Colorism as Racism [...]” par. 6, 8; Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. II, p. 84-86.

³³³ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 37.

³³⁴ Ibram X. KENDI. “Colorism as Racism [...]” par. 17, 21.

³³⁵ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. II, p. 84.

³³⁶ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 12-14.

³³⁷ Ibram X. KENDI. “Colorism as Racism [...]” par. 21.

sought to raise high the walls of racial nationalism at a time when most thoughtful men were seeking to tear down these barriers”³³⁸. It was no wonder that over time the equality-in-integration policy of Du Bois and his NAACP eventually won the day in the United States under Martin Luther King, while Garvey’s separatist view lost out. To Garvey’s credit, in the long run, his divisive color views forced Du Bois’ NAACP to work harder to truly represent all persons in America of African descent, not only the lighter shades of “colored” men³³⁹. In Section Three we shall see how Garvey’s racist views impacted Bresi-Ando.

3.8. Garvey’s end in America

Garvey landed in prison in Atlanta in 1925 for mail fraud (after a vastly disputed trial), served part of a five-year sentence, and was eventually commuted and deported from the U.S. back to Jamaica in December of 1927³⁴⁰. The U.S. State Department came to consider Marcus Garvey “an undesirable, and indeed a very dangerous, alien’ who was organizing ‘all of the negroes in the world against the white people,’” and did not want him in the country any longer³⁴¹. Many blacks in America, even his critics, came to believe that Garvey had become the unfair victim of the white man’s racist judicial system³⁴². But it was not only the white powers in America whom Garvey had outraged, it was those *overseas* as well. A sympathetic white newspaper editorial in the U.S.A. in 1925 pointed out that Garvey had become a huge political target in the eyes of the global white imperialists and had fallen prey to the foreign colonialist regimes that his huge UNIA was potentially threatening (i.e. Great Britain and France). The editor claimed these viewed Garvey as “a dangerous agitator who would cause trouble and lead the people of his own color in Africa *to think for themselves*”³⁴³. The editor’s opinion was that these political forces conspired to agitate against Garvey with bad press via hired journalists, who “painted Garvey as a joke and trickster”³⁴⁴. If they had left Garvey alone, the editor believed, perhaps Garvey could have avoided

³³⁸ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 221, 223.

³³⁹ Columbus SALLEY. *The Black 100* [...], p. 80-81.

³⁴⁰ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 114-116, 133-134, 141-142.

³⁴¹ R.W.F., Office of the Solicitor. Memo to Doughton, 21 June 1921, State Department files, 811.108G191/31, National Archives, in David E. CRONON, *Black Moses* [...], p. 89.

³⁴² David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 140-141.

³⁴³ *New York Evening Bulletin*. Editorial, 07 February 1925, in Marcus GARVEY, *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. II, p. 148-149.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

his business failures and the court proceedings³⁴⁵. An interesting theory—that the monied white imperialist world did not want to see black Africa get out from under their financial control. This theme (*déjà vu*) will be explored later in much detail in Chapter 16, “Bresi-Ando’s *Commercial Emancipation*”. Garvey himself was thoroughly convinced that the imperialist British and French were working hard behind the scenes to keep the UNIA off the African continent³⁴⁶.

While Garvey was in jail, his UNIA movement suffered some momentum in the American deep South, among other places³⁴⁷. Into this vacuum came a most interesting development that is critically important to this entire research on Bresi-Ando. While Garvey was serving his sentence, one of his organizations’ regional promoters in the American South, an African from the Gold Coast named Laura Adorkor Kofey, began to attract many new members into the UNIA³⁴⁸. Kofey, as will be seen in Chapter Seven, broke with Garvey and attempted to continue his failed repatriation plan by forming her own rival black social association in the guise of an independent black American church³⁴⁹. Her spin-off copy-cat organization would become the actual historical link between Garvey in America and Bresi-Ando in Africa. Kofey’s major difference with Garveyism—that of encapsulating his Pan-Africanism within her independent black church—formed a bridge that connected her Pan-Africanist work with that of Bresi-Ando. This link is studied in Chapter Seven. However, due to the fact that Bresi-Ando himself was an initiator of his own independent African-run denomination on the continent, the next logical step in this context section is to survey in Chapter Six the huge religious emancipation movement in Africa known as the African Independent Churches (AICs), before studying in Chapter Seven how Bresi-Ando’s own AIC forged a link with Kofey’s black American independent church, building a bridge for Garveyism to tangibly enter the Gold Coast.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁶ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 131. It is a historical fact that the French and British colonial authorities in West Africa had been very worried about Garveyism gaining a tangible foothold in Liberia, and therefore they were publicly pleased with Liberia’s rejection of the UNIA in 1924 (p. 131).

³⁴⁷ Barbara BAIR. “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...],” p. 54; Kip VOUGHT. “Racial Stirrings in Colored Town [...],” p. 67.

³⁴⁸ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 131-132; Barbara BAIR. “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...],” p. 54.

³⁴⁹ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 132.

Conclusion

When it comes to defining the slippery term “Pan-Africanism”, we see that its definition has changed over time. In the 19th Century it referred to the “Back-to-Africa” repatriation movements, then at the turn of the century it came to mean “black internationalism,” yet after World War II it transformed into the fight of African nationalism against colonialism. From there it moved on to embrace other political arenas in African politics (Cold War, OPEC, Pan-Arabism, apartheid, etc.) For the purposes of this study which focuses on the 1930’s, we will use the two earlier terms which are historically pertinent—“Back-to-Africa” repatriation and “black internationalism.”

“Back-to- Africa” movements formed the British Colony of Sierra Leone in 1787 and the Republic of Liberia in 1816 as havens for freed slaves. The 19th Century “Father of Pan-Africanism” was Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832-1912), who moved to Liberia from the Caribbean in 1850 and became the leading African race philosopher for Pan-Africanism. He taught black pride and self-respect and had a vision of a universal brotherhood of all members of the black “race”. Blyden said that Africa should be redeemed by having Caribbean and American blacks move back to Africa in a massive immigration and recolonization effort, taking with them their Western education and Christian civilization to help improve the lives of their brothers and sisters in Africa and to build up strong independent black countries. Education and technology would lead to political independence. Blyden viewed repatriation as the solution to the racial discrimination suffered by blacks in the United States. Politically he dreamed of a federation of independent African states, or at least a large English-speaking West African nation. Blyden’s concept of “African Redemption” via repatriation impacted the younger generation of Pan-Africanists who came after him. He valued the African native institutions and culture, disliking the disruption brought to these by the advent of the European missionaries. In favor of education for Africans, Blyden strongly lobbied for African-run schools and African-run churches, and he spread his ideas widely via his use of journalism and the publication of his books.

In the 20th century, the true “Father of Modern Pan-Africanism” is W. E. B Du Bois (1868-1963). Belonging to the generation immediately after Blyden, the long-lived Du Bois transferred Blyden’s idea of a black race consciousness to the younger twentieth-century generation by organizing a series of Pan-African Congresses following World War I. These meetings greatly promoted Pan-

Africanism as a black international movement with the goal of black emancipation, despite a variety of different methods—assimilation, protest, or the old “Back-to-Africa” movements. Du Bois preferred the approach of racial equality at home in the U.S.A. via social integration versus Blyden’s separatist approach. Du Bois founded the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) in 1909 which actively won its victory in the 1960’s Civil Rights Movement led by Martin Luther King Jr., after Du Bois died. The NAACP focuses on “political, educational, social, and economic equality” in its fight against race discrimination³⁵⁰. These terms are concepts found within Blyden’s Pan-Africanism which are central to the Pan-Africanists who followed.

The philosophy and concepts of Blyden and Du Bois entered the Gold Coast Colony via the West African press at the hands of newspaper editors who were agitating for equality and emancipation within their colonial environments. One such editor was Joseph E. Casely Hayford (1866-1930), the father of the Gold Coast’s secular version of Pan-Africanist nationalism. An intellectual giant, lawyer, politician, educator, and journalist, Casely Hayford was both a disciple of Blyden and friend of Du Bois who used his journalistic talents to spread their thinking within the Gold Coast, writing his books—*Gold Coast Native Institutions* and *Ethiopia Unbound*—along with numerous articles and editorials. Casely Hayford praised Blyden’s views over Du Bois’, preferring the former’s emphasis on rediscovering a black pride within the context of an original African mentality versus simply seeking social equality within the context of white America. Casely Hayford tried to realize the political dream of Blyden by founding the NCBWA (National Congress of British West Africa) in 1920. Though his nationalist drive was premature and failed upon his death in 1930, Casely Hayford made a huge impact upon the younger generation of Bresi-Ando’s era. A member of the Gold Coast’s educated elite Brew clan, Casely Hayford had several family contacts within the local press through which he soon became a national leader. A Brew relative, Uncle James Hutton Brew, owned the *Western Echo* newspaper and gave Casely Hayford a job as a journalist. Another Brew relative, the Reverend Samuel Richard Brew Attoh-Ahuma, known as the father of the Gold Coast’s ecclesiastical nationalism, owned the *Gold Coast Methodist Times* newspaper and he gave Casely Hayford a position as editor. Soon Casely Hayford

³⁵⁰ “What is the Mission of the NAACP?” *NAACP*. (Page consulted on 25 July 2018), <http://www.naacp.org/about-us>, par. 1.

owned his own newspaper, the *Gold Coast Chronicle*, was co-founder/editor of the NCBWA's *Gold Coast Leader*, and was submitting articles to other periodicals espousing Pan-Africanist philosophy, black pride, and nationalism.

Casely Hayford's quest for equality began with his demand that the native institutions that had been formed within the African context but disregarded and even destroyed by white colonialism should be investigated, repaired, and utilized. These institutions were political, commercial, religious, and educational. Casely Hayford believed that from the chieftaincy could come political lessons of local multi-tiered self-government. From the previous goodwill trade between the coastal Fante and inland Asante tribes could come lessons in local middleman commercial mercantilism. In the arena of religion Casely Hayford wished that the Western missions would have sifted more carefully through the positives and negatives inherent within traditional African religion before offhandedly rejecting everything. Strongly promoting the education of his fellow Africans at all levels, similar to Blyden, Casely Hayford dreamed of having African universities. Like both Blyden and Du Bois, Casely Hayford handily used his journalistic talent and his personal contacts with leading global Pan-Africanists to both stir up and to bring home to the Gold Coast all the latest Pan-Africanist ideas, and through this he forever impacted the younger generation of Bresi-Ando and Ando-Brew.

While Casely Hayford was the Gold Coast's greatest first Pan-Africanist, throughout the decade of the 1920's no other Pan-Africanist rocked the entire world as did Marcus Garvey (1887-1940). Casely Hayford admitted that Garvey's Pan-Africanist movement surpassed all others in exposing to the world the plight of the Negro in their era. Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), founded in 1914, became the largest of its kind, helping millions of blacks around the world to be, as Blyden wanted them to be, proud of their color—the darker the better. Believing in the solidarity of all blacks globally, Garvey proudly and willingly called them “Negroes”, members of the “Negro race,” an all-black humanity which was conscious of itself as a valid “race”, equal to the other “races”—white, yellow and brown. The vision of “Garveyism” was a universal black consciousness that transcended borders: a real black internationalism. All Negroes around the world were to unite and work together as one, not divided into competing national groups, such as African-American, Afro-Jamaican, Black British, etc. Garvey intentionally combined the term “Negro” with the term “Universal” to express this concept via his

Universal Negro Improvement Association, a social organization of all blacks working together to improve themselves. The goal of his massively popular UNIA movement was to unite all the Negroes of the world into one body that would promote self-esteem, race pride, race emancipation, black education, and black commerce, while simultaneously working to establish the political reality of a strong, independent black nation in Africa which would begin the literal “Redemption of Africa” from the hands of white colonialism.

A follower of Blyden’s concepts, Garvey devoted his life to working for the emancipation of blacks in all areas of life: political, commercial, educational, social and racial, while choosing to tread lighter in the divisive area of religion. Completely comfortable in his own dark black skin, and claiming that he did not hate whites, Garvey hated any form of race suicide (especially race intermarriage). He promulgated his conviction that blacks were *fully equal* to their white brothers and sisters, based on the fact that they all were given the same “image of God” by their common Creator. Using this Biblical basis to establish full equality, Garvey deduced full liberty: black men were therefore entitled to be free to control their own nation(s) in Africa. Thus, “Africa for the Africans” became the battle cry of Garveyism. Despairing of any real racial equality ever occurring within the white United States, like Blyden, Garvey promoted a large-scale “Back-to-Africa” repatriation movement as both the solution to the social ills of American racism and the redemption of Africa. As a black separatist, Garvey took the opposite approach of Du Bois (and the NAACP) who desired an integrated equality at home within the U.S.A. Because Garvey believed that America was for the whites while Africa was “for the Africans,” Du Bois considered Garvey to be “the most dangerous enemy of the Negro race”³⁵¹, and he and other African-Americans organized actively against him. Garvey’s attempt to send industrial missionary colonialists to West Africa failed miserably in 1924, but Garveyism lived on within a wider view of race emancipation, promoting black “race redemption” in a larger social-cultural context, with the “Back-to-Africa” concept transformed into a mentality that looks to one’s African roots (instead of moving there), uses a “black” perspective on life (i.e. Garvey’s “Ethiopian spectacles), and appreciates one’s black culture.

³⁵¹ W. E. B. DU BOIS. “A Lunatic or a Traitor,” *Crisis*, vol. XXVIII, May 1924, p. 8-9, in David E. CRONON, *Black Moses* [...], p. 190.

In the arena of commercial emancipation, Garvey, like Booker T. Washington, advocated that Negroes must control their own capital and businesses, and not live in financial bondage to the white business world. Therefore, Garvey led the way by starting several all-black-owned entrepreneurial enterprises, the most famous being the ill-fated “Black Star Line” shipping company, which sank financially before it ever could achieve its goals of facilitating black-owned commerce and the ferrying of Negro repatriates across the Atlantic back to Africa.

Educational emancipation for blacks was a common theme for all the Pan-Africanists, including Garvey. Reacting against the white supremacy which was so prevalent within the American school system, Marcus envisioned building schools for blacks modeled after the successful Tuskegee Institute of Booker T. Washington. Following Blyden’s train of thought, Garvey had hoped that his educated “industrial missionaries” would be able to transfer their Western know-how to Africa. His Liberian colonialists had hoped to help establish colleges and universities which would lead to the advancement of their African brethren.

Concerning religious emancipation, Garvey was well aware of the fact that religion in America was very divisive along multiple denominational grounds. Therefore, he tried to steer a steady course of unity for his UNIA movement—having chaplains for his division (chapter) meetings, quoting much Scripture, but not adopting any particular denomination. This non-denominational approach led to some break-aways by some UNIA leaders who wanted to tie emancipationist goals more intimately to religion. Garvey’s famous UNIA Chaplain-General, Rev. George McGuire, left to start his own religious emancipationist denomination, the “African Orthodox Church,” while Garvey’s very productive regional organizer, Laura Adorkor Kofey, broke away to form her own copy-cat organization in Florida, the “African Universal Church and Commercial League.” This body would intertwine with the emancipationist efforts of Bresi-Ando in the future. Garvey did embrace McGuire’s concept of a physically “black Christ,” which proved to be religiously divisive, as was also the fact that Garvey held to a specific form of racism with his “colorism”. He favored darker blacks over the light-toned Afro-Americans, such as his arch-rival W. E. B. Du Bois. Considered by the U.S. State Department to be a “dangerous” man who was organizing the Negroes of the world to be “against” the whites, Garvey eventually spent some time in an American prison on charges of mail fraud before he was deported from the U.S.A. back to Jamaica in 1927.

Pan-Africanism had its founders, men such as Blyden, Du Bois, Casely Hayford, and Marcus Garvey, among others. Their ideas contributed to the loud, noisy, global Pan-African Garveyism of 1920's and 1930's which itself was like a watch dog that barked loudly but did not bite (according to the opinion of Kwame Nkrumah)³⁵². Garveyism had a fantastic definition for Pan-Africanism: the “reclaiming [of] Africa from European control and making it the new homeland for African Americans”³⁵³, plus the “unification of all black people, commitment to the empowerment of black people and the liberation of all black people”³⁵⁴ which advocated total emancipation (freedom) in all areas of life racially, socially, culturally, politically, commercially, and educationally³⁵⁵. Yet, like Garvey's collapsed “Back-to-Africa” dreams and his bankrupt “Black Star Line,” Garveyism failed to make a practical effect in its day. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the greatest Pan-Africanist of post-WWII Pan-Africanism³⁵⁶, admired Garvey but criticized him and his 1920's/1930's era of Pan-Africanists as being ineffective “idealists”³⁵⁷. Seeing that Garvey's version of “Pan-Africanism” had not gone far enough in advancing the practical cause of the African, it was the next generation of Pan-Africanists, like Kwame Nkrumah, who helped transform early 20th Century Pan-Africanism, known as “black internationalism,” into its next incarnation—“African nationalism”—a mass liberation movement which ejected colonialism out of Africa³⁵⁸. This was the literal carrying out of Garvey's beloved cry, “Africa for the Africans,” as African colony after African colony following WWII achieved its national independence³⁵⁹. Following the African nationalism of the post-colonial era, Pan-Africanism as a political concept went on to embrace other issues affecting the African continent: Cold War politics, the CIA, oil, OPEC, the Arab (non-black) inhabitants of northern Africa, confronting apartheid in South Africa, etc.³⁶⁰ These issues over time further developed and broadened the definition of “Pan-Africanism”. However, all such discussion is out of the time-frame of this project, which focuses on the 1920's/1930's Garveyite-era of “black internationalism,” the “Back-to-Africa” redemption mentality, and Garvey's quest for political, commercial, educational and social improvement. The

³⁵² Kwame NKRUMAH. *Ghana* [...], p. 53-54.

³⁵³ Kip VOUGHT. “Racial Stirrings in Colored Town [...],” p. 57.

³⁵⁴ Emmanuel MARTEY. *African Theology* [...], p. 4, 10.

³⁵⁵ Columbus SALLEY. *The Black 100* [...], p. 80-81.

³⁵⁶ Marc MATERA. “Pan-Africanism”, p. 1704.

³⁵⁷ Kwame NKRUMAH. *Ghana* [...], p. 53-54.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁰ Marc MATERA. “Pan-Africanism”, p. 1704-1706; Emmanuel MARTEY. *African Theology* [...], p. 11.

world-famous Pan-Africanist Marcus Garvey will be compared to his lesser-known Gold Coast contemporary, Bishop Bresi-Ando, who started his own African independent church in Nigeria, West Africa, at the height of the Garvey era and brought it to the Gold Coast and Asante in order to help free the African³⁶¹. The next chapter will survey the rise of the phenomenon known as the “AICs”—the African Independent Churches—as a segue into later chapters which will look for a connection between the Pan-Africanism of Marcus Garvey in the New World and the ideology of Bishop Bresi-Ando on the continent of Africa.

³⁶¹ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 3, Log 2, p. 54.

**SECTION ONE: BRESI-ANDO'S ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT
WITHIN THE 1930's GOLD COAST COLONY**

**CHAPTER 6 PAN-AFRICAN THEOLOGY AND AFRICAN INDEPENDENT
CHURCHES (AICs)**

Purpose

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a core understanding of the concept of the African Independent Churches (AICs) within their historical (and Pan-African) context. The establishment of these new African denominations, founded and led entirely by Africans and not by foreign missions, will be shown within the intersection of Pan-Africanism and modern African theology. Three historical “Waves”—or groups—of AICs will be analyzed. This study is necessary because Bresi-Ando will be shown in this research to be an example of a founder of a modern-day AIC. This chapter therefore builds upon the foundational understanding of the concept of Pan-Africanism that was provided in the previous chapter. Thus, the religious expression of the Pan-Africanist impulse can now be displayed within this chapter in its several manifestations. This will enable the reader to understand Bresi-Ando as he emerges within this Pan-African religious context in Section Two—his biography.

Sources

Rev. Dr. Emmanuel Martey, the former Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana and past-Chairman of the Christian Council of Ghana, is an eminent contemporary Ghanaian theologian. His work is presented here as representative of those Ghanaian churches originally founded by the European foreign missions, and nicknamed “orthodox”, whose entire church leadership nowadays is local. Martey’s published Ph.D. dissertation entitled, *African Theology: Inculturation and Liberation* (2009), is a chief secondary source for this chapter. As a national church leader within modern Ghana, Dr. Martey is highly qualified to provide an analysis of the intersection of Pan-Africanism and African theology in this chapter which discusses the rise of the African Independent Churches in sub-Saharan Africa.

A second theologian, Dr. Jones Darkwa Amanor, Academic Dean for the International Theological Seminary, in Accra, Ghana, provides another important secondary source for this chapter. He

represents the vast array of indigenous African Pentecostal-type churches that grew up in Ghana independently of the foreign missions. His 2004 journal article entitled “Pentecostalism in Ghana: An African Reformation,” in the *Cyberjournal for Pentecostal-Charismatic Research*, details the growth of these “spiritual” churches within his country, while also providing a useful survey of the Ghanaian religious history.

A third valuable secondary source used within this chapter is the monograph by the University of Ghana’s former Head of the Sociology Department, Dr. Max Assimeng, entitled *Saints and Social Structures* (1986). His sociological work analyses the phenomenon of the rise of the African Independent Churches on the continent. As such, it is very useful in explaining the wider background context for his 1975 scholarly article on Bresi-Ando, “Methodological Africanism: Bresi-Ando as an Episcopus Vagans,” which underpins many aspects of this present research. In addition to the above, several other minor secondary works are used as well.

Structure

This *sixth* chapter of context Section One is divided into *four* parts, following a historical sequence:

- 1) The Theological Perspective on Pan-Africanism
- 2) First Wave of AICs—“Ethiopianism”
- 3) Second Wave of AICs—Africanization
- 4) Third Wave of AICs—Charismatics and new Pentecostals

In part one the chapter looks to Rev. Dr. Emmanuel Martey to describe Pan-Africanism and to see how it impacted African theology in various ways across the 20th Century. This historical perspective will enable the reader to more clearly appreciate the specific definition of Pan-Africanism that was germane to Bresi-Ando in the 1930’s, which has already been identified in the preceding chapter as Garveyite “black internationalism,” with its cry for comprehensive emancipation in all areas of life, and the “Back-to-Africa” mentality.

What follows is a description of the rise of the three “Waves” of AICs, utilizing the works of Amanor and Assimeng. Part two explains the “First Wave”. Known as “Ethiopianism”, this native

attempt at clerical emancipation from racism opened the door for embryonic African nationalism to enter the colonies via the church.

Part three describes the “Second Wave.” Identified as “Zionists,” “prophet-healing,” “spiritual churches,” etc., these Africanized independent denominations replaced the imported Enlightenment nominalist mentality with a more African thaumaturgical approach, in a wide diversity of theology and practices. Rising political nationalism assisted the rapid spread of these “Second Wave” AICs. Statistics will be employed to show how these newer “spiritual” Africanized AICs overtook the old colonial “orthodox” European mission churches in Ghana.

Part four concludes the chapter by delineating the “Third Wave” of AICs, the newer types of Charismatic and Pentecostal denominations that arrived after 1970. As this time period is too far out of view for a research project that focuses on Bresi-Ando’s 1930’s AIC, the description is brief. Having reviewed in this chapter the mixture of Pan-Africanism and African theology that produced the three “Waves” of African Independent Churches in the 20th Century, the reader will be ready to see in later chapters how Bresi-Ando’s own ecclesial attempt was a classical “First Wave” AIC, with some “Second Wave” elements incorporated as well, while also over time becoming a representative of a “Fourth Wave”—the search for the ancient origins of African Christianity.

1. The Theological Perspective on Pan-Africanism

Theologically speaking, Pan-Africanism has dramatically impacted and shaped African theology in the 20th Century. Ghanaian theologian Emmanuel Martey published his Ph.D. dissertation entirely on this thesis. From his theological perspective, Martey admits that the term “Pan-Africanism” is hard to define¹, just as political scientist Marc Matera admitted². Martey states:

Pan-Africanism is a system of ideas and, as such, it does not lend itself to a simple definition. What makes the task of definition even more onerous is the fact that these ideas have not come from an individual person or a single group at one particular moment in history, but rather are an assembly of related ideas expressed over the years by people of African descent from both the continent and the diaspora who were addressing the African question.³

¹ Emmanuel MARTEY. *African Theology: Inculturation and Liberation*, Eugene, OR, Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2009, p. 9.

² Marc MATERA. “Pan-Africanism”, p. 1701.

³ Emmanuel MARTEY. *African Theology* [...], p. 9-10.

Concerning Pan-Africanism, in Martey's words, "The African revolution has undergone many phases [...] But its *ultimate objective* has always been to bring *total liberation* to the African in all areas of human existence—*political, social, economic, cultural and religious*"⁴. Throughout this entire study we will search for evidence of this in the ideology and actions of Bishop Bresì-Ando. Being a multi-phased topic, one must choose a specific time frame within the long history of Pan-Africanism and study to see how the concept was defined and how it impacted theology within that time period.

1.1. Two schools of thought

Martey carefully details the two current competing African theological camps, ("schools of theological hermeneutics"), each with its own alternative approach to African theology. Each school incarnates Pan-Africanism in its own way, for its own goals⁵. Located within sub-Saharan independent Africa are what Martey labels the "African theologians"⁶, with their "African theology" focusing on "inculturation", "Africanization", and "indigenization" (all used as synonyms)⁷. After having achieved national independence, sub-Saharan African theologians "sought to interpret their Christian faith into African categories"⁸, remaining narrowly focused on the "cultural-religious dimension" of "inculturation", while avoiding politico-economic concerns⁹.

Differing from this perspective are what Martey labels as the "black theologians" of South Africa with their "South African Black theology" of "liberation"¹⁰. While "African theologians" living in the newly-independent African nations no longer had to fight against European white oppression, the South Africans, being stuck so long in apartheid, developed a preference for liberation theology in their effort to be free of white domination¹¹. Differences aside, much of "the content" of these two approaches—inculturation and liberation—has been *the same*: "the struggle of the black African for emancipation from the forces of domination, oppression and social

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8—italics added.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xi.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xii.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xi.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. xi-xii.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1-2.

injustice”¹². (Martey carefully points out that he is not able to address the reality of North African Patristic-era Christianity, the Egyptian Copts, and the ancient Ethiopian theology in his own analysis, which remains largely 20th Century Protestant and Post-Vatican Roman Catholic¹³.) Such is Martey’s analysis of the complex polarization that entered into African theology in the 1970’s, following the era of the rise of African nation-states in the 1950’s and ‘60’s¹⁴.

However, the scope of this current project will be limited to the time of activity of Bishop Bresiano—the mid-1920’s until the early 1940’s, encapsulating the entire decade of the 1930’s. This will eliminate the need to discuss the later developments of South African “liberation” theology which polarized away from “African theology” in the 1970’s¹⁵. Rather, it is the historical early roots of these two approaches (emancipation and Africanization) which are germane to this project since they produced several large waves of AICs that spread across the continent, one after the other. The creation of independent African denominations at the end of the 19th Century and beginning of the 20th was an early concrete incarnation of Pan-African’s growing willingness to begin a fight against the evils of colonialism and racism¹⁶.

2. First Wave of AICs—“Ethiopianism”

Dr. Ogbu U. Kalu, Professor of Religions at the University of Nigeria, describes the emergence of the African Independent Churches in three “waves”, or “tiers”¹⁷. Theologically and ecclesiologically, the earliest incarnations of these Pan-African aspirations were seen within the First Wave of AICs which was commonly known as the native African religious movement called “Ethiopianism” (not to be confused with the ancient Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church)¹⁸. African Independent Churches are also identified by synonymous terms: “African Indigenous Churches, African Initiated Churches, African Instituted Churches,” or most easily by the acronym “AIC”¹⁹. What unites this diverse grouping of over 10,000 African Christian denominations is the

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 1.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 4, 17.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xi.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7; Hollis LYNCH. “Edward Wilmot Blyden [...],” p. 3.

¹⁷ Ogbu U. KALU. “The Third Response: Pentecostalism and the Reconstruction of Christian Experience in Africa, 1970-1995,” *Journal of African Christian Thought*, vol. 1, n° 2, 1998, p. 3-16.

¹⁸ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 13.

¹⁹ “African Independent Churches,” *Patheos*. (Page consulted on 21 March 2018), <http://www.patheos.com/library/african-independent-churches>, par. 1.

fact that they were started by Africans on their own, and not by a foreign mission, within the last 150 years²⁰. Amazingly, Christianity's rapid advance in 20th Century Africa is largely due to its AIC phenomenon²¹.

2.1. Black clerical emancipation from racism

The African Independent Church movement began as a reaction to foreign racism. As the white missionaries had spread their Protestant and Roman Catholic faith throughout black Africa, part of their teaching from the Bible was the “equality of all men”²². St. Paul taught, “[t]here is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus” (Galatians 3:27 NKJV). It did not take long, however, for some “intelligent natives” to “arise and ask: why, then, is there any distinction here between white and black men?”²³ In a colonial world whose anti-black racism excluded most secular options for any Africans desiring “to try to do things for themselves,” the church was the only arena in which to start their advance towards emancipation²⁴. Professor Assimeng, in his 1986 monograph on African independent churches, *Saints and Social Structures*, cites the “racial situation in South Africa, and the absence of legitimate secular modes of social protest or means of individual advancement” as reasons for the emergence of the AIC phenomena²⁵. Therefore, the creation of “independent all-African churches” and denominations began in South Africa in the 1880's as a “religious movement among sub-Saharan Africans that embodied the earliest stirrings toward religious and political freedom in the modern colonial period”²⁶.

Black clergy were being denied high offices—such as bishop—in the European white-run mission churches. By starting their own denominations, black clergy avoided white domination and

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 246.

²³ N. M. Bird. “Is there any danger of a Post-War flare-up among New Guinean Natives?” *Pacific Island Monthly*, vol. xvi, n° 4, November 1945, p. 69, in Max ASSIMENG, *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 247.

²⁴ J. MOFFAT-THOMPSON, The Secretary of Native Affairs in Zambia. Letter to the Chief Secretary Livingstone, 02 February 1932, Lusaka Archives, ZA.1/9/1/, in Max ASSIMENG, *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 259.

²⁵ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 237.

²⁶ The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica. “Ethiopianism”, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 21 November 2017, (page consulted on 04 July 2019), <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Ethiopianism>, par. 1.

racism, while affording brother blacks opportunity for hierarchical leadership positions²⁷. Other ideological building blocks of “Ethiopianism” were “the desire for a more African and relevant Christianity, for the restoration of tribal life, and for political and cultural autonomy expressed in the slogan ‘Africa for the Africans’ and also in the word Ethiopianism”²⁸. The blacks in colonial Africa looked for inspiration to the independent (and ancient) country of Ethiopia with its autocephalous black Ethiopian Orthodox Church (complete with its all-African clergy, bishops, and patriarch), and thus the movement adopted its name²⁹. Matera notes that during this era, the term “Ethiopian” not only meant a person from Abyssinia (Ethiopia) but was also being used as a synonym “for all Africans”³⁰. Assimeng points out that Ethiopianism was not merely an early under-cover nationalism, nor simply a disguised “pre-political social protest” movement, but rather was a sincere attempt to gain full “social acceptance” by the “wider” society³¹. Simply, blacks in Africa wanted to be bishops just like any other white bishop.

2.2. A black copy of the white parent organization

It is important to note that in these early “Ethiopian” AICs, the daughter black denominations usually kept their parent organization’s formal doctrinal theology and style of liturgical worship intact³², as well as its ecclesiastical organization³³. They merely seceded from their foreign mother church, without making any major changes. Thus, there were early AICs that looked Methodist, others that looked Anglican, and others that looked very Roman Catholic³⁴. If the parent church was a foreign Baptist church (with leadership who were not called “bishops” but “pastors”), then that is the ecclesiology that the new Baptist AIC imitated.

The first major example was the Tembu National Church which began in South Africa in 1884, followed by the Native Baptist Church (in Cameroon, 1887; Nigeria, 1888), the Church of Africa in 1889, the United Native African Church (Nigeria, 1891), and the Ethiopian Church (South

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, par. 2.

³⁰ Marc MATERA. “Pan-Africanism”, p. 1702.

³¹ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 241.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 240-241.

³³ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. “Ethiopianism”, par. 5.

³⁴ “African Independent Churches,” *Patheos*. (Page consulted on 21 March 2018), <http://www.patheos.com/library/african-independent-churches>, par. 1.

Africa, 1892—not the authentic, ancient Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church in East Africa)³⁵. Matera holds that this particular 1892 AIC—the “Ethiopian Church” founded by Mangena M. Mokone, who broke from the African Methodist Episcopal foreign mission due to discrimination—gave its name to this new movement (or First Wave) of AICs³⁶. These new “Ethiopian” AICs really loved to proclaim Psalm 68:31: “Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands unto God.” The first AIC to be organized on the Gold Coast was the National Baptist Church, begun in 1898 by Rev. Dr. Mark Christian Hayford³⁷. A second early Gold Coast AIC was the Nigritian Episcopal Church, started in 1907 by ex-Methodist minister Rev. Jacob Benjamin Anaman³⁸.

By the turn of the century, “Ethiopian” AICs were springing up everywhere in West Africa—in Nigeria, the Gold Coast, and the Cameroons—and in the 20th Century they spread across the continent like a fire³⁹. This First Wave AIC (“Ethiopianism”) also manifested national, tribal, and Pan-African aspects and “was encouraged by association with independent American black churches and radical leaders with ‘back to Africa’ ideas and an Ethiopianist ideology” following the thinking of Edward Wilmot Blyden and Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford of Ghana, “pioneers of African cultural, religious, and political independence”⁴⁰. This research project hopes to discern if Bresi-Ando’s AIC was an example of First Wave Ethiopianism.

2.3. African nationalism via the church

While Max Assimeng, from his vantage point as a professor of sociology in Ghana, stresses primarily the Ethiopianists’ desire for “social acceptance” and upward mobility, Patrick E. Nmah of the Department of Religion and Human Relations at the Nnamdi Azikiwe University in Nigeria views them from a religious-historical perspective, defining Ethiopianism as “African nationalism expressed through the medium of the church”⁴¹. Attempting to draw attention to “a great ethical

³⁵ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 237; The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. “Ethiopianism”, par. 1, 3; Hollis LYNCH. “Edward Wilmot Blyden [...]”, p. 3.

³⁶ Marc MATERA. “Pan-Africanism”, p. 1702.

³⁷ Kofi Asare OPOKU. “A Brief History of Independent Church Movements [...]”, p. 14.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 14-15.

³⁹ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. “Ethiopianism”, par. 1 & 3.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, par. 4.

⁴¹ Patrick E. NMAH. “The Rise of Independent African Churches, 1890-1930: An Ethical-genesis of Nigerian Nationalism,” *African Research Review*, vol. 4, no 4, (serial no. 17), October 2010, p. 485.

point missed by well-known authorities,” Nmah states that “[t]he church established by the white missionaries was the cradle of Nigerian nationalism” because from the Scriptures that the white man had introduced to the them, Africans learned “biblical principles to agitate for religious, economic, social, cultural and political independence”⁴². The “Ethiopianist” separatist movement was *more* than mere social desire for acceptance and self-promotion. According to Nmah it has been viewed as concrete “African opposition to colonial paternalism, being interpreted as the *religious* strand of African nationalism preparing the way for political independence”⁴³. Nmah points out that the educated African elite during the colonial era in West Africa had voluntarily and earnestly accepted Christianity, seeing it as a prerequisite for independence⁴⁴. In fact, Nmah notes that these same Ethiopianists were convinced that only *after* they had achieved full control of a completely African-owned and operated Christianity, could they achieve political national freedom.

The educated Africans accepted Christianity wholeheartedly. They believed that by accepting Christianity, they were building up their nations. They believed also that political independence could not be achieved until Christianity had been fully established with the Africans fully in charge of it. Once they have achieved independence in the management of the church affairs, political independence would be achieved easily.⁴⁵

These Ethiopianists believed that political independence would come easily once “Christianity had been fully established with the Africans fully in charge of it.” This “Ethiopianist” line of thinking should be kept in mind when reading Bresi-Ando’s Biography in Section Two. It is worth noting that Bresi-Ando spent a long time living in Nigeria throughout the decade of the 1920’s before exporting his Nigerian emancipationist AIC to the Gold Coast in 1932. Then, back again in Nigeria from 1942-1970, Bresi-Ando became an associate and friend of Nigeria’s famous earliest African politicians, Nnamdi Azikiwe and Obafemi Awolowo. This research will keep its eyes open to see if Bresi-Ando brought any of this Nigerian Ethiopianist type of thinking home with him to the Gold Coast.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 488.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 485—italics added.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

3. Second Wave of AICs—Africanization

The creation of “Ethiopian” churches was a Pan-African theological attempt to liberate the black man from white domination. Yet this theological application of Pan-Africanism was limited to certain areas and certain people who stuck to *imported* Western doctrinal and liturgical norms. However, after the turn into the 20th Century, a more radical Second Wave of AICs began to spread (particularly from the 1920’s onwards) which began to Africanize these norms⁴⁶. They challenged the Enlightenment-based Western worldview of the European missionaries by favoring their own African premodern primal vision.

3.1. Zionists, prophet-healing, spiritual churches

As Pan-Africanism’s “Africanization” and “inculturation” aspects were increasingly embraced by local African theologians to greater and greater degrees, new African independent churches known as the “Zionists” began to break out of the cultural box in which the European missionaries had presented Christianity⁴⁷. Known in various parts of Africa also as “prophet-healing” churches, “Pentecostal” churches, “Aladura” churches, “Spirit Churches,” and “spiritual churches,” (*Sunsum Nsore*, in the Ghanaian Twi dialect of the Akan language)⁴⁸, these “Zionist” Second Wave AICs started to experiment with new interpretations of Scripture and doctrine, variant roles of gender in church leadership, an Africanization of liturgical style of worship, and even inclusion of “facets of primal religion and culture”⁴⁹. While the “Ethiopianists” had wanted to be in charge of their own churches, the “Zionists” pressed farther by starting to Africanize their worship, beliefs, and practices, and retain their African premodern worldview⁵⁰.

⁴⁶ C. O. OSHUN Sr. “Foreword”, in Deji AYEGBAYIN and S. Ademola ISHOLA, *African Indigenous Churches: An Historical Perspective*, [s.l.], Greater Heights Publications, 1997, 174 p., in *Institute for Religious Research*, put online 10 May 2011, (page consulted on 31 August 2018), <http://irr.org/african-indigenous-churches-historical-perspective>, par. 5-6; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]”, p. 13.

⁴⁷ Deji AYEGBAYIN and S. Ademola ISHOLA. *African Indigenous Churches: An Historical Perspective*, [s.l.], Greater Heights Publications, 1997, 174 p., in *Institute for Religious Research*, put online 10 May 2011, (page consulted on 31 August 2018), <http://irr.org/african-indigenous-churches-chapter-one>, Chp. 1, Sec. 2 (c).

⁴⁸ The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica. “Zionist church,” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 19 October 2012, (page consulted on 12 December 2019), <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Zionist-church>, par. 1; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]”, p. 18.

⁴⁹ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]”, p. 13.

⁵⁰ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 238; Stephen HAYES. “Christian responses to witchcraft and sorcery,” *Missionalia*, vol. 23, n° 3, November 1995, p. 344-347.

Historically, the term “Zion” came from an American mission working in South Africa in 1904 known as the “Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion” which taught “divine healing”⁵¹. Following the birth of American Pentecostalism in Los Angeles in 1906 at the Azusa Street Revival⁵², American Pentecostal missionaries from Azusa’s Apostolic Faith Church arrived in South Africa in 1908, bringing the teachings of the “Baptism of the Holy Spirit” and the “Gifts of the Holy Spirit”⁵³. To many Africans, this approach to the spirit world was more in tune with native African spirituality and they therefore received it as a breath of fresh air. Africans left the foreign Zion mission and formed their own new AIC known as “Zion Apostolic Church”—an indigenous Pentecostal church practicing divine healing and the “Baptism of the Holy Spirit”⁵⁴. This Zion Apostolic AIC blazed the trail for a Second Wave of AICs—the “Zionist” or “Spirit” churches. This pattern was repeated within the Gold Coast. American Pentecostal missionaries brought their “Assemblies of God” denomination into the Colony in 1931, while British Pentecostals from Bradford, UK, brought their “Apostolic Church” to the Coast in 1935⁵⁵. From the Bradford group there splintered off several separatist Pentecostal AICs such as the “Christ Apostolic Church” and the “Church of Pentecost”⁵⁶. The belief in the experience of the inspiration of the Holy Spirit had a great appeal to many African locals who were unconvinced by the Enlightenment-based flat brand of Christianity brought by the Basel missionaries, with its non-emotional stress on rationalism, practicality, and the denial of the very real threat of magic and evil spirits⁵⁷.

3.2. The thaumaturgical replaces the Enlightenment-era Nominalist approach

The “Nominalist” Enlightenment-based rationalistic Western modern approach of the mainline Protestant 19th Century missions to Africa (which flatly denied spiritual realities, by saying, “there is no such thing as miracles, magic or ghosts”) unfortunately had caused many early African

⁵¹ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. “Zionist church,” par. 2.

⁵² Gary B. McGEE. “William J. Seymour and the Azusa Street Revival,” *Enrichment Journal*, (page consulted on 21 March 2018), https://web.archive.org/web/20170618073619/http://enrichmentjournal.ag.org/199904/026_azusa.cfm, par. 1.

⁵³ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. “Zionist church,” par. 2.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ ASEMPA PUBLISHERS (Eds.). *The Rise of Independent Churches in Ghana*, p. 8-9.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 23.

⁵⁷ Stephen HAYES. “Christian responses to witchcraft [...],” p. 346; ASEMPA PUBLISHERS (Eds.). *The Rise of Independent Churches in Ghana*, p. 10.

converts to reject all native elements as “pagan” superstition⁵⁸, the “primitive, unscientific” beliefs of an “uncultured people”⁵⁹. This problem resulted in producing many nominal African convert members in these theologically “Nominalist” Western missions⁶⁰. This bland intellectual mentality created a back-lash as Africans began missing their innate African emphasis on the supernatural, the thaumaturgical, which was so common in their traditional (pagan) religions⁶¹. Therefore, they began to look for better ways to enculturate the Christian Gospel into their own African culture and innate spiritual mindset.

The “Zionists” were seeking solutions to their perceived problems, not denials of their African cultural frame of mind⁶². Thus, some Africans found their solution by joining one of the Pentecostal foreign missions. Others invented their own, with unique blends of Africanization. One famous Second Wave Zionist AIC, the “Church of the Lord (Aladura),” strongly brought this thaumaturgical (wonder-working, miraculous) element to the forefront of its concerns by stressing “divine healing”⁶³, while also incorporating “low Anglican hymns, Catholic liturgy, Islamic posture of prayer” and “extreme Pentecostalist inspirationism” in its creative religious experimental mixture⁶⁴. Rather than being pressured by pure external factors (such as racism and lack of upward mobility in society), Ghanaian theologian Amanor notes that often these religious founders claimed to have had divine visions and callings for their work⁶⁵. Assimeng is aware that such claims of “supernatural revelation” are “a traditional claim in a continent where the first distinctive professional category was the religious or magical functionary”⁶⁶.

The Second Wave of AICs experimented with a more-African-friendly Christianity. They sought a stress on mysticism and spirituality which could find a kindred receptive spirit in the natural spiritual outlook of the African native religious conceptions⁶⁷.

⁵⁸ J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa* [...], p. 133.

⁵⁹ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 1.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1-2.

⁶¹ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 240.

⁶² Stephen HAYES. “Christian responses to witchcraft [...],” p. 345.

⁶³ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 13.

⁶⁴ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 240.

⁶⁵ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 2.

⁶⁶ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 242.

⁶⁷ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 1-2.

It could not be otherwise, for the African resembles neither the contemporary European, worn out by centuries of dizzying ideologies and spent on a myriad of humanistic philosophies, nor the typical American, quick to compromise and moderate things in order to achieve outward success. His [*the African's*] noble, humble soul still inclines toward the other world and his simple, intuitive mind still has a *healthy disposition for the noetic realm*.⁶⁸

The late Fr. Cosmas Grigoriatis (1942-1989), the famous modern-day Eastern Orthodox missionary to Zaire (Congo), found this “healthy disposition for the noetic realm”—this inner inclination towards authentic spirituality—to be so true when he said:

They [*the Africans*] are people with a sensitivity and *awareness of the inner world*. Europeans usually underestimate them, but they are very mistaken. *The soul of the African inclines toward mysticism* and for this reason Orthodoxy has something to say to them and something to offer, but only authentic Orthodoxy – monastic, hagiorite Orthodoxy. For among the brethren of Africa, witchcraft and magic holds great sway, a real demonocracy. In Africa, I saw how true the Gospel of Christ is! Everything that He said about the possession of men by the demons, I saw first hand. However, the Living and True God is more powerful than Satan and all his servants.⁶⁹

Hayes points out that it “was the Zionists who re-contextualised the Christian message for a pre-Enlightenment culture in which witchcraft and sorcery are part of the prevalent world view”⁷⁰. The African Christian with his innate noetic inclination was not desiring a simple denial of the reality of his “deities”, but was looking for a deeper fulfillment of his own spiritual experience. He did not want to deny the existence of a devil and sorcery which he knew was *real* by experience. Rather, he wanted to be *free* from fear of the Devil. Moreover, he wanted to triumph over the Devil, the demons, occult juju, fetish spiritism, witchcraft and disease by finding the Highest True God with the *greatest* power. Not wanting to reject his premodern worldview and lose his very “Africanness” by adopting an Enlightenment-based rationalist Western European perspective, he desired a spiritual liberation from everything evil while staying *within* his African viewpoint⁷¹. Missionaries to West Africa have noted the African Christian’s exuberant joy when he or she has

⁶⁸ Demetrios ASLANIDIS and Monk Damascene GRIGORIATIS. *Apostle to Zaire: The Life and Legacy of Blessed Father Cosmas of Grigoriou*, Thessalonica, Greece, London, Ontario, Uncut Mountain Press, 2001, p. 16—italics added.

⁶⁹ Demetrios ASLANIDIS and Monk Damascene GRIGORIATIS. *Apostle to Zaire* [...], p. 17—italics added.

⁷⁰ Stephen HAYES. “Christian responses to witchcraft [...],” p. 345.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 344-347.

taken refuge in the Christian Faith, openly confronted the face of Traditional pagan religion with its fear-factor and built-in cultural peer pressures, and has experienced *actual* divine liberation from—not denial of—the Devil by the triumph of Jesus Christ over the disobedient spirits (known in Ghana as the “abosom”—the lesser deities, spirits, demons—the “gods” of Akan idolatry)⁷². This spiritual freedom and emancipation from the dark forces energized their Christian Faith and caused it to spread. Since they “rejected the Enlightenment refusal to believe in witchcraft,” the Second Wave Zionist churches found themselves directly opposed to the Enlightenment-based foreign European missions on this and related teachings⁷³.

These newer “prophet-healing”/“Zionist” AICs in Ghana gained the generic label “spiritual” due to their emphasis on miracles, cures, divine healings, exorcisms, prophecies, and spiritual phenomena such as glossolalia⁷⁴. Their adherents expected their leadership to be able to pray and get results. Approaching their minister, they would ask for a healing, a deliverance, a miracle, by saying: “Do for me!” And if he did not “do for you,” then the adherent would leave and find some other minister in another “spiritual” church who could get his prayers answered⁷⁵. This was the thaumaturgical spiritual power confrontation approach which previously had impressed them as “pagans”. However, with Christ, Ghanaians testify of their spiritual experiences where Jesus proves to be the all-powerful God (especially when fetish priests convert to Christianity)⁷⁶. Levitt in her case study notes the pattern of local Ghanaians abandoning the traditional pagan practitioners when they did not receive desired results and instead turning to the “spiritual” AICs and gaining the answers to their prayers⁷⁷.

⁷² John W. ANDERSON. *Straight the Highway*, New York, iUniverse Inc., 2007, p. 152-153; Yaba Amgborale BLAY. “Abosom,” *Encyclopedia of African Religion*, Molefi K. Asante and Ama Mazama (Eds.), Thousand Oaks, CA, SAGE Publications, Inc., 2009, p. 3-4.

⁷³ Stephen HAYES. “Christian responses to witchcraft [...]” p. 345-346.

⁷⁴ Deji AYEGBOYIN and S. Ademola ISHOLA. *African Indigenous Churches* [...], Chp. 13, Sec. 3 (b) i & ii; The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. “Zionist church,” par. 1, 2, 5.

⁷⁵ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1268; Bridget S. LEVITT. “A Case Study—Spiritual Churches In Cape Coast, Ghana,” *The Rise of Independent Churches in Ghana*, Accra, Ghana, Asempa Publishers Christian Council of Ghana, 1990, p. 63-65.

⁷⁶ Kofi BANZANA. “Powerful Ghanaian fetish priest converts to Jesus,” *Ghana Web*, put online 15 January 2017, (page consulted on 22 March 2018), <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/religion/Powerful-Ghanaian-fetish-priest-converts-to-Jesus-501100#>.

⁷⁷ Bridget S. LEVITT. “A Case Study [...]”, p. 60, 62-65.

3.3. Wide diversity in theology and practices

The Second Wave AICs are by no means all similar. While commonly grouped in Ghana under the catch-all label “spiritual”, some AICs are simply African break-offs from imported “classical” Pentecostalism, while others lean towards real syncretism with aspects of African Traditional religion⁷⁸. Assimeng notes that the “African disposition to pluralism” which was long accustomed to “tribal divisiveness and religious polytheism” has tolerated the arrival of Protestant pluralism⁷⁹. More and more disparities and heresies were invented as the new African denominations divided and multiplied. Examples of Second Wave AICs show the extremes to which their cultural adaption attempted to reach. The Musama Disco Christo Church (MDCC—the Army of the Cross of Christ Church), which eventually became a rival to Bresi-Ando’s own AIC in the Central Region of Ghana, was founded in 1922 by J. W. E. Appiah, who claimed a visitation by an angel⁸⁰. Desiring a deeper spiritual life with a “right way of worshipping God” that “hated evil deeds,” he blended a faith in the Bible, sacraments, fasting, personal revelations, prophecies, miracles, prayer for divine healing, speaking in tongues, with drumming, dancing, feasting⁸¹, and polygamy—“as long as the wives do not quarrel”⁸².

Often basic elements of Christian doctrine get over-looked or omitted from some of these new indigenous sects. Such was the case with Ghana’s oldest Second Wave AIC, the “The Church of the Twelve Apostles” (or “Nackabah”) which was formed by members of the huge Prophet Harris WWI-era evangelistic movement⁸³. Systemized dogma is largely absent from this AIC which is led mainly by pious illiterates who seek as their priority the Holy Spirit’s anointing for healings, glossolalia, prophecies and the casting out of demons⁸⁴. Some Second Wave AICs went so far as to become truly syncretistic, blending traditional “pagan” practices with Christian elements. The

⁷⁸ ASEMPE PUBLISHERS (Eds.). *The Rise of Independent Churches in Ghana*, p. 10.

⁷⁹ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 268.

⁸⁰ *The History of Musano [sic.] Disco Christo Church (MDCC)*. [s.l.], [s.n.], 22 August 1943, p. 5-7; Kofi Asare OPOKU. “A Brief History of Independent Church Movements [...]”, p. 18.

⁸¹ *The History of Musano [sic.] Disco Christo Church (MDCC) History Book*, p. 5, 7, 9, 10, 15, 24.

⁸² David BROKENSHA. *Social Change at Larteh, Ghana*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1966, p. 29.

⁸³ Deji AYEGBOYIN and S. Ademola ISHOLA. *African Indigenous Churches [...]*, Chp. 13, Sec. 1; The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. “Harris movement”, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 20 July 1998, (page consulted on 31 August 2018), <https://www.britannica.com/event/Harris-movement>, par. 1-3.

⁸⁴ Deji AYEGBOYIN and S. Ademola ISHOLA. *African Indigenous Churches [...]*, Chp. 13, Sec. 3 (b) i & ii.

“International Temple of Missionary Society” in Nigeria in 1935 combined the Bible, prayer and herbal healing with occult practices, the use of oracles, and Mosaic animal sacrifices⁸⁵.

Over time, in Ghana a differentiation emerged between the more “classical” Pentecostals who stayed more Biblical (and less heretical) versus those AICs which tended at times to drift into syncretism and the occult, going far beyond drumming, singing, clapping, dancing and cures⁸⁶. Because of this important theological difference, some authors even refuse to label classical Ghanaian Pentecostals as “AICs”, yet it is common for the average citizen on the streets of Accra to lump both groups together into the larger category of “spiritual churches”⁸⁷. To many, the definition of “spiritual churches” is very simple: “spiritual churches” hold lively Africanized worship where locals can sing and dance and pray for cures, while the “orthodox” (i.e. in Ghana this term commonly refers to the European missions, not the historic Eastern Orthodox Church) hold “cold, unemotional forms of western worship” using pews, altars, candles and imported hymns⁸⁸.

While Bresi-Ando’s AIC did not embrace all of these Africanizations during the 1930’s, this research will study to see how his independent African Universal Orthodox-Catholic Church fit into the First and Second Waves of AICs. The Second Wave eventually reached tidal wave proportions during the independence era of the ‘50’s and ‘60’s as a result of the post-WWII politics and the onset of African nationalism.

3.4. Rising nationalism enflames spread of AICs

Theologian Dr. Martey describes the much wider theological story that unfolded as Pan-Africanism impacted upon the entire African political arena following World War II. There was “the impact of African revolution on African theology” itself⁸⁹. Pan-Africanism was still at the center of it all. The advent of Pan-Africanism in the first decades of the 20th century had brought

⁸⁵ Inspector-General of Police. Letter to the Chief Secretary, Lagos, Nigeria, 10 March 1937, Ibadan Archives, file CSO.23610/s.658, in Max ASSIMENG, *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 244,

⁸⁶ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 18; ASEMPA PUBLISHERS (Eds.). *The Rise of Independent Churches in Ghana*, p. 10.

⁸⁷ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 18; ASEMPA PUBLISHERS (Eds.). *The Rise of Independent Churches in Ghana*, p. 10.

⁸⁸ ASEMPA PUBLISHERS (Eds.). *The Rise of Independent Churches in Ghana*, p. 10.

⁸⁹ Emmanuel MARTEY. *African Theology* [...], p. 7.

about “a more organized black resistance to colonial oppression and racism”⁹⁰. Garveyism with its UNIA had grabbed global attention while Ethiopianist and Zionist churches had sprung up everywhere across Africa. This “revolution” increased dramatically after WWII as the general vision of black equality congealed into an active drive for African nationalism⁹¹. As Pan-Africanism in the political science realm swept across colonial post-WWII Africa, launching African nationalism and creating all the independent African states, the African Christian church communities that had been started by the European missionaries desperately needed to respond. Many “mission-trained African nationalists” were complaining that the mission churches that had been brought to Africa by the white man were the evil relics of colonial oppression, the instruments “of imperialist oppression”⁹². Following WWII there was a “raging wind of change [...] blowing across the continent” and the African church needed to reply accordingly and quickly⁹³. “In response, African Christians and church leaders began a thoughtful survey of this ‘movement of [political] liberation’ that was throbbing throughout the life of the continent and, in the process, brought the African revolution under the focus of Christian thought and theological interpretation”⁹⁴. “A new orientation for the indigenization of the church, as well as its theology, began to emerge from the 1950’s onwards,” as the Gold Coast became the first African colony to become an independent nation in 1957⁹⁵. The African church embraced Pan-Africanism, seeing in it the call for “total liberation to the African in all areas of human existence,” with the goal of bringing “full humanity to the African”⁹⁶. (Martey, 8). We shall study to see if this was indeed the *essence* of the theological and emancipationist drive of Bishop Bresi-Ando on the Gold Coast in the 1930’s.

3.5. “orthodox” European missions lose to “spiritual” Africanized churches

The Second Wave of AICs in Ghana reached tsunami proportions throughout the height of the African independence era (1957 to 1967). During this time frame in the newly-independent Ghana, being a member of an African independent church (dubbed “spiritual” churches in Ghana)

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 8, 15.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 8.

became increasingly more popular than belonging to the colonial-era foreign missions (confusingly labeled “orthodox” in Ghana)⁹⁷. The new AICs’ rapid multiplication and their quick and easy Africanization, were complementary to, and *indeed part of and often aided by*, the very wave of Africanization and “Self-Rule” that was engulfing the continent with independence fervor⁹⁸. The fever and thirst for national independence translated into a thirst for independent African churches as well. Between 1949 and 1960, Christianity in Ghana as a whole increased from 30% to 42.8% while membership in Traditional tribal religions fell from 66% to 38.2%⁹⁹. Of this rise in Christianity, during the first decade of Ghana’s independence (1957-1967) the new “spiritual” AICs saw a “four-fold” increase in membership while the “orthodox denominations languished”¹⁰⁰. The membership increase in the “spiritual” Pentecostal-influenced AICs in Ghana in the 1950’s was so pronounced that many locals still refer to that period as the time when the “spiritual” churches “arrived”¹⁰¹, even though the earliest of them had been operating within the Gold Coast for three decades already¹⁰².

The arrival of the new AICs in the Gold Coast/Ghana forced the older European-established status-quo mission churches (i.e. Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Baptism, Methodist, etc.) to find ways to Africanize their worship or suffer the loss of their members defecting to the newer, more “African-style” “spiritual” churches¹⁰³. This Africanization of church practice is germane to this study which shall look in Chapter 14 (“Bresi-Ando’s *Religious* Emancipation”) for evidence showing how and where Bresi-Ando—already in the 1930’s—attempted to meet African culture within his ecclesiastical and liturgical efforts. Experiencing a loss in membership due to this rising competition, the former European mission churches (i.e. “orthodox”) were forced to embrace various aspects of African culture. The rule was: Africanize or diminish. As a result, the African practices of drumming and dancing began to be accepted in church worship in Ghana in the second

⁹⁷ J. D. Y. PEEL. “Reviews”, *Africa*, vol. 53, n° 3, July 1983, p. 92.

⁹⁸ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 237.

⁹⁹ *Colonial Reports, Gold Coast, 1951*, London, 1952, p. 75; Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 124.

¹⁰⁰ J. D. Y. PEEL. “Reviews”, *Africa*, vol. 53, n° 3, July 1983, p. 92.

¹⁰¹ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1268.

¹⁰² Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 13.

¹⁰³ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1269.

half of the 20th Century by the European missions in what used to be their exclusive domain of formal liturgical worship¹⁰⁴.

In the height of the independence era—1965—the All Africa Conference of Churches viewed “the Pan-African revolution” as “a movement of liberation of African peoples from colonial domination and from the enslaving aspects of traditional societies”¹⁰⁵. However, by the end of the 1960’s, as nationhood and political independence were achieved, the African theologians (outside of South Africa) dropped politics and focused their Pan-African theology more narrowly on how to inculturate the Gospel in an authentically African manner¹⁰⁶, leaving to their South African black brothers the job of developing an African liberation theology to fight apartheid. Thus, historically speaking, it was early Pan-Africanism and the resulting African nationalism which “provided the framework within which African theology was to emerge”¹⁰⁷, while also contributing to a huge spike in church growth in Ghana.

4. Third Wave of AICs—Charismatics and new Pentecostals

The failure of President Nkrumah’s new Ghanaian national political machine (which led to his being ousted by a military coup d’état in 1966) directly correlates to a change in statistics for the population of the AICs in Ghana. The bankruptcy of the country and the public disappointment in Dr. Nkrumah as an independent African leader was echoed by a temporary retreat of membership from the African indigenous churches and a corresponding rise of membership by Ghanaians in the older European missions¹⁰⁸. Yet this back-lash against the AICs was not to last too long. Independent African churches found their next jet propulsion in a “Third Wave” explosion of various Charismatic denominations and newer, non-Zionist/non-Aladura Pentecostal groups that began to multiply in Africa from the 1970’s and ‘80’s onwards—in addition to the earlier

¹⁰⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 October 1992, Log 3, p. 108-110, and 22 September 1994, Log 30, p. 1908; Adolphus R. TURKSON. “Contrafactum and Parodied Song Texts in Religious Music Traditions of Africa: A Search for the Ultimate Reality and Meaning of Worship,” *Ultimate Reality and Meaning*, vol. 10, n° 3, 1995, p. 165; Kofi Poku QUAN-BAFFOUR. “Africanising the Catholic Mass Celebration in Ghana: Recognising Cultural Identity or Agenda to Retain the Faithful?” *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, Church History Society of Southern Africa and Unisa Press, vol. 44, n° 2, 2018, #2822, <https://www.upjournals.co.za/index.php/SHE/article/view/2822/2306>, p. 8.

¹⁰⁵ Emmanuel MARTEY. *African Theology* [...], p. 8.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁸ J. D. Y. PEEL. “Reviews”, *Africa*, vol. 53, n° 3, July 1983, p. 92.

“classical” Pentecostal groups, such as the Assemblies of God and the Apostolic Church (Bradford, UK), and their various AIC break-off/daughter churches that had been working within the Gold Coast/Ghana since the 1930’s¹⁰⁹.

Sociologist Assimeng concludes that the “charismata” of the Pentecostals—and “especially the ‘gift’ of divine healing—have been popularly embraced in Africa where traditional religion was itself strongly thaumaturgical, instrumental and expressive”¹¹⁰. While the advent of modern medicine and Western education helped unseat their old pagan gods when the first European missionaries arrived, the Africans in their newer AICs still seek the kind of “blessings” from Christ which they used to desire from their former gods—to be saved from witchcraft, sickness, poverty and death, etc.¹¹¹ This thaumaturgical practice of Christianity provides a spiritual solution without feeling “alien”¹¹², being a new manner “of satisfying old demands”¹¹³. Pentecostalism additionally dove-tails with African religious culture by offering a “legitimation of religious ecstasy” via informal, non-liturgical worship, which involves the entire congregation in “spontaneous” expressions of worship and rhythmical movements of dancing and clapping of hands¹¹⁴.

The recent “Third Wave” Charismatic and Pentecostal AICs continue the emphasis on the charismata (“Gifts of the Holy Spirit”) and the same informal, interactive Africanized style of worship as the “Second Wave” Pentecostal-style AICs. However, these newcomers have absolutely zero compromise with African Traditional religion and fetishes, they avoid any Zionist/Aladura-type AIC which might be syncretistic, and they stress the need to seek deliverance from demonic possession through prayer¹¹⁵. Thus, they tend to be more like the “classical Pentecostal”¹¹⁶ denominations who have worldwide affiliations. They are not afraid to attend numerous membership crusades and all-night worship services, while focusing heavily on prayers

¹⁰⁹ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 13, 18-21; ASEMPA PUBLISHERS (Eds.). *The Rise of Independent Churches in Ghana*, p. 8-10.

¹¹⁰ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. xiii.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 255, 261.

¹¹² Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 2.

¹¹³ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 262.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 260-261.

¹¹⁵ Meera VENKATACHALAM. *Slavery, Memory and Religion in Southeastern Ghana, c.1850–Present*, Coll. “The International African Library,” vol. 49, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, 2015 [2017], p. 174, 176.

¹¹⁶ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 18-19.

for blessings of wealth and personal success¹¹⁷. They often use modern advertising and mass media (TV, Internet, radio) to appeal to a wider audience, and tend to be “post-nationalistic”, “transnational” and “international”, thus distinguishing them from the earlier “Second Wave” AICs of the 1950’s and 1960’s period of African independence which had a more nationalist, pro-independence flavor¹¹⁸.

This crest of “Third Wave” AICs has yet to reach its “high water” mark, as Africa races towards fulfilling the prediction made by the well-known religious demographic researcher David B. Barrett who predicted that by the year 2000 much of Africa would be Christian¹¹⁹. His prophecy has become reality right before our very eyes. 21st Century researchers note that by its own admission Africa is mainly Christian¹²⁰, with 62.9% of sub-Saharan Africans identifying themselves as Christian in 2010¹²¹. Scholars recognize that one hundred years ago nobody would have predicted the fact that Christianity would become the predominant religion on the continent¹²². While Christianity in Europe has drastically declined over the last 100 years, it has dramatically increased in Africa over the same time period. Sub-Saharan Africa is witnessing the fastest church growth on the planet, having grown from being 9% Christian in 1910 (9 million) to being 63% Christian in 2010 (517 million)¹²³. According to the Pew Research Center, one hundred years ago Europe was home to nearly 66% of the world’s Christians, while in 2010 it hosted only about 26%¹²⁴. Statisticians project that at the current rate, by 2050, only 15.6% of the world’s Christians will live in Europe, while by that same year 38% of the world’s Christians will live in sub-Saharan Africa¹²⁵.

¹¹⁷ Meera VENKATACHALAM. *Slavery, Memory and Religion* [...], p. 172.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 172, 174, 176.

¹¹⁹ David B. BARRETT. “AD 2000: 350 Million Christians in Africa,” *International Review of Mission*, vol. 59, n° 233, January 1970, p. 47.

¹²⁰ Jonathan J. BONK. “Africa and the Christian Mission,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, vol. 33, n° 2, April 2009, New Haven, Connecticut, Overseas Ministries Study Center, p. 1.

¹²¹ “World Christian Population by Region, 2010 and 2050,” in Conrad HACKETT et al., “The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010-2050—Christians,” *Pew Research Center*, put online 02 April 2015, (page consulted on 16 May 2019), <https://www.pewforum.org/2015/04/02/christians>, p. 4, chart.

¹²² Jonathan J. BONK. “Africa and the Christian Mission” [...], p. 1.

¹²³ Conrad HACKETT. “Global Christianity—A Report on the Size and Distribution of the World’s Christian Population,” *Pew Research Center*, Religion and Public Life, Pew Forum, put online 19 December 2011, (page consulted on 31 January 2019), <http://www.pewforum.org/2011/12/19/global-christianity-exec>, p. 1, par. 3 & 5; “World Christian Population by Region, 2010 and 2050” [...], p. 4, chart.

¹²⁴ Conrad HACKETT. “Global Christianity [...]”, p. 1, par. 2.

¹²⁵ “Global Share of Christians by Region, 1910-2050,” in Conrad HACKETT et al., “The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010-2050,” *Pew Research Center*, 02 April 2015, in David MASCI, “Christianity poised to continue its shift from Europe to Africa,” *Pew Research Center*, put online 07 April 2015,

As participants in Africa's contemporary religious transformation, by the end of the 20th Century the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa had also caught this tidal wave of indigenous church growth, opening twenty-one (21) new missionary dioceses in sub-Saharan Africa in the last 25 years¹²⁶. Such is the momentum of the recent "Waves" of AICs that have flooded Africa! It is not surprising, therefore, that a 2010 Ghanaian census report stated that 71.2% of its (then nearly) 25 million citizens declared themselves to be some form of "Christian", while only 5.2% still worshipped the African traditional deities¹²⁷. Of course, these statistics use a very "wide" definition for the term "Christian", having been collected by professional secular demographics researchers. Every possible variation of group and sect that *self-identifies* as "Christian" has been included, even groups which the historical Orthodox Catholic Church would consider "schismatic", "heretical," or even "syncretistic" and "non-Christian".

Conclusion

Pan-Africanism impacted African theology immensely in the 20th Century. Despite its many definitions and phases, the revolution it birthed is recognized as having an underlying "ultimate objective" which "has always been to bring *total liberation* to the African in *all areas* of human existence—*political, social, economic, cultural and religious*"¹²⁸. This "pro-Garvey" definition of Pan-African emancipation intersected with African theology's stress on "Africanization", "indigenization", and "inculturation", while also planting the roots of South Africa's future "liberation" theology¹²⁹. The blending of Garveyite Pan-Africanist aspirations with the independent African church (AIC) phenomenon will manifest specifically in the efforts of Laura Adorkor Kofey, whose life and work impacted that of Bresi-Ando tremendously, as will be shown in the following Chapter Seven: "The Link Between Garvey and Bresi-Ando: Gold Coast

(page consulted on 22 May 2019), <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/04/07/christianity-is-poised-to-continue-its-southward-march>, chart.

¹²⁶ "Holy Archdioceses," *The official website of Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa*. (Page consulted on 15 August 2019), <http://www.patriarchateofalexandria.com/index.php?module=content&cid=004001>; "Holy Dioceses," *The official website of Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa*. (Page consulted on 15 August 2019), <http://www.patriarchateofalexandria.com/index.php?module=content&cid=004002>.

¹²⁷ GHANA STATISTICAL SERVICE. *2010 Population & Housing Census: Summary Report of Final Results*, Accra, Ghana, Ghana Statistical Service, May 2012, [PDF file], *Ghana Statistical Service* website, put online 28 April 2016, (page consulted on 23 November 2018), http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/gssmain/storage/img/marqueeupdater/Census2010_Summary_report_of_final_results.pdf, p. 40, Table 16.

¹²⁸ Emmanuel MARTEY. *African Theology* [...], p. 8—italics added.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. xi.

Garveyist Princess Laura Adorkor Kofey and the African Universal Church and Commercial League (AUCCL).”

From South Africa near the end of the 19th Century arose the “First Wave” in the African Independent Church (AIC) movement, known as “Ethiopianism”, whose black clergy desired equality with whites in high church office, while also expressing embryonic African nationalism via their churches. Early examples of this religious reaction to colonial white racism are the Tembu National Church in South Africa (1884) and the Native Baptist Church (Nigeria, 1888). The “Second Wave” of AICs, known as “Zionist”/“Aladura”/“Spirit”/“Spiritual”/“prophet-healing churches” followed in the early decades of the 20th Century as African experimental modifications to worship, belief, and ecclesial government were introduced in indigenous churches. Central to this group of churches was its more fundamental reaction to the white man’s presentation of the Christian Gospel. This was the Africans’ rejection of the “Nominalist” rationalist modern Enlightenment-based Western worldview in favor of their own premodern innate African vision of reality. By seeking a form of Christianity which dealt honestly and victoriously with their experience of the darkness of resident evil, the Second Wave re-contextualized Christianity for the African and set the stage for the dramatic growth of the AICs throughout the 20th Century. Unfortunately, their occasional unmooring from traditional doctrine often led members of this category into varying degrees of syncretism. Gold Coast examples of these new “Spiritual” Second Wave AICs are The Church of the Twelve Apostles (Nackabah) and The Musama Disco Christo Church (MDCC). The mid-century African political independence movement dramatically spurred the growth of AIC membership, causing a crisis in the foreign mission churches which forced them to “Africanize” elements of their worship-style as well. A huge “Third Wave” of Charismatic and new Pentecostal-type churches followed, beginning in the 1970’s, which continues to spawn new growth in Ghana and across the continent. This group gears more toward “classical” global Pentecostal expression and belief and explicitly avoids any syncretistic “Zionist”/“Aladura” elements.

This background in Pan-African theology and modern African church history now brings us back to our original focus. We are limited to the time frame of the late 1920’s and the decade of the 1930’s—the latter days of the Garvey era. What has been mentioned in passing about Pan-Africanism’s effect upon South African liberation theology comes too late in the 20th Century for

this present thesis. Any theological response of Bresi-Ando's church to the Ghanaian political movement (1948-1957), or what happened with the Charismatics and newer Pentecostals of the 1970's and 1980's "Third Wave" of AICs, or the new missionary dioceses of the Alexandrian Patriarchate at the end of the 20th Century, is beyond our scope. This present research project promises to analyze Bishop Bresi-Ando's 1930's AIC. However, it is ironic that Bresi-Ando's little Ghanaian church by the end of the 20th Century would prove to be part of the amazing missionary renaissance of the Patriarchate of Alexandria!

As an independent African church planter, Bresi-Ando definitely participated in the "First Wave" of the AIC movement. Chapter 13 on "Bresi-Ando's *Socio-Cultural* Emancipation" and Chapter 14 on "Bresi-Ando's *Religious* Emancipation" will bear this out in detail, while also relating how Bresi-Ando's "Ethiopianist" "First Wave" AIC also incorporated some "Second Wave" indigenous Africanizations. Such evidence will be brought to light to try to see if Bresi-Ando, like his contemporary Marcus Garvey, was fully committed to the complete emancipation of the black man. To that end, we can now move on and examine the actual historical link between Garvey and Bresi-Ando.

The crucial Pan-African connection between Bresi-Ando's AIC and Marcus Garvey is the late 1920's "Back-to-Africa" Movement of the Garveyite Gold Coast Princess Laura Adorkor Kofey. Kofey's "Back-to-Africa" drive was an intersection of Pan-Africanism with theology. While living in the United States, this Gold Coast female preacher mixed together Garveyism and Protestant Christian theology and started her own independent black church and social movement, which Bishop Bresi-Ando inherited in a 1931 church merger and imported into the Gold Coast Colony in 1932. What I term "the Kofey synthesis" is a perfect research exhibit of early 20th Century Pan-Africanist theology in action. Kofey is the *missing link* in this study which literally connects the brewing emancipationist efforts of Bishop Bresi-Ando in West Africa with the radical "Back-to-Africa" call announced in the U.S.A. by the world-famous Pan-Africanist Marcus Garvey.

**SECTION ONE: BRESI-ANDO'S ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT
WITHIN THE 1930's GOLD COAST COLONY**

**CHAPTER 7 THE LINK BETWEEN GARVEY AND BRESI-ANDO: GOLD COAST
GARVEYIST PRINCESS LAURA ADORKOR KOFEY AND THE AFRICAN
UNIVERSAL CHURCH AND COMMERCIAL LEAGUE (AUCCL)**

Purpose

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the historical role of Princess Laura Adorkor Kofey and her African Universal Church in linking the Pan-Africanist efforts of Marcus Garvey in the New World with those of Bishop Bresi-Ando in West Africa. Kofey was a native of the Gold Coast who so admired Garvey's philosophy that she traveled to America in the mid-1920's in order to get involved in his movement. Her short but amazing career as a UNIA National Field Representative attracted literally thousands of new members to the Garvey cause at a time when it was declining due to Marcus' imprisonment in 1925¹. However, her success went sour in the mind of Garvey, who turned against her, as will be shown in this chapter. Her assassination in Miami in 1928 cut her life short but spurred on her followers to continue her Garveyite "Back-to-Africa" program. Searching for African leadership in Africa who could help them realize their repatriation objective, they found Bresi-Ando.

Sources

Much of the content in this chapter has been thoroughly researched by scholars Robert A. Hill, Richard Newman, Barbara Bair, and Kip Vought who have studied the wide trail of Marcus Garvey and the particular steps of his erstwhile assistant, Laura Adorkor Kofey. At the head of the scholarship stands Robert Hill whose 15-volume collection of Marcus Garvey primary sources knows no equal: *The Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers* (University of California Press and Duke University Press). Editing this masterpiece for decades, Hill's own analysis and comments about Kofey are based on this tremendous compilation of data which he has amassed. While Hill's primary objective is Marcus Garvey, old newspaper articles in his collection, along with his own footnotes, flesh out the details of the Kofey adventure.

¹ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, vol. VII, Berkley, University of California Press, 1991, p. 170, footnote 4; David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 134.

The researcher, however, who has done the most to bring the Kofey story into the public eye is Richard Newman. Recognized by his peers as definitive, Newman's essay, "'Warrior Mother of Africa's Warriors of the Most High God': Laura Adorkor Kofey and the African Universal Church," was presented to the American Academy of Religion in 1973 and 1976, and is available in several books—*Black Power and Black Religion: Essays and Reviews* (1987), with Foreword by Robert A. Hill, and, *This Far By Faith: Readings in African-American Women's Religious Biography*, (Routledge, 1996), co-edited by Judith Weisenfeld and Richard Newman. Searching for new primary source material, Newman examined old newspaper articles and conducted personal interviews with people who knew Laura Kofey or were a part of her African Universal Church (AUC). In 1971 he traveled to Ghana to interview Archbishop Carey Harold Jones, an AUC minister who repatriated to the Gold Coast in 1932 and partnered with the missionary efforts of Bishop Bresi-Ando. Newman's 1973 interview with Ernest Sears in Miami, Florida, settled conclusively the academic debate over Kofey's claimed African identity (more on this later).

Researcher Barbara Bair builds upon the work of Newman in her essay, "'Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth Her Hands Unto God': Laura Kofey and the Gendered Vision of Redemption in the Garvey Movement." Bair uses some of Newman's research while also consulting many primary source articles from Garvey's *Negro World* periodical. Available in *A Mighty Baptism: Race, Gender, and the Creation of American Protestantism* (edited by Susan Juster and Lisa MacFarlane, Cornell, 1996), Bair's essay is also found online at panafricannews.blogspot.com/2007/08/shall-stretch-forth-her-hands-unto-god.html.

Researcher Kip Vought brings the tragic 1928 assassination of Laura Kofey into clear focus in his article in *TEQUESTA: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida*, (vol. LX, 2000, p. 56-76): "Racial Stirrings in Colored Town: The UNIA in Miami during the 1920s." Vought uses Hill's compilation of the Garvey papers plus personal interviews with witnesses who personally saw Kofey in action, such as James Nimmo, one of two men indicted (and acquitted) for Kofey's still-unsolved murder.

Structure

This *seventh* and final chapter of context Section One is divided into *four* parts, which follow a straightforward historical flow.

- 1) Kofey's beginning as a Garveyite regional organizer in the American South
- 2) Garvey and Kofey separate over religion and repatriation plan
- 3) The Kofey synthesis: the Princess forms her own African Universal Church and Commercial League (AUCCL)
- 4) The search for new African leadership for the AUCCL

The first part of this chapter describes Princess Kofey's work as a Garveyite regional organizer in the American Deep South. It starts with her Gold Coast origin and her call to apostleship, relates her Pan-African message, and speaks of her sudden rise to fame in the UNIA due to her amazing recruitment results. The second part explains how Kofey and Garvey separated paths over their approach to religion and the repatriation plan. Her revivalist crusading style sparked opposition from the African-American ministerial alliances, while Garvey himself rejected Kofey and his UNIA launched a persecution against her. The third part describes the "Kofey synthesis" of Pan-African Garveyism and religion in the formation of Kofey's "African Universal Church and Commercial League" (AUCCL). Competition between the rival UNIA and AUCCL organizations led to Kofey's assassination in 1928 in Florida. The fourth part of the chapter relates the story of the AUCCL's search for new African leadership after Kofey's murder, a quest which eventually connected the organization with Bresi-Ando's AIC in West Africa in 1931.

1. Kofey's beginning as a Garveyite regional organizer in the American South

The African Universal Church and Commercial League (AUCCL) was an African-American "Back-to-Africa" repatriation movement which was started in Florida in late 1927 by a certain Laura Adorkor Kofey (Koffey), a Gold Coast woman from the Ga tribe who had traveled to the United States². Laura Adorkor Kofey (ca. 1893-1928)—alias Laura Adorka Kofi, Laura Adorker

² Max ASSIMENG. "Methodological Africanism [...]," p. 68-69. Date of founding of the African Universal Church and Commercial League (AUCCL) is most likely 25 September 1927. If not founded exactly on this date, it was established in the fall of 1927, most certainly by January 1st 1928. For the 25 September 1927 date, see: Kubini

Kofey, Princess Laura Koffey, Mother Kofi, Laura Champion, etc.³—appeared on the American public scene (in late 1926 in New Orleans and early 1927 in Florida) as a dynamic and effective regional organizer for Marcus Garvey’s famous UNIA, the Universal Negro Improvement Association⁴.

1.1. Gold Coast origin and her call to “apostleship”

Born in the Gold Coast Colony, Adorkor Kofey said she was the daughter of a tribal Paramount Chief⁵—“King Knesipi”⁶—and for this reason many Americans called her “Princess”, but her devoted followers lovingly referred to her as “Mother Koffey”⁷. Certain American critics later decried Kofey’s Gold Coast birth, calling her a fake named “Laura Champion” who was really a native African-American from Atlanta or Athens, Georgia, U.S.A.⁸. However, the Paramount Chief of the Accra Ga tribal community over-turned this fiction by testifying of Kofey’s Ghanaian birth⁹. Originally she was a church member in a First Wave AIC, the United Native African

KEYES. “*Our Blessed Mother*” *The Martyred Saint Princess Laura Adorka Kofi*, Jacksonville, FL, [s.n.], 31 May 1999, 35 p., Library of Congress No. TX0006006951, [PDF file], in *Princess Laura Adorka Kofi Website*, “Life and Ministry, Supplemental Biography,” put online 21 September 2016, (page consulted on 07 September 2018), <http://www.lauraakofi.org>, p. 19-20; For 1927 date, see: Sherry Sherrod DUPREE. *African-American Holiness Pentecostal Movement: An Annotated Bibliography*, Coll. “Religious Information Systems,” vol. 4, New York and London, Garland Publishing, 1996, p. 350, Annotation 2110; For 1927 date, see: “Laura Adorkor Kofey research collection, 1926-1981,” Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library, *The New York Public Library Archives & Manuscripts*, Accessioned 25 April 1988, put online 2000, (page consulted on 28 November 2010), <http://www.nypl.org/ead/3880?iamaselector=#id1280711>, p. 2; For “circa 01 January 1928”, see: Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. xcvi-xcvii, cli.

³ Concerning her name, different authors have multiplied their variant spellings: Laura Adorkor Koffey, Laura Adorkor Coffey, Adorkor Cofie, Adorka Kofi, Laura Adorkor Kofi, Princess Adorka Koffey, Princess Laura Cofey, Mother Koffey, Rev. Laura Kofi, etc. For variant names, see: Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. VII, p. 169; Barbara BAIR. “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]” p. 38; *Negro World*, 19 April 1930; Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 142; Larry G. MURPHY, J. Gordon MELTON, Gary L. WARD (Eds.). “African Universal Church,” *Encyclopedia of African American Religions*, Coll. “Religious Information Systems,” vol. 9, J. Gordon Melton (Gen. Ed.), New York, Routledge, 2011, p. 27-28; Sherry Sherrod DUPREE. *African-American Holiness Pentecostal Movement* [...], p. 350, Annotation 2110; Kubini KEYES. “*Our Blessed Mother*” *The Martyred Saint* [...], p. 1.

⁴ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. xcvi-xcvii, cxlix, & 405 footnote 2; Barbara BAIR. “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]” p. 54.

⁵ Barbara BAIR. “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]” p. 55; Larry G. MURPHY, J. Gordon MELTON, Gary L. WARD (Eds.). “African Universal Church,” p. 27.

⁶ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 131.

⁷ Larry G. MURPHY, J. Gordon MELTON, Gary L. WARD (Eds.). “African Universal Church,” p. 27.

⁸ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. 405 footnote 2.

⁹ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 142. On 25 July 1973 Newman interviewed Ernest Sears in Miami, Florida, and learned how Sears had traveled to Ghana in 1968 and 1971 during which he met some of Kofey’s existing Ghanaian relatives and Ga tribal leaders. The Paramount Chief of the Accra Ga tribal community (the Ga State) testified in writing of Laura Adorkor Kofey’s Ghanaian birth, stating “[t]he late Adorkor Cofie hailed from Sempe Division of the Ga (Accra) Traditional area.” In 1973 her closest living Ghanaian family

Church, which in the Gold Coast Colony had been renamed the “West African Episcopal Church (St Andrews)”¹⁰, but she was not content to stay there. Converting to Pentecostalism, Kofey sensed in her heart that God was calling her to preach the Gospel¹¹. Therefore, in 1924 she started her own church of which she was the pastor, located in her town of Asofa, not far from Lapaz, currently in the northwest district of greater Accra (ten miles from downtown)¹². She also began a mission station in Kumasi, in the Ashanti region¹³. By heading her own little African independent denomination (AIC) as a female preacher, Kofey was a first-class specimen of a Second Wave AIC, which experimented in theology and ecclesiology, sometimes utilizing female clerical leadership in a time period when such was unheard of within the mainstream European Protestant mission churches. Kofey openly claimed that God Himself had spoken to her through dreams, visions, and a miraculous recovery from a severe illness¹⁴, revealing that His will for her was “to travel to America and deliver a message of hope and redemption to African Americans”¹⁵. She said that God had heard their supplications and had selected her to be His messenger of emancipation¹⁶. This message, however, sounded very much like that of Marcus Garvey. Researcher Richard Newman was told by a key witness, Archbishop Carey H. Jones, in a personal interview in Accra, Ghana, in 1971, that Laura Adorkor Kofey had “read Garvey’s newspaper the *Negro World* while still in Africa and was converted to his ideas and thus inspired to travel to the United States and identify herself with the Garvey movement”¹⁷.

member was Mr. Buitiful Ouaye, the Chief Linguist for the Sempe Division chief’s court. (*Ibid.*, p. 140, 142, 145 footnotes 27 & 31).

¹⁰ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]”, p. 69.

¹¹ Larry G. MURPHY, J. Gordon MELTON, Gary L. WARD (Eds.). “African Universal Church,” p. 27.

¹² Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 132, 142; Kubini KEYES. “*Our Blessed Mother*” *The Martyred Saint* [...], p. 6. It is a coincidence that the present-day cathedral and headquarters of the Orthodox Archdiocese of Accra is also located in Lapaz.

¹³ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 142.

¹⁴ Kubini KEYES. “*Our Blessed Mother*” *The Martyred Saint* [...], p. 6.

¹⁵ Kubini KEYES. “Life & Ministry,” *Princess Laura Adorka Kofi Website*, put online 21 September 2016, (page consulted on 07 September 2018), <http://www.lauraakofi.org>, par. 1.

¹⁶ Kubini KEYES. “*Our Blessed Mother*” *The Martyred Saint* [...], p. 6.

¹⁷ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 145, footnotes 26 and 33, interview of Archbishop Jones by Newman in Accra, Ghana, on 01 July 1971. This testimony is quite amazing for this research as Jones was a huge player in the history of Bresi-Ando’s African Universal Church, as will be demonstrated in Section Two. Rev. Jones was an Afro-American Garveyite from Florida who joined Kofey’s African Universal Church and Commercial League (AUCCL) and became one of the six American “industrial missionaries” that the AUCCL later repatriated back to West Africa.

1.2. The Princess' Pan-African message

Motivated (by both God and Garvey) to come to America to work for Garvey's UNIA movement, Kofey's central aim—and later, that of her church—was to convince African-Americans to go back to Africa and to cooperate in evangelism and commerce with Africans¹⁸. She openly claimed that she had been sent by her father, a Gold Coast chief, to mobilize and lead African-Americans back home to Africa¹⁹.

I am a representative from the Gold Coast of West Africa, seeking the welfare of Africa's children everywhere [...] I have come to bring you a message of good news and glad tidings [...] Your kings and leaders of Africa who are your fathers and your native people who are your brothers and sisters have also given me a MESSAGE to ask you: They say you have been a long time away from home, why have you not made PREPARATIONS to come home?²⁰

In America, Kofey preached all the major Garveyite themes of “Back-to-Africa” repatriation, black pride, and universal race emancipation:

Negroes you have lost your name, you have lost your language, you have lost your heritage. My God showed me, it come [*sic*] a time you will wish you were as black as the ace of spades. Negroes be proud of your woolly hair and the color of your skin. Go back to yourselves, that's back to Africa and that is back to God.²¹

Kofey urged African-Americans to be proud of themselves and to become self-sufficient, to trust in God and return to their African culture²². She promoted black unity, black education and black pride but was not racist²³. Across the American South “Princess” Kofey held audiences of hundreds of African-Americans “spellbound” for hours as she exclaimed: “God called me out of Africa to come over here and tell you, His people, what He would have you do.”²⁴ Her words spoke of a “burning message from the kings of the Gold Coast, West Africa [...] that the door is now opened in the Gold Coast to the four hundred million Negroes of the world, and no power can

¹⁸ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 69.

¹⁹ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 131.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 134-135—emphasis in original.

²¹ Laura A. KOFEY quoted by Eli B. NYOMBOLO, *The Mission Crusader*, [s.l.][s.n], 1963, [n.p.], out of print, in Richard NEWMAN, *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 134.

²² Kubini KEYES. “Our Blessede Mother” *The Martyred Saint* [...], p. 9-10.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Negro World*, 07 May 1927, 02 July 1927; Laura A. KOFEY quoted by Eli B. NYOMBOLO, *The Mission Crusader*, [s.l.][s.n], 1963, [n.p.], out of print, in Richard NEWMAN, *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 134.

shut it until all have entered”²⁵. Because she was from Africa, Adorkor Kofey’s testimony amazed her American audiences, as she spoke of the great size of Africa with its natural raw resources (gold, diamonds, land, etc.) and its huge economic potential, big enough to prosper everyone who would desire to participate in its development²⁶. Using the principle of self-sufficiency that she had been taught in the United Native African Church, Kofey was completely convinced that all her dreams for her Pan-African program rested upon black Africa’s willingness “to lay a solid foundation for her economic emancipation from the auspices of the Western World”²⁷.

1.3. Sudden rise to fame in the UNIA

Marcus Garvey was in jail in Atlanta at this time (since February 1925)²⁸, which was a real period of “doubt and crisis” for the UNIA movement in general²⁹, with many local chapters suffering loss of members³⁰. Into this local leadership vacuum in 1926 appeared Laura Adorkor Kofey³¹, who moved quickly through the American Deep South “like a meteor brightening the sky”³², seemingly coming from “out of nowhere”³³. Having come from Africa to assist Garvey’s movement, Kofey first spoke to UNIA audiences in Panama, Central America, in the summer of 1926³⁴. She then entered the United States, passed through New York and Chicago³⁵, and assisted the UNIA division in Detroit, before moving South to do recruitment for the lagging UNIA division in New Orleans in the fall of the same year³⁶. Beginning in New Orleans, Louisiana, and moving through Alabama and into Florida, Kofey gave rousing recruitment speeches at Southern UNIA gatherings, “telling the many thousands that heard her that the Garvey movement was the best organization in

²⁵ Kip VOUGHT. “Racial Stirrings in Colored Town [...]” p. 68; *Negro World*, 14 May 1925.

²⁶ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 135.

²⁷ Kubini KEYES. “Our Blessed Mother” *The Martyred Saint* [...], p. 7.

²⁸ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 134.

²⁹ Barbara BAIR. “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]” p. 54.

³⁰ Kip VOUGHT. “Racial Stirrings in Colored Town [...]” p. 67.

³¹ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. VII, p. 169, Hill provides the date of 1926; Barbara BAIR. “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]” p. 54, Bair also uses the date of “the fall of 1926”.

³² Barbara BAIR. “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]” p. 54.

³³ Rev. Leon BROWN, West Hollywood, Florida, interview by Richard Newman, 24 July 1973, in Richard NEWMAN, *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 131.

³⁴ Barbara BAIR. “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]” p. 54.

³⁵ Kubini KEYES. “Our Blessed Mother” *The Martyred Saint* [...], p. 8.

³⁶ Barbara BAIR. “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]” p. 54.

the world”³⁷. As a “major regional organizer” for the UNIA³⁸, Kofey drew in 1000’s of new converts to the Marcus Garvey movement, establishing new UNIA divisions and re-invigorating dying ones, in Mobile, Alabama, and throughout Florida—in Jacksonville, Miami, West Palm Beach, Tampa and St. Petersburg³⁹. Research Barbara Bair sums up Kofey’s sudden fame: “By the spring of 1927 her influence as a highly charismatic apostle of Garveyism had gained her wide recognition. She was now a stellar phenomenon on the UNIA scene.”⁴⁰

1.4. Amazing recruitment results

In April 1927⁴¹, hundreds of Negroes in Jacksonville, Florida, rushed to respond to her crusading call, with more than 900 new UNIA members signing on during three weeks of nightly inspirational speeches by the “Princess”⁴². When her May 1927 visit to Miami drew crowds of 3,000 who were “hungry for the truth” and added another 800 new members to the Garvey movement, a local UNIA secretary stated: “Mrs. Coffey is marvelous. Garveyism was spreading like wild fire down here in Miami. Mrs. Coffey has done untold good and is still doing it.”⁴³ Then in Tampa, Florida, over a ten day period in June 1927, Kofey gained another 322 new members for the UNIA⁴⁴. By the summer of 1927, the UNIA periodical, the *Negro World*, enthusiastically reported that Kofey had “stormed St. Petersburg [*Florida*] when one thousand Negroes heard her upholding the principles of Africa for the Africans and its founder, Hon. Marcus Garvey”⁴⁵. While Kofey was busy convincing American Negroes “that they need freedom and Africa needs them”⁴⁶, the *Negro World* was busy rejoicing in Kofey’s captivating recruitment efforts through which hundreds and hundreds of new Negro members now “were looking through black spectacles”⁴⁷.

³⁷ J. A. CRAIGEN, UNIA Special Representative. Letter to the Editor of the *Miami Daily News*, 07 April 1928, in Robert A. HILL (Ed.), *The Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, vol. VII, Berkley, University of California Press, 1991, p. 169.

³⁸ Barbara BAIR. “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]” p. 55.

³⁹ *Ibid.*; J. A. CRAIGEN, UNIA Special Representative. Letter to the Editor [...], in Robert A. HILL (Ed.), *The Marcus Garvey [...]*, vol. VII, p. 169.

⁴⁰ Barbara BAIR. “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]” p. 54.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 54-55.

⁴² Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey [...]*, vol. X, p. 405, footnote 2; *Negro World*, 21 May 1927.

⁴³ Barbara BAIR. “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]” p. 55-56; *Negro World*, 11 June 1927.

⁴⁴ Barbara BAIR. “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]” p. 56; *Negro World*, 23 July 1927.

⁴⁵ Edward N. HALL. “African Princess Roots for African Redemption,” *Negro World*, 09 July 1927, in Robert A. HILL (Ed.), *The Marcus Garvey [...]*, vol. X, p. 405, footnote 2.

⁴⁶ Kip VOUGHT. “Racial Stirrings in Colored Town [...]” p. 69.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*; *Negro World*, 11 June 1927.

Being seen as “a prophet of Garveyism”⁴⁸, Kofey was hailed by the UNIA leadership in Jacksonville “as a real conscientious race-lover, and a real product and representative of Garveyism”⁴⁹. Charles L. Harrison, a UNIA division member in Miami remembers well Laura Kofey’s remarkable actions as a UNIA “National Field Representative” who added 5,000 new members and “new life” to the Garvey movement which was in decline due to its leader’s imprisonment⁵⁰. Harrison said of Kofey that “she came not to fight the [*Garvey*] movement but to add strength to it”⁵¹. Researcher Barbara Bair calls Kofey a “highly charismatic apostle of Garveyism” who “preached the combination of nationalist religion, Pan-Africanism, education, and enterprise that formed the core ideology of the Garvey movement, reinforcing it with her direct personal knowledge of Africa”⁵². The literal “Back-to-Africa” version of Pan-Africanism stayed central to her ideology⁵³. Kofey presented the Garveyite “vision of African redemption” personified in the favorite Bible verse of the Garvey movement, one which Marcus often quoted in his speeches, Psalm 68:31—“Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands unto God”⁵⁴. With this approach Kofey, like Garvey, motivated her audiences to embrace “a Pan-African consciousness”⁵⁵. However, Bair points out that Kofey had an advantage in her favor. As an African addressing Afro-Americans, she spoke with first-hand knowledge of her subject⁵⁶.

2. Garvey and Kofey separate over religion and repatriation plan

Laura Adorkor Kofey openly told her Garvey-loving audiences that she was the friend of Marcus and that she had his blessing to work for him while he was in prison⁵⁷. However, ideological differences over the role of theology in politics, and perhaps human jealousy, eventually separated Garvey from Kofey, who had begun a policy of synthesis—blending the Pan-Africanist themes of

⁴⁸ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. 405, footnote 2.

⁴⁹ Barbara BAIR. “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]” p. 54; *Negro World*, 14 May 1927.

⁵⁰ Charles L. HARRISON. Letter to Theodore G. Bilbo, 02 May 1938, Theodore Bilbo Papers, University of Southern Mississippi, Hattiesburg, in Robert A. HILL (Ed.), *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. VII, p. 170-171, footnote 4.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Barbara BAIR. “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]” p. 54-55.

⁵³ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 69.

⁵⁴ Barbara BAIR. “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]” p. 41.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 41, 54.

⁵⁷ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 131.

black internationalism and “Back-to-Africa” repatriation with commerce *and* religion⁵⁸. As she mixed together her ideas of Christian theology, economic self-improvement, and an impending “exodus” of African-Americans emigrating back to Africa, Kofey quickly formed a large group of her own loyal followers⁵⁹. This new combination pushed the fundamental trajectory of her momentum off of Garvey’s UNIA rails.

2.1. Kofey’s revivalist crusading style

As his political/social organization had expanded, Garvey had been very careful not to position the UNIA as a new African-American “church” nor as a religious movement—though he did have chaplains for the local UNIA chapters (“divisions”), as well as a national chaplain, the most famous being Rev. George Alexander McGuire⁶⁰. On the other hand, unlike other UNIA organizers, Kofey, being a very dynamic and religious orator, broke with Garvey’s protocol and ran her UNIA meetings like a black church, in the manner of evangelical “camp-style” revivalism⁶¹. Being a “charismatic evangelist and preacher”⁶², and perhaps due to her experience as a female Pentecostal pastor in Africa, Mother Kofey conducted her UNIA recruitment drive as real religious “crusade” for Christ⁶³. Holding her Bible, she preached on Sunday mornings, Sunday evenings, and “every night of the week”⁶⁴, explaining Scriptures with “soul stirring exhortations”⁶⁵ which spoke to the Negroes’ subjected heart, inviting them to “Enroll your name with your Mother”⁶⁶. Her adoring followers “spoke of the Spirit of Divine LOVE radiating all over and through her [...*which*] inspired the same among one another”⁶⁷. They remembered how, as Kofey preached from the Word of God, “she would often rise to heights of spiritual fever [*sic.*]” and would prophesy⁶⁸, saying: “My God showed me, hard times are around the corner. [...] You are going to lose your

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁵⁹ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. xcvi-xcix.

⁶⁰ Kip VOUGHT. “Racial Stirrings in Colored Town [...]” p. 65; Barbara BAIR. “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]” p. 43.

⁶¹ Barbara BAIR. “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]” p. 54.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 54-55; Kubini KEYES. “*Our Blessed Mother*” *The Martyred Saint* [...], p. 8-9.

⁶⁴ Barbara BAIR. “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]” p. 38, 55.

⁶⁵ Kubini KEYES. “Life & Ministry,” par. 11.

⁶⁶ Kubini KEYES. “*Our Blessed Mother*” *The Martyred Saint* [...], p. 9, 33; Eli B. NYOMBOLO. *Mother’s Sacred Teachings*, Jacksonville, Florida, The Mafo Ile-Ife, 1962, p. 61.

⁶⁷ Kubini KEYES. “*Our Blessed Mother*” *The Martyred Saint* [...], p. 33—emphasis in original.

⁶⁸ Eli B. NYOMBOLO. *Mother’s Sacred Teachings*, [n.p.], in Kubini KEYES, “*Our Blessed Mother*” *The Martyred Saint* [...], p. 9.

jobs and never get them back. Times will be so hard. Many will eat out of the garbage cans.”⁶⁹ Therefore, due to such sobering thoughts, Mother Kofey offered her “God-ordained Program” as their social-economic solution: New World Negroes needed to sign up with her program to return to Africa and/or to develop black economic self-sufficiency by helping each other and by developing commerce with Africans overseas⁷⁰. (Interestingly, Kofey’s economic prophecy rang true the year after she died, when the Stock Market crashed in 1929, launching the Great Depression⁷¹.)

2.2. Opposition from the African-American Ministerial Alliances

Kofey’s revivalist style was reported to have emptied the pews of the other local African-American churches in Southern towns⁷², as a multitude of Negroes received Kofey “as a messenger and Prophet of the Most High God, who alone had transformed her into such a glorious Christ-personality [...] having called her out of Africa to awaken her people back to His Program”⁷³. This new religious revivalist style of Kofey began to upset the fine line that the UNIA was walking, which was trying very hard not to irritate the African-American ministers of the various Black denominations. The UNIA did not want to be seen as a church body competing with other church bodies for membership, but rather wanted to be a social/political organization which united all people of African descent⁷⁴.

As a result, over time, two groups of opponents grew up against Kofey. There were UNIA leaders who were frightened by her sudden success and fame, viewing it as a threat to their UNIA; and, there were African America clergy from ministerial alliances who viewed Kofey as a hazard to their own churches since, because of her preaching, their own church memberships were

⁶⁹ Eli B. NYOMBOLO. *Mother’s Sacred Teachings*, Jacksonville, Florida, The Mafro Ile-Ife, 1962, p. 47.

⁷⁰ Kubini KEYES. “*Our Blessed Mother*” *The Martyred Saint* [...], p. 15, 18.

⁷¹ Eli B. NYOMBOLO. *Mother’s Sacred Teachings*, p. 47.

⁷² Kip VOUGHT. “Racial Stirrings in Colored Town [...],” p. 69.

⁷³ Kubini KEYES. “Life & Ministry,” par. 25.

⁷⁴ Kip VOUGHT. “Racial Stirrings in Colored Town [...],” p. 65, 69.

diminishing⁷⁵. When her black opponents complained to white sheriffs who were in the area for security, the officers' reply was that they should go "preach like that woman"⁷⁶.

2.3. Garvey rejects Kofey

However, the most dramatic turn of events occurred in the summer of 1927. After meeting with Kofey on 1 August 1927 in his prison in Atlanta⁷⁷, Garvey turned against the African princess⁷⁸. The problem occurred between Kofey and Garvey when she started to collect funds for her "back-to-Africa" repatriation scheme without his approval⁷⁹. Kofey raised \$1,000's from UNIA members to fund the African exodus and to purchase an African saw mill enterprise⁸⁰. Garvey got upset and claimed that Kofey did not have his consent for this fundraising and believed that she was fleecing the UNIA membership out of their hard-earned cash⁸¹. Therefore, in the fall of 1927, Garvey formally cut all connections between the UNIA and Kofey⁸². By preaching that she would charter Japanese ships using the raised funds in order to transport African-Americans back to Africa⁸³, Kofey had capitalized on a policy that sounded very much like the one Garvey had previously espoused but later abandoned. With such sermonizing Kofey excited many Negroes in Jacksonville and Miami, but not the imprisoned head of the UNIA⁸⁴. Garvey's own "Back-to-Africa" repatriation attempt to send "technical experts" as repatriated colonialists to Liberia, West Africa, had already failed terribly in 1924, contributing to his momentous decision in 1925 to re-tool and de-radicalize his once-radical UNIA program, moving it away from its former hostile,

⁷⁵ Charles L. HARRISON. Letter to Theodore G. Bilbo, 02 May 1938, Theodore Bilbo Papers, University of Southern Mississippi, Hattiesburg, in Robert A. HILL (Ed.), *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. VII, p. 142 footnote 1; Kubini KEYES. "Life & Ministry," par. 3.

⁷⁶ Eli B. NYOMBOLO. *Mother's Sacred Teachings*, [n.p.], in Kubini KEYES, "Our Blessed Mother" *The Martyred Saint* [...], p. 13.

⁷⁷ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. cl.

⁷⁸ Charles L. HARRISON. Letter to Theodore G. Bilbo, 02 May 1938, Theodore Bilbo Papers, University of Southern Mississippi, Hattiesburg, in Robert A. HILL (Ed.), *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. VII, p. 170-171, footnote 4; Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 132.

⁷⁹ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 132.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 132, 134; "Laura Adorkor Kofey research collection, 1926-1981," Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library, p. 1; J. A. CRAIGEN, UNIA Special Representative. Letter to the Editor of the *Miami Daily News*, 07 April 1928, in Robert A. HILL (Ed.), *The Marcus Garvey* [...] vol. VII, p. 169.

⁸¹ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 132.

⁸² "Laura Adorkor Kofey research collection, 1926-1981," Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library, p. 2; for specific date of 10 October 1927, see: Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. cl.

⁸³ Kip VOUGHT. "Racial Stirrings in Colored Town [...]," p. 68.

⁸⁴ J. A. CRAIGEN, UNIA Special Representative. Letter to the Editor of the *Miami Daily News*, 07 April 1928, in Robert A. HILL (Ed.), *The Marcus Garvey* [...] vol. VII, p. 169.

anti-colonialist stance⁸⁵. In 1925 Garvey had announced that he was abandoning his “outdated model of political radicalism” in order to move towards a more conservative approach⁸⁶. While official UNIA policy had changed direction and moved away from “Back-to-Africa” repatriation, Laura Kofey was now attempting to take the organization down the very road that Garvey had abandoned. She was acting independently of headquarters and was not following the new, subdued UNIA program.

While Kofey was telling excited audiences that she had Garvey’s blessing to collect funds for a saw mill⁸⁷, he started to “attack” her from his prison cell⁸⁸. In September, October and November of 1927 (just prior to his release from jail in November and his deportation to Jamaica on December 2nd)⁸⁹, using his *Negro World* newspaper and his personal representatives, Garvey began his campaign to denounce Kofey as a fraud who did not have authority to speak for the UNIA nor “to collect funds for an African colonization program”⁹⁰. Despite all that she had done to draw in thousands of new recruits for his organization, Garvey published notices which denied “any connection” between the UNIA and Laura Adorkor Kofey⁹¹, ordered his UNIA divisions not to “entertain” her⁹², and called for her arrest on charges of fraud if she should continue to collect funds “in the name” of the UNIA “or with the pretense” of his blessing⁹³.

2.4. The UNIA persecution of Kofey

Throughout the fall of 1927 and into the beginning of 1928, the UNIA persecution of Kofey mounted. Garvey’s loyal followers began to call Kofey a liar who was not really from Africa but was an American black woman named “Laura Champion” from either Atlanta or Athens, Georgia,

⁸⁵ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. lxxxiii-lxxxv.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. lxxxiv-lxxxv.

⁸⁷ J. A. CRAIGEN, UNIA Special Representative. Letter to the Editor [...], in Robert A. HILL (Ed.), *The Marcus Garvey* [...] vol. VII, p. 169.

⁸⁸ Charles L. HARRISON. Letter to Theodore G. Bilbo, 02 May 1938, Theodore Bilbo Papers, University of Southern Mississippi, Hattiesburg, in Robert A. HILL (Ed.), *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. VII, p. 170-171, footnote 4.

⁸⁹ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. cl.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*; Marcus GARVEY. Letter to Norton G. Thomas, 10 October 1927, in Robert A. HILL (Ed.), *The Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, vol. VI, Berkley, University of California Press, 1989, p. 599 and footnote 2; *Negro World*, 22 October 1927.

⁹¹ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. cl.

⁹² *Negro World*, 22 October 1927 and 22 November 1927.

⁹³ Marcus GARVEY. Editorial, *Negro World*, 18 February 1928, front page, and *Negro World*, 22 October 1927, in Barbara BAIR, “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...],” p. 56-57.

who was simply pretending to be African⁹⁴. (This accusation was proven false by Ernest Sears of the African Universal Church in Carver Ranches, Florida, when he travelled to Ghana in 1968 and 1971 and located Kofey's living family members among the Ga tribe in Accra⁹⁵.) Announcements appeared in the *Negro World* periodical ordering the local UNIA divisions not to host Kofey as a speaker any longer⁹⁶. There was even talk of Garvey revoking the charter of the large Jacksonville Division for "entertaining" Kofey⁹⁷. Due to the "fierce" "campaign to discredit" her, Mother Kofey was arrested but quickly released in Jacksonville, Florida, at the end of September 1927⁹⁸.

Most likely the main issue behind this disassociation by Garvey of his UNIA movement and Laura Kofey was the control of the masses. In Bair's opinion, Laura Kofey's "phenomenal ability to draw people and win their adoration threatened to dilute the *hero worship* that sustained Garvey's power, and the *threat she posed* was all the greater because of his own removal from the public arena due to his imprisonment"⁹⁹. Kofey had crossed a line that was not acceptable to Garvey, according to Bair: "Kofey the female apostle presenting Garvey as a savior figure and stirring audiences in his name was considered laudable; Kofey displacing Garvey as an authoritative voice and winning her own messianic following was not."¹⁰⁰

3. The Kofey synthesis: the Princess forms her own African Universal Church and Commercial League (AUCCL)

In response to both the Garvey denunciations and the resistance given her by the black ministerial alliances, somewhere between the end of September 1927¹⁰¹ and the beginning of January 1928¹⁰², Kofey formed her own organization in Florida, with large branches in Jacksonville and Miami¹⁰³.

⁹⁴ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 131-132; Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. 405 footnote 2.

⁹⁵ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 140, 142.

⁹⁶ Barbara BAIR, "Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]" p. 56; *Negro World*, 22 October 1927 and 22 November 1927.

⁹⁷ Barbara BAIR, "Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]" p. 56; Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 132.

⁹⁸ Kubini KEYES. "Our Blessede Mother" *The Martyred Saint* [...], p. 17-20.

⁹⁹ Barbara BAIR, "Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]" p. 56—italics added.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹⁰¹ Kubini KEYES. "Our Blessede Mother" *The Martyred Saint* [...], p. 19; Sherry Sherrod DUPREE. *African-American Holiness Pentecostal Movement: An Annotated Bibliography*, Coll. "Religious Information Systems," vol. 4, New York and London, Garland Publishing, 1996, p. 350, Annotation 2110.

¹⁰² Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. cli.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*; Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. 405, footnote 2; Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. VII, p.170-171, footnote 4.

She named it “The African Universal Church & Commercial League” (AUCCL)¹⁰⁴, borrowing from the Garvey organization the term “Universal”, the concept of a “Commercial League,” and the motto: “One God, One Aim, One Destiny”¹⁰⁵. On the day that Kofey was released from jail on bond in Jacksonville, Florida—Sunday, 25 September 1927—she announced to a huge assembly of her loyal followers that she had no choice but to break from Garvey’s UNIA and form her own organization as a *church* and to “run the Program *through the church*”¹⁰⁶. Running her all-encompassing Pan-African agenda “through” her private “church” will be a commitment that Bresí-Ando later on also stubbornly displayed.

MOTHER SAID: Children, Now your Mother knows how St. Paul felt and all the Apostles felt when they were cast into prison for His Name’s Sake. [...] I did not come here to establish no church [*sic.*] but the preachers fight your Mother and refuse to accept the Program which God sent me to bring. [...] So God showed your Mother to *establish the Church and run the Program through the Church*. [...] Your mother names the church, *The African Universal Church & Commercial League*. [...] Children, If you leave out the commerce (doing business with Africa), you are doomed, done for.¹⁰⁷

3.1. The Kofey synthesis of Garveyism and religion

In many regards, Kofey’s new organization was a copy-cat splinter of Garvey’s huge UNIA¹⁰⁸, but her uniqueness was the complete presentation of Garveyite ideology packaged within an independent black-run Protestant church. This concept was anathema in Garvey’s eyes. As Newman pointed out: the *Kofey synthesis* “was essentially a blend of Garveyism and religion”¹⁰⁹, using her church as a “religious sanction” for her Pan-African ideals of “racial pride, African identification, and community building,” economic independence and repatriation¹¹⁰. The central aim of Kofey’s new church, however, remained clear: “to repatriate African-Americans back to the homeland of their forefathers in West Africa”¹¹¹. According to Newman, Kofey’s original plan

¹⁰⁴ Eli B. NYOMBOLO. *Mother’s Sacred Teachings*, Jacksonville, Florida, The Mafro Ile-Ife, 1962, p. 63.

¹⁰⁵ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. 405, footnote 2.

¹⁰⁶ Kubini KEYES. “*Our Blessed Mother*” *The Martyred Saint* [...], p. 19-20; Eli B. NYOMBOLO. *Mother’s Sacred Teachings*, p. 63.

¹⁰⁷ Eli B. NYOMBOLO. *Mother’s Sacred Teachings*, p. 60, 63—italics added. Capitalization emphasis in original.

¹⁰⁸ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. VII, p. 124, footnote 1.

¹⁰⁹ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 134.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ “Memorial page for Laura Adorkor ‘Mother Kofi’ Kofi (1893–8 Mar 1928),” *Find A Grave*, put online 20 January 2001, (page consulted on 24 September 2018), <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/19689>, Find A Grave Memorial ID 19689, Plot 1552, Old Jacksonville City Cemetery, Jacksonville, Duval County, Florida, USA.

was to travel to America, gather together New World blacks, and then return with them to the Gold Coast where together they would work “to spread her nationalist-religious-commercial program throughout Africa”¹¹². At this point in her life, this core agenda was still in focus.

Preaching to her hundreds of loyal followers, Kofey taught religious, social, commercial and educational emancipation for those of African descent, by encouraging “African Universal Church members to embrace the Pan-African and Afrocentric matters that had long been central to her Garveyite message—to look to Africa, to give funds for African development, to educate children in the love of blackness and a knowledge of African history, to treat one another as brothers and sisters, and to trust in God”¹¹³. In her exhortation for commercial emancipation regarding black-owned businesses and the development of entrepreneurial relationships with Africa, Kofey continued the teachings of Garvey and Blyden. This was especially evident in her call for the sending of skilled, industrial missionaries to Africa.

MOTHER SAID: Create your own jobs. Build Negro enterprises among yourselves. [...] Negroes, if you do not create jobs among yourselves and learn to help yourselves, you are doomed, done for. [...] Children, build industries and commerce with your Motherland Africa. [...] Children, serve God, love your Motherland Africa. [...] Children, buy machinery and tools and send to your Motherland Africa. [...] Children, don't send Preachers who know nothing else to do but to preach. [...] Children, send God-fearing dedicated men and women who are *skilled workers* such as engineers, carpenters, bricklayers, mechanics, ice men, and men [*and*] women *trained and qualified in the professions*. [...] My God showed me, it soon come a day when [...] your Mother ship machinery and black man to Africa.¹¹⁴

In her call for missionaries who were “skilled in the trades and qualified in the professions,” one can hear an echo coming not only from the Pan-African philosophy of Blyden, but also from the experience of the native Gold Coasters with the efforts of the successful Basel missionaries, who themselves not only stressed evangelism, but also emphasized education, literacy, and the development of technical schools in order to modernize West African civilization.

¹¹² Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 142.

¹¹³ Barbara BAIR, “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...],” p. 57.

¹¹⁴ Eli B. NYOMBOLO. *Mother's Sacred Teachings*, p. 49-51.

3.2. Competition between rival organizations

Fully comfortable within the confines of her own new religious denomination, Kofey used it as a platform to criticize Garvey's UNIA. She openly spoke out against various UNIA practices, such as dances and fundraisers, saying that prayer meetings were the better option¹¹⁵. Because Kofey and Garvey were no longer united, an "increasingly bitter rivalry" broke out between their two groups of followers—those loyal to Garvey himself and those new-comers who were loyal to Kofey¹¹⁶. In Florida, Kofey's new AUCCL openly competed with the UNIA for members, as Kofey urged her listeners to leave Garvey's Association and join her new church¹¹⁷. Unhappy local UNIA leaders viewed the popular Kofey as a real menace to Garvey's leadership in Florida¹¹⁸.

In response to Kofey's actions, Garvey released the news via his *Negro World* newspaper that he had cancelled the charter of the UNIA division in Jacksonville, Florida, in retaliation for their open support of Kofey¹¹⁹. Furthermore, seeing that Kofey was also gaining a large following in Miami, on 11 February 1928, Garvey ejected UNIA division leaders and members in Miami, Florida, for backing Kofey¹²⁰.

3.3. Mother Kofey's assassination

The competition between the two groups mounted to a potentially deadly crescendo. Mother Kofey sensed her days were numbered. She warned her followers that if something bad were to happen to her that they must remember that she had died for her Program:

MOTHER SAID: Children, my God showed me I must give up my life and fix your Mother's Program for Africa's children everywhere. [...] Children, if me Old Man God deem me worthy to suffer and die for His Program, me tell Him "thank'ee." [...] All I've asked God is to take me in the PRESENCE of my children, that they be witnesses I went down for them. [...] If I should fall, TAKE MY BODY AS A

¹¹⁵ Kip VOUGHT. "Racial Stirrings in Colored Town [...]," p. 69.

¹¹⁶ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. 405, footnote 2.

¹¹⁷ Kip VOUGHT. "Racial Stirrings in Colored Town [...]," p. 70.

¹¹⁸ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. VII, p. 124, footnote 1.

¹¹⁹ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. cli; Barbara BAIR. "Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]," p. 56; *Negro World*, 03 December 1927.

¹²⁰ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. cli; Barbara BAIR. "Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]," p. 56; *Negro World*, 11 February 1928.

STEPPING STONE. [...] Children, if I should fall, Old Man God has promised me someone out of Africa will come to take up my work. [...] The government (affairs) of your Mother's Program will be upon his shoulders.¹²¹

Then suddenly, on 08 March 1928, as she was preaching in her pulpit in Miami, an unknown assassin shot Kofey dead¹²². After 18 months of preaching repatriation¹²³, this bright African “meteor” was snuffed out. Like Martin Luther King Jr. decades later, Kofey “went down for them”—a martyr for her cause—in the presence of her “children”. The resulting outrage caused the entire UNIA branch in Miami to immediately die out as angry UNIA followers in Miami switched their allegiance over to Kofey's African Universal Church¹²⁴. The press and the prosecutors tried unsuccessfully to link the assassination with the Garvey UNIA organization¹²⁵. They failed. The murderer was never found and the case never solved, although many were of the opinion, rightly or wrongly, that Garvey was behind the murder. Over 10,000 people attended Kofey's funeral, after which she was laid to rest in a special mausoleum in Old City Cemetery in Jacksonville, Duval County, Florida, on 17 August 1928, after a long period of mourning¹²⁶. This was not the first time that a former UNIA leader had broken from Garvey, started an opposing organization, and ended up dead. Rev. James W. H. Eason of the rival “Universal Negro Alliance” was assassinated in New Orleans in 1923 while preparing to give a speech against Garvey's UNIA¹²⁷. The court tried to blame Garvey but failed¹²⁸.

¹²¹ Eli B. NYOMBOLO. *Mother's Sacred Teachings*, p. 46, 62, 66—all emphases in original.

¹²² Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 132-133.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

¹²⁴ Kip VOUGHT. “Racial Stirrings in Colored Town [...]”, p. 71.

¹²⁵ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. VII, p. 167, footnote 2; Barbara BAIR. “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]”, p. 58 and footnote 60.

¹²⁶ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 134; “Memorial page for Laura Adorkor ‘Mother Kofi’ Kofi (1893–8 Mar 1928),” *Find A Grave*, put online 20 January 2001, (page consulted on 24 September 2018), <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/19689>, Find A Grave Memorial ID 19689, Plot 1552, Old Jacksonville City Cemetery, Jacksonville, Duval County, Florida, USA.

¹²⁷ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 109-110.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

4. The search for new African leadership for the AUCCL

After her murder, a number of Kofey's most loyal adherents in Florida and Alabama desired to continue her African Universal Church and its repatriation movement¹²⁹. Although founded in late 1927 by Mother Kofey, her African Universal Church was legally incorporated in Jacksonville, Florida, on 27 August 1928, (five months after her death, but only ten days after her burial), by a certain Rev. Clarence C. Addison¹³⁰, a local pastor of one of Kofey's parishes in Jacksonville. This may explain why some sources give a date of 1928 to the founding of her church. Archbishop Addison was among the initial group of Kofey's disciples who worked to keep her church denomination alive in the United States down to the present. Ecclesiologically he used the title "bishop" for his leadership position, a common practice among many black American Pentecostal denominations¹³¹.

4.1. African Universal Church beliefs mix Pentecostalism with Garveyism

Theologically, the African Universal Church (AUC) became aligned with the African-American Trinitarian "Holiness Pentecostal" church tradition¹³². Among its chief doctrines are divine healing, the imminent Second Coming of Christ, and the Baptism of the Holy Spirit¹³³. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are kept as ordinances, not as sacraments¹³⁴. Within the Creed of the AUC is contained the Kofey synthesis of religious belief and Garveyite ideology. It espouses the Universal "brotherhood of all men," in which "the scattered sons and daughters of Africa" both "at home and abroad," as a common black African "race", shall be "redeemed" to fulfill their "destiny" of returning "back to the "homeland"¹³⁵. In their Creed Laura Adorkor Kofey is referred

¹²⁹ "Adorkaville Founders: Eli B'usabe Nyombolo," *Adorkaville-An International Heritage Trail*. (Page consulted on 06 November 2010), <http://www.adorkaville.com/founders.html#elinyombolo>, par. 1; Larry G. MURPHY, J. Gordon MELTON, Gary L. WARD (Eds.). "African Universal Church," p. 27.

¹³⁰ Sherry Sherrod DUPREE. *African-American Holiness Pentecostal Movement* [...], p. 350, Annotation 2110; Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 132, 134. This incorporation took place just ten days after Kofey's long-delayed August 17th 1928 interment.

¹³¹ Sherry Sherrod DUPREE. *African-American Holiness Pentecostal Movement* [...], p. 350, Annotation 2110; Steve KLOEHN. "Black Church Leaders Seek Vatican Link," *Chicago Tribune*, put online 03 February 2000, (page consulted on 02 January 2020), <https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-2000-02-03-0002030110-story.html>, par. 1-3.

¹³² Larry G. MURPHY, J. Gordon MELTON, Gary L. WARD (Eds.). "African Universal Church," p. 27-28.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ Eli B. NYOMBOLO. *African Universal Hymnal*, Jacksonville, FL, Missionary African Universal Church, 1961, p. 64-65, in Richard NEWMAN, *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 138.

to as “St. Adorkor,” the “saintly Messenger” and martyr “for the Cause of her race of people”¹³⁶. The AUC Creed states:

I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, *Father of all races of mankind*; and in His holy Word as set down by His Prophets and Apostles, in the Old and New Testaments.

I believe in the fulfillment of God’s Word and the *destiny of my race*, that the *scattered sons and daughters of Africa* shall again be *redeemed* in the name of Jesus of Nazareth who glorified the Cross a sacrifice for the salvation of the hearts of men.

I believe in St. Adorkor the *saintly Messenger* of God who so nobly emulated the life and teachings of our Blessed Lord and Savior Jesus Christ and suffered martyrdom for *the Cause of her race* of people.

I believe in God’s words, that before the end of time, the second coming of Christ, we shall have worked *our way back to the homeland*.

I believe in the Christ way of life and life more abundantly here on earth, and in *the brotherhood of all men*.

I believe in the *Universal Church for African people at home and abroad* with Jesus Christ as the Chief Corner Stone and Laura Adorker as the Sainted Mother of the *race at home and abroad*.

I believe in the forgiveness of sins, eternal salvation, the power of the Holy Ghost, and life everlasting. Amen.¹³⁷

Archbishop Addison is remembered for maintaining the Garveyite principle of “economic self-sufficiency” for blacks, while also continuing the staunch Garveyite separatist stance against social integration¹³⁸. He even went so far as to resist the seeking of civil rights for blacks in America, labeling integration as “sinful”¹³⁹. It is not clear if the other early AUC leaders went to this same extreme.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*—italics added.

¹³⁸ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 142.

¹³⁹ *New Orleans Times Picayune*, 28 August 1956, p. 16, in Richard NEWMAN, *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 142.

Locations of African Universal Churches included parishes in Florida (Jacksonville, Miami, St. Petersburg, Tampa, the “Liberia” section of Dania, and the “Carver Ranches” section of West Hollywood), Alabama (Mobile and Belforest-Daphne City), Georgia (Atlanta), and New York City¹⁴⁰. Addison later opened parishes in New Jersey (East Orange) and Louisiana¹⁴¹.

4.2. New African leadership for the AUCCL

Having a premonition that her death might come at the hands of her enemies, Mother Kofey is remembered to have said: “If I should fall, take my body as a stepping stone and land on Africa’s shores.”¹⁴² Fully convinced of this main plank in her platform, Kofey’s loyal followers searched for new international leadership to continue her “Back-to-Africa” Program¹⁴³. As they re-organized, their committee looked for a new leader who was a native African just like Kofey¹⁴⁴. From among African students studying in the United States who had become interested in her pro-African church with its emancipationist program¹⁴⁵, they solicited Eli B’usabe Nyombolo of South Africa¹⁴⁶, Franklyn Adineye Ajaye [AKA Franklyn Adeniyi Adjei] of Sierra Leone, and Rev. DeWitt Martin-Dow of Gambia¹⁴⁷. Rev. Martin-Dow provided spiritual leadership by serving as the first “Supreme Elder” of the African Universal Church after Kofey’s death¹⁴⁸. To handle the practical side of business, Nyombolo became the AUCCL’s first Managing Director, and after him, Ajaye served as its second Managing Director¹⁴⁹.

These early AUCCL leaders set up an “Industrial and Commercial Bank” with the hopes that AUCCL members would invest money in Africa in order to develop economic ventures between

¹⁴⁰ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 136-137.

¹⁴¹ Sherry Sherrod DUPREE. *African-American Holiness Pentecostal Movement* [...], p. 350, Annotation 2110.

¹⁴² Kubini KEYES. “Our Blessede Mother” *The Martyred Saint* [...], p. 28.

¹⁴³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 06 January 1993, Log 16, p. 923; “Adorkaville Founders: Eli B’usabe Nyombolo,” *Adorkaville-An International Heritage Trail*, par. 1.

¹⁴⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 06 January 1993, Log 16, p. 923; Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 137; Larry G. MURPHY, J. Gordon MELTON, Gary L. WARD (Eds.). “African Universal Church,” p. 27.

¹⁴⁵ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 137.

¹⁴⁶ “Adorkaville Founders: Eli B’usabe Nyombolo,” *Adorkaville-An International Heritage Trail*, par. 1; Newman says Nyombolo was from Central Africa. Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 137.

¹⁴⁷ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. VI, p. 599, footnote 1; Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 137; Document of the Interdiction of Bishop Carey H. Jones by Supreme Pontiff Prince-Patriarch Bresi-Ando, The African Universal Church (Orthodox Catholic), 1943, par. 1, File GR1.34.

¹⁴⁸ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 137.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

Africa and the AUCCL¹⁵⁰. They also formally incorporated the “Commercial League Corporation” component of the AUCCL (in Jacksonville in 1932 and in New Orleans in 1934) so that, among other ventures, it would additionally serve as a Negro insurance corporation, financially protecting their own families¹⁵¹. With such black-run business ventures as their own “bread and butter program,” their goal was to hold their heads high in pride and self-esteem, being financially emancipated from dependency upon the white-monied world¹⁵².

4.3. AUCCL repatriation program is finally launched

Amazingly, during the early 1930's, the persistent AUCCL did move forward with its ambitious goal of sending industrial missionaries to the British Colonies of Nigeria and the Gold Coast and setting up West African branches of their church in those lands¹⁵³. While Eli B'usabe Nyombolo himself never did return to Africa¹⁵⁴, the AUCCL did actually attempt the beginnings of the much-longed-for, much-preached-about repatriation plan. To set up the West African branches of their church, the AUCCL sent six men to act as the forerunners—the “pioneers” —whose job was to go ahead of the main body of repatriates in order to lay the ground work and make all the necessary preparations to receive the larger numbers of repatriated African-Americans that were surely going to follow¹⁵⁵. Regarded as “American Industrial Missionaries”¹⁵⁶, in keeping with Kofey's economic self-help platform, these men were also charged with the responsibility of inaugurating African business cooperation between Africa and the AUCCL members back in the U.S.¹⁵⁷ Three of these missionaries were slated for the Gold Coast and three for Nigeria¹⁵⁸.

¹⁵⁰ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. xcix.

¹⁵¹ Sherry Sherrod DUPREE. *African-American Holiness Pentecostal Movement* [...], p. 350, Annotation 2110, and p. 352-353, Annotation 2124; Larry G. MURPHY, J. Gordon MELTON, Gary L. WARD (Eds.). “African Universal Church,” p. 28.

¹⁵² Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 140.

¹⁵³ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. xcix.

¹⁵⁴ “Adorkaville Founders: Eli B'usabe Nyombolo,” *Adorkaville-An International Heritage Trail*, par. 4.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 69.

¹⁵⁷ “Adorkaville Founders: Eli B'usabe Nyombolo,” *Adorkaville-An International Heritage Trail*, par. 4.

¹⁵⁸ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 140.

4.4. AUCCL locates and merges with Bresi-Ando's AIC in Nigeria

In 1930¹⁵⁹, four of the six AUCCL Industrial Missionaries arrived on the Gold Coast to carry out their work—"Evangelist Johnson, Louis B. Dean, Jesse Wilson, and J. Sherman Clarke"¹⁶⁰. For some unknown reason, the Gold Coast colonial authorities refused to allow them to enter the colony, so they traveled on to Nigeria in order to contact Bresi-Ando who by this time was living in Aba¹⁶¹. There is a possible explanation for this change of travel plans. After Liberia's rejection of Garvey's UNIA industrial colonialists by deporting them in 1924, a notice was circulated among the British Colonial authorities in West Africa to be on the lookout for more UNIA deportees¹⁶². One can surmise from the negative feeling of the British authorities towards the UNIA colonialists that any similar organization would not easily get a ready welcome mat, especially if these "American Industrial Missionaries" had no existing mission in the British Colony nor any local person inviting or sponsoring them. So, the movement of the AUCCL envoys on to Nigeria in hopes of personally contacting Bresi-Ando is logical. In order for their AUCCL to be received by colonial authorities, it would need an existing resident African mission to sponsor them. This was certainly what they were seeking when "[t]hey were refused admission into the country, and thereupon proceeded to Nigeria to contact Bresi-Ando"¹⁶³.

Entering Nigeria, for the moment not as missionaries but presumably simply as visitors, the Americans located Bresi-Ando in Aba and solicited him to become their new spiritual leader.

¹⁵⁹ Max ASSIMENG. "Methodological Africanism [...]," p. 69. Newman provides the date of 1931 (Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 140). I have chosen Assimeng's date of 1930 because he gets his information from a letter (found in the Ibadan Archives in Nigeria) that Bresi-Ando sent to the colonial government in which he informs them of the Americans' safe arrival, and he even provides names (see footnote 161 below). However, there is still the possibility that Assimeng's "1930" date is a type-o, since Bresi-Ando's letter to the colonial government relating the entire story of the arrival of the AUC representatives is dated 30 November 1931.

¹⁶⁰ Max ASSIMENG. "Methodological Africanism [...]," p. 69; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 27, and 06 January 1993, Log 16, p. 924. In these two separate interviews, Rev. Edonu specified "four" men. The other two men apparently traveled later to join the first four men.

¹⁶¹ E. BRESI-ANDO. Letter to the Hon. Chief Secretary to the Government, Lagos, Colony of Nigeria, 30 November 1931, Ibadan Archives File CSO.911/23624, Primitive Apostolic African Church, in Max ASSIMENG, "Methodological Africanism [...]," p. 69 & 77 footnote 18.

¹⁶² Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. cxliii. A similar account occurred in 1915 when the Gold Coast authorities successfully thwarted a shipload of unwanted American Negro colonialists who had been organized by Alfred C. Sam of Oklahoma, USA. See David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 541-542.

¹⁶³ Max ASSIMENG. "Methodological Africanism [...]," p. 69; E. BRESI-ANDO. Letter to the Hon. Chief Secretary [...], in Max ASSIMENG, "Methodological Africanism [...]," p. 69 & 77 footnote 18.

Bresi-Ando agreed and facilitated this via an official church merge that transpired on 22 September 1931 between his own AIC—the Primitive Apostolic African Church—and Kofey’s African Universal Church¹⁶⁴. By this merger, the African Universal Church became established in the British Colony of Nigeria, and later in the Colony of the Gold Coast, resulting in the actual transfer of Kofey’s Garveyite “Back-to-Africa” program into the hands of Bresi-Ando. The other two AUCCL missionaries—Carey Harold Jones and an unnamed sixth man—eventually caught up with their four compatriots in West Africa¹⁶⁵. The research of historian Robert Hill shows that the Nigerian branch of the African Universal Church was set up in the early 1930’s, utilizing its synthesis of Garveyite ideology and a black religious denomination to teach its church members the need to establish local African-run commerce and industry¹⁶⁶. This entire set of events will be detailed in the following biographical chapter on the life of Bresi-Ando, “Chapter 8—Building a Pan-African Program, 1884-1935.”

How Bishop Bresi-Ando ever discovered, or was found by, the Kofey church representatives remained a mystery to Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Bresi-Ando’s nephew and Deputy Bishop¹⁶⁷. Adamant that Bresi-Ando never set foot in the United States at any time, Rev. Edonu guessed that it was by communication through the mails that his uncle and the AUCCL leadership had made first contact¹⁶⁸. Rev. Edonu recalled that Bresi-Ando’s foreign contacts astounded everybody. Professor Assimeng thought it “plausible” to entertain the thought that Bresi-Ando might have actually heard about Kofey’s work among Garvey’s UNIA in the newspapers¹⁶⁹, as she did receive much praise in the *Negro World* during 1927¹⁷⁰. According to those who knew him, and as evidenced in his writings, Bresi-Ando was well educated and well-read, so we cannot assume that he acquired his emancipationist ideology solely from Kofey’s organization when he merged his

¹⁶⁴ Document of the Interdiction of Bishop Carey H. Jones by Supreme Pontiff Prince-Patriarch Bresi-Ando, The African Universal Church (Orthodox Catholic), 1943, par. 1, File GR1.34.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.* Bresi-Ando in his document of the “Interdiction” of Bishop Jones specifies that “Carey H. Jones of St. Petersburg, Florida, U.S.A.” was “one of the six repatriated American Negroes to Nigeria by the Koffey African Universal Church (inc.)” (par. 1). This matches Newman who reports that “the African Universal Church sent six missionaries to Africa” (Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 140).

¹⁶⁶ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. xcix.

¹⁶⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 06 January 1993, Log 16, p. 924.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 69.

¹⁷⁰ Edward N. HALL. “African Princess Roots for African Redemption,” *Negro World*, 09 July 1927, in Robert A. HILL (Ed.), *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. 405, footnote 2; *Negro World*, 21 May 1927, 11 June 1927, 02 July 1927, 23 July 1927.

church with hers, but he certainly welcomed the opportunity to continue her Garveyite work of repatriating African-Americans “Back-to-Africa” in the early 1930’s, as we shall see in Section Two—his Biography.

Conclusion

Perhaps Bresi-Ando was drawn to the work of Laura Adorkor Kofey (ca. 1893-1928) since she was a fellow Gold Coast native. Richard Newman’s research has concluded that Laura indeed was a member of Ghana’s coastal Ga tribe who was attracted to both the African Independent Church movement and Garveyism. Mother Kofey was a classic example of a 1920’s Second Wave AIC since she founded and pastored her own Pentecostal-style churches in both the Gold Coast Colony and the Asante. She then carried this independent black church mentality with her to the United States, eventually marrying it to the Garvey cause. Believing she had a calling by God to help Marcus Garvey implement his grand scheme, she entered the United States in 1926 where she became a very successful UNIA regional organizer in the American South. Her Pan-African message called for the sons and daughters of African descent to return to the homeland of their ancestors and to engage in commercial enterprises with Africans. Kofey quickly became well-known in the Deep South due to her highly charismatic approach to recruitment which drew thousands of new members into the UNIA during a period of eighteen months, as she preached from New Orleans, through Georgia, and down the coast of Florida, all the way to Miami.

Kofey’s revivalist crusading style not only garnered new recruits, but also gathered a host of critics. The religious opposition came from the African-American ministerial alliances that grew jealous of the influence she was gaining over their parishioners. The second group that formed against Kofey came from the UNIA leadership. After reaping the benefits of Kofey’s recruiting efforts and praising her work in his *Negro World* newspaper, Garvey turned against Kofey in August of 1927 and launched a relentless UNIA persecution against her, calling for her arrest on charges of fraud. He did not approve of her raising funds for an African emigration which his own organization had embarrassingly failed to realize three years prior.

In response to both Garvey’s denunciation and the clergy associations’ resistance, Kofey felt that her only chance to continue her Pan-African emancipationist program was to form her own African

Universal Church and Commercial League (AUCCL), which she did in the Fall of 1927. Starting her own personal, independent, black church was not a novel challenge to Mother Kofey, since she had previously initiated her own AIC back in the Colony of the Gold Coast in 1924. From her new denominational platform she continued to preach her Pan-African “Kofey synthesis” of Garveyism and religion, in which she presented all the Garveyite ideas of “Back-to-Africa” repatriation, black pride, black internationalism, race redemption, universal brotherhood of the race at home and abroad, plus social, commercial and educational emancipation.

The competition between the rival AUCCL and UNIA organizations mounted until Mother Kofey was assassinated on 08 March 1928. Her loyal followers did their best to keep her church alive, with its mix of Pentecostalism and Garveyism. Searching for new African leadership for the AUCCL in order to continue her Pan-African program, they located some Africans who were studying in the United States. With these men, the AUCCL finally launched its long-awaited repatriation program somewhere between 1930 and 1931. Discovering that they would need a local African mission church on the continent to welcome and legally sponsor their efforts, in September of 1931 the AUCCL located Bishop Bresi-Ando in Nigeria and merged with his AIC. He in turn carried Kofey’s repatriation program to the Gold Coast in 1932.

Therefore, in searching for a connection between Garvey and Bresi-Ando, we have discovered the UNIA regional organizer in the American South, Laura Adorkor Kofey—a Gold Coast native—to be *the critical link*. Her work among American blacks and her disagreement with Garvey set the stage for Bresi-Ando. Her “Kofey Synthesis”—which placed Garveyite dreams within the context of an independent black religious church denomination—was passed like a baton into the hands of Bresi-Ando in the 1931 church merger. Kofey’s Pan-African vision needs to be compared to Bresi-Ando’s own growing vision of “emancipation-through-his-church,” which shall be described in the following chapters. Did Bresi-Ando retain Kofey’s Garveyite ideology? Did he adopt, abort, or modify her “synthesis”? These questions will all be addressed. However, what is apparent is that by inheriting Kofey’s “African Universal Church and Commercial League (AUCCL)” in the 1931 merger with his Nigerian AIC, Bresi-Ando suddenly found himself in the position to try to do what the famous Marcus Garvey had failed to do: to actually repatriate African-Americans back to Africa. This was pure Garveyist Pan-Africanism at its best. Would this Kofey repatriation program succeed in the hands of Bresi-Ando, or would it fail as did Garvey’s?

However, before we can answer all these questions, there is a huge biographical context that must be introduced at this juncture. Who exactly was this new “Joshua” for this “Black Moses” repatriation exodus? How did Bresi-Ando, a native son of the Gold Coast, ever get to be in Nigeria in the first place, where he and Kofey’s followers were to meet? How did he prepare to receive thousands of repatriated African-Americans within the British Colony of the Gold Coast? How did his emancipationist church survive all its challenges? Did it survive? The answers to these questions lie in Section Two, which consists of *five* chapters dedicated to the biography of Bishop Kwamin Ntsetse Bresi-Ando. This is the first time that his full memoir is being presented in print, having been drawn from 95% original field research. By understanding the life story of Bresi-Ando, we will then be prepared to sort through his emancipationist endeavors in Section Three of the dissertation and look for clues to see if Pan-Africanism—especially that of Blyden, Du Bois, Casely Hayford, Garvey, and Kofey—was indeed the bishop’s guiding principle in his life.

SECTION TWO

BIOGRAPHY

THE LIFE OF REV. KWAMIN N. BRESI-ANDO (1884-1970)

**SECTION TWO:
BIOGRAPHY
THE LIFE OF REV. KWAMIN N. BRESI-ANDO
(1884-1970)**

Introduction to Section Two: Biography

Having carefully examined the intricate network of overlapping background contexts in which Bresi-Ando lived in the 1930's, thereby completing the 1st Objective of this thesis, we have reached the vantage point from which we can begin to see and understand who Bresi-Ando really was. However, before we can properly analyze his various social, religious, educational, commercial, and political endeavors in search of evidence that indeed a global perspective of "Pan-Africanism" was Bresi-Ando's motivating underlying and guiding life vision, we need to portray in as honest a fashion as possible the most complete biography of the bishop to date. Only after observing how well the man fit into his historical context will we be enabled to analyze Bresi-Ando in search of any all-encompassing, all embracing Pan-Africanist determination. Thus, Section Two of this dissertation is dedicated to describing the life of Bresi-Ando, with the hope of showing him to be a real person. Section Two will attempt the 2nd Objective of the thesis: to build a complete biography of the late Bishop Bresi-Ando, informed by his ideology drawn from his corpus of teachings. Five chapters will carry his story from birth in 1884 to death in 1970.

Supplementing the brief biographical material available in the few published works that mention Bresi-Ando, this thesis draws mainly upon a huge amount of primary source materials—church archives, church and school log books, diaries, correspondence, legal papers, etc. (1,614 in total)—that were generously provided by the Ghanaian Orthodox community for this research. Perhaps more useful will be the testimonials from the many eye-witnesses that I met and interviewed throughout Ghana in the early 1990's—132 field interviews with 58 individuals. Many of these

were men and women who knew the late bishop personally—his fellow clergymen, deputy bishop, parishioners, wife, relatives and friends. Their interviews fill in the many missing pieces of information about Bresi-Ando, giving us a complete composite picture of his life and teachings. We will see that Bresi-Ando was truly the man of his hour and not a phantom operating within a vacuum. Only after achieving this second biographical objective can we arrive at the “meat” of my thesis—the full panoramic analysis of Bresi-Ando’s ideology in action (Section Three).

SECTION TWO: THE LIFE OF REV. KWAMIN N. BRESI-ANDO (1884-1970)

CHAPTER 8 BIOGRAPHY PART A—BUILDING A PAN-AFRICAN PROGRAM, 1884-1935

Purpose

The purpose of this first of five biographical chapters on the life of Prince-Patriarch Kwamin N. Bresi-Ando is to establish his beginnings, and to answer the fundamental first questions: Who was he? Where did he come from? What was he like? Where and when did he start his emancipationist movement? Why did he start it? What was his inner motivation for attempting such a comprehensive life-long work? How well did he succeed? The answer to this last question will be carried through the remaining four biographical chapters. This first chapter will start with Kwamin's birth in 1884 and continue to the year 1935.

Sources

Most of the information in this chapter is from original primary sources: the tape-recorded interviews (RI) and Fulbright Field Notes (FFN) collected by Andrew Anderson during personal interviews of the oldest living family members of Bresi-Ando—his wife and nephews—as well as his senior clergymen who had worked with him. Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu (1907-2002), as Bresi-Ando's "Deputy Bishop" and personal representative in the Gold Coast/Ghana for 37 years, is the primary resource, with 29 hours of recorded interviews plus 49 hand-written follow-up interviews. Being Bresi-Ando's "nephew" according to regular Ghanaian custom, he and Bresi-Ando treated each other as "uncle" and "nephew". However, according to English legal rendering, Rev. Edonu is a first-cousin-once-removed from Bresi-Ando (and his half-brother Ando-Brew). Rev. Edonu's grandmother and Bresi-Ando's father were sister and brother¹. As the leading clergyman whose loyalty to Bresi-Ando outlasted all the other older clerics, Rev. Kyriakos Edonu's eyewitness account to the life of his uncle is tremendous. Beginning on the "ground-floor" of Bresi-Ando's Gold Coast African Universal Church as a teacher in the newly-opened Apam Ebibirpim Academy in 1933², Father Kyriakos was present to witness the initial growth of the new indigenous African denomination. As he rose over the years through the ranks to become a deacon, then priest, then

¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 03 March 1994, Log 10, p. 551.

² School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 03 April 1933 entry, p. 1, GR 4.

Deputy Bishop, Rev. Edonu was positioned in many key locations around the country to be able to witness the unfolding drama, triumphs and tragedies of the Bresi-Ando organization.

A second most valuable resource and interviewee was Mrs. Joana Bresi-Ando, the wife of the late bishop. However, her family information will be featured more in the later biographical chapters as her input is most critical to the later Nigerian years of her husband's life. Another key source of information was Ando-Brew's son Earnest (Jr.) of Mumford, a real nephew of Bresi-Ando (in the common European understanding). He provided eye-witness details of his father's side of the story, since as a young teenager he lived with his father Ando-Brew in Apam and witnessed him launching the AUC there on behalf of Bresi-Ando in 1932. A fourth most helpful source of information was Emmanuel A. N. Adentwi, the younger brother of the late Rev. K. D. Nyaako-Adentwi, a leading clergyman in Bresi-Ando's African Universal Church. Both Adentwi brothers are "nephews" to Bresi-Ando and Ando-Brew in the African sense, but actually are first-cousin-once-removed to Ando-Brew according to the English usage. Young Emmanuel lived in Apam and witnessed many of the events during the time period when Bresi-Ando was using Apam as the headquarters for his fast-growing AIC between 1932-1935.

In addition to the information provided by these interviewees, important rare primary source documents are utilized, such as the "Document of the Interdiction" of Bishop Carey H. Jones by Patriarch Bresi-Ando, and the "History of Apam," a 17-page unpublished manuscript written by Rev. K. D. Nyaako-Adentwi describing, among many other things, the beginning of Bresi-Ando's AIC in Apam. These and similar original documents are contained within Andrew Anderson's 26 Fulbright files of Ghana Research ("GR"), which are comprised chiefly of original primary source documents gathered in Ghana between September 1992 to November 1994.

Finally, useful information for this chapter was taken from a few scholarly secondary sources. These include the initial biographical work on Bresi-Ando by Max Assimeng: his twenty-six page 1975 journal article, "Methodological Africanism: Bresi-Ando as an *Episcopus Vagans*," in *CONCH*, vol. VII, n° 1 & 2. The professor visited the Ibadan Archives in Nigeria where he found police reports investigating Bresi-Ando as well as letters that the wary bishop had posted to the colonial authorities in order to inform and placate them. Added to this is the definitive research on Kofey's African Universal Church by Richard Newman, in his chapter entitled, "'Warrior

Mother of Africa's Warriors of the Most High God': Laura Adorkor Kofey and the African Universal Church," located in his work: *Black Power and Black Religion: Essays and Reviews*, West Cornwall, Connecticut, Locust Hill Press, 1987.

Structure

This *first* biographical chapter has *five* parts, and covers the years 1884-1935:

- 1) Bresi-Ando's beginnings and early life
- 2) Seeds of emancipation
- 3) Establishment of the African Universal Church (AUC) on the Gold Coast in 1932
- 4) Marcus Garvey clarifications
- 5) The AUC becomes a fast-growing "movement" within the Gold Coast and Asante

The first part begins with a description of Bresi-Ando's early family life in the Gold Coast Colony, followed by his move to Nigeria. The second parts shows how seeds of discontent with the colonial religious status quo and a thirst for African emancipation motivated Bresi-Ando to start his own movement and open his own African-run Nigerian schools. These educational efforts quickly turned religious. In 1926 Bresi-Ando founded his own African independent church (AIC) in Nigeria which merged with the Florida-based Kofey African Universal Church in 1931 when disciples of the late Laura Kofey came to West Africa looking for a new leader. The third part relates how, in the following year (1932), Bresi-Ando brought his emancipationist aspirations and Africanized church organization home to the Gold Coast, where he preached a Garveyite repatriation ideology as a practical solution to colonialism. The fourth part offers several clear reasons why Bresi-Ando's movement was *not directly* connected to Marcus Garvey's UNIA nor was it a branch of McGuire's "African Orthodox Church." (However, Garvey's *indirect* influence on Bresi-Ando will become a major discussion in Section Three of this thesis.) The fifth part describes how, with the hope that many African-Americans were about to repatriate back to Africa, Bresi-Ando's new church spread like wild fire through the Gold Coast Colony and Ashanti Protectorate between 1932-1935, quickly becoming a "movement".

1. Bresi-Ando's beginnings and early life

1.1. Family background

Rt. Rev. Bishop Kwamin Ntsetse Bresi-Ando (first known as Ebenezer Johnson Anderson, or simply, Ebenezer Bresi-Ando), was born on 28 March 1884 in city of Cape Coast, in the Central Region of Ghana, known at that time as the British Colony of the Gold Coast³. The date on his tombstone states that he died on 02 October 1970, at the age of 86⁴. Young Ebenezer belonged to the Twidan (Tiger) clan of Ghana's coastal Fante tribe, famous as sea-going fishermen⁵. Bresi-Ando's hometown, according to the matriarchal system of his Fante tribe, was not his place of birth (Cape Coast, according to his wife Joana) but rather was his mother's town, the coastal commercial Central Region town of Apam, 57 miles to the east. It was there that young Kwamin was raised, and from there that he hailed as a native all his life long⁶. However, Bresi-Ando also lived a number of years with his father, old Mr. Anderson, at Cape Coast, together with his older half-brother, Earnest⁷. The two shared the same father but had different mothers. Earnest's mother was a Brew who came from the same famous Brew family clan as Casely Hayford's mother⁸.

At first both Ebenezer and Earnest were surnamed "Anderson", but later they changed their names to Kwamin Ntsetse Bresi-Ando and Earnest Bresi-Ando in an attempt to reclaim their African roots⁹. Earnest Bresi-Ando later in life (circa 1939) again changed his name to Ainu Ando-Brew to reflect his Brew parentage and to completely differentiate himself from his famous younger brother, Kwamin Ntsetse Bresi-Ando (formerly Ebenezer)¹⁰. The renunciation of Europeans names and returning to Africans names was a policy made fashionable at that time by Casely Hayford and Rev. Brew Attoh-Ahuma, both of the Brew clan, recognized as the fathers of the

³ FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 17, p. 1074. Place of birth was supplied by Mrs. Joana Bresi-Ando, the late bishop's wife, in an interview conducted by A. J. Anderson on 09 March 1993 in Apam, Central Region, Ghana. She said that her husband, Bresi-Ando, had told her that he was born in Cape Coast.

⁴ FFN, Visit to Ebibirpim Cemetery, Apam, CR, GH, 29 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1648. Date of death on Bresi-Ando's tombstone: 02 October 1970, at age 86. Date of birth was also taken from Bresi-Ando's tombstone: 28 March 1884.

⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1476.

⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1640-1641.

⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1641.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 27.

¹⁰ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW, son of the late Rev. Ainu Ando-Brew and nephew of Bresi-Ando. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1244, 1258-1260.

Gold Coast's secular and ecclesiastical nationalism, respectively¹¹. It is not hard to figure out from where the two Bresi-Ando brothers drew this inspiration.

1.2. Education

Both Bresi-Ando brothers attended the academically sound Cape Coast secondary institution of that day, Mfantshipim School¹², the first secondary school to be founded on the Gold Coast in 1876¹³. Casely Hayford (their Brew relation) was among the earliest students to attend it when it was known as Wesleyan Boys' High School; and in the mid-1880's after finishing Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone, he had returned to serve as its principal¹⁴. (Two decades later, in 1905, Casely Hayford and the lawyer John Mensah Sarbah founded Mfantshipim School in Cape Coast which quickly merged that same year with Wesleyan Boys' High School using the new name, effectively renaming the existing secondary school¹⁵.) The Bresi-Ando brothers were among the early products of this prestigious Wesleyan Methodist mission school, the foremost in the colony¹⁶.

1.3. Character traits

Young Ebenezer Bresi-Ando successfully coupled his own naturally-gifted intelligence to an excellent Mfantshipim education. Long after his death Bresi-Ando was still praised by his family and friends who knew him for his absolute mastery of the English language and his excellent speaking ability¹⁷. From his many letters and telegrams on file, any reader will quickly discover that Bresi-Ando was in command of the written media as well. Very intelligent and well-educated,

¹¹ CASELY HAYFORD. *Gold Coast Native Institutions* [...], p. 105; Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 132-133.

¹² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1641.

¹³ "Mfantshipim Senior Secondary School," *Ghana Schools*, (page consulted on 31 May 2018), p. 1, <http://ghanaschools.info/listing/mfantshipim-secondary/>.

¹⁴ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 82; Note of correction: some other sources keep repeating the mistaken notion that Casely Hayford was the principal/headmaster of the "Accra Wesleyan High School" instead of the Wesleyan Boys' High School in Cape Coast (which he later helped to rename "Mfantshipim"). According to the official annual 1931-32 Colonial Report for the Gold Coast Colony, there was no "Wesleyan High School" operating in Accra at that time, only the one in Cape Coast. Therefore, Casely Hayford was the principal at the Cape Coast secondary school (*Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of the Gold Coast, 1931-32*, Colonial Reports—Annual, No. 1602, London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1933, p. 46).

¹⁵ Richard BAGUDU. *Judging Annan*, Bloomington, IN, AuthorHouse, 2007, p. 22-23; F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 140-141.

¹⁶ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. "Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]," p. 9.

¹⁷ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1246; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 46, and 07 January 1993, Log 17, p. 1001.

people considered him “brilliant”¹⁸. Being well-versed and bold, Bresi-Ando was always prepared to challenge anybody—religiously, commercially, or politically—with any question¹⁹.

The nephews of Bresi-Ando further admired him for his handsome, tall stature, his pleasing personality, his commanding influence on people, and his wide-spread popularity throughout the whole Central Region of the Gold Coast Colony²⁰. The politically famous Mr. Kojo Botsio called him “warm and affable”²¹. Bresi-Ando is remembered fondly as having had the knowledge of how to approach people and put them immediately at ease, catching their attention with his politeness²². As a minister of the Gospel, Bresi-Ando was admired for his “wonderful” preaching ability and Bible knowledge²³. His endearing wife, Joana, admitted that she too liked his preaching and his politeness—and the way his friends and followers admired him²⁴. Bresi-Ando was a “hero” in his wife’s eyes not only for his actions, but “because people love him”²⁵. Both at home in Apam and in Nigeria the locals fondly called him: “That BIG man! That Book man!”²⁶

1.4. Marriage and Ordination

Bresi-Ando was ordained as a Methodist minister, circa 1922, about age 38²⁷. This post he later resigned, after having served in both the Central and Western Regions²⁸. Bresi-Ando was then received as a minister in the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (AME Zion)²⁹, an African-

¹⁸ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1246.

¹⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 17, p. 1001-1002.

²⁰ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1246; FFN, EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 54; FFN, EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 17, p. 1001.

²¹ RI, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1204.

²² FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 17, p. 1061-1062.

²³ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1246.

²⁴ FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 17, p. 1060.

²⁵ RI, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Tape 57, Log 17, p. 1063.

²⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 17, p. 1002.

²⁷ Programme, Fifth Anniversary of the Divine Healing Revival at the Shrine of the Guild of St. Raphael, Gomoa Fomena, 18th to 21st January 1962, p. 8, File GR2.94. (On page 8 Bresi-Ando noted “1949” as the “twenty-eighth year of our PONTIFICATE,” which refers back to 1922. It is assumed he is referring to his first ordination, as a Methodist minister, since by 1949 he had only been a “Patriarch” for 14 years (since 1935), and it had been only 23 years since he had founded his Nigerian AIC in 1926. Thus, the logical conclusion is that he is counting 28 years since his first day as an ordained clergyman.)

²⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 57, and 01 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1532.

²⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1532.

American mission based in the United States focusing on “black liberation and evangelization”³⁰. As a black church with black clergy, it strove to help realize its goals by establishing its own black-run Christian schools³¹. At this time Bresi-Ando married his first wife, the daughter of a well-known AME Zion clergyman, the Rev. Dr. Frank Attah Ossam Pinanko of Cape Coast³². However, after only about one year, Bresi-Ando resigned from this foreign mission church as well, even though it was “black”³³. Bresi-Ando said that he did not like “the laws and restrictions of the church which became uncongenial to his belief and theology”³⁴. Rev. Edonu discerned from his uncle’s later actions that Bresi-Ando hated to have someone dictate to his conscience³⁵. He hated anything that he perceived as “oppression” and “suppression”, especially if it came from foreigners³⁶. He resisted their restrictions regarding both color *and* local customs, and insisted instead that “our [*African*] culture must also be portrayed”³⁷. Rev. Edonu saw in Bresi-Ando’s dislike of this “foreign oppression” the planting of the seeds which would later sprout and grow and come forth as Bresi-Ando’s subsequent preaching of emancipation³⁸. He was one of the “mission-trained African nationalists” that Martey describes—those educated locals who began to criticize the foreign mission churches, voices crying in the wilderness, who would eventually stir up a “raging wind of change” that would blow across the African continent, making drastic changes in the second half of the 20th Century³⁹.

It is unfortunate that Rev. Edonu—the oldest living and lead witness regarding Bresi-Ando at the time of this research project—did not have all the answers regarding his uncle’s formative period, due to their 23-year age difference, plus the fact that Uncle Bresi-Ando had spent much of the 1920’s far away in Nigeria. Thus, by the time the young 26-year-old Edonu finally caught up with his uncle and had joined the Apam Ebibirpim Academy staff in 1933, Bresi-Ando had already

³⁰ “African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church Ghana,” *Net Ministries network*. (Page consulted on 03 July 2019), p. 1, <https://www.netministries.org/churches/ch13091>.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*; Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 71.

³³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 57, and 01 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1532.

³⁴ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 34, Log 16, p. 943.

³⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 26, 57-58, and 01 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1532.

³⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 26.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 26, 58; RI, J. B. QUANSAH. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Tape 80, Log 19, p. 1217.

³⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1532.

³⁹ Emmanuel MARTEY. *African Theology* [...], p. 15-16.

lived more than half his life, at age 49. While Rev. Edonu became the paramount witness and informant on his uncle's Ebibirpim Church and movement for the next four decades, he lacked sufficient background data on the first half of Bresi-Ando's life. All that he knew he provided, but still it was not enough to make a deeper analysis of the educational and spiritual and biographical impulses that motivated, informed, and shaped Bresi-Ando as a young student and as a Methodist minister. Missing data cannot simply be invented, and the lack of data in the research is the reason why at this point in the biography there is no deeper investigation of Bresi-Ando's younger years, no deeper biographical, sociological, or spiritual study of his character development which resulted from his colonial and Methodist religious and educational matrix of influences⁴⁰.

2. Seeds of emancipation

Somehow, something was spiritually and inwardly restricting Bresi-Ando and he must have wanted to be free. He later revealed in conversation to his nephew, Rev. Edonu, how earlier "he became spiritually dissatisfied with the theological movement of the church and the laws, he became dissatisfied spiritually, so he resigned and moved to Nigeria and from there he started his own movement"⁴¹.

2.1. Dislike of colonialism; starts African-run schools

Having resigned from the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church and ended his marriage to his Pinanko wife⁴², Bresi-Ando travelled to mid-western Nigeria where, in a place called Sapele, he

⁴⁰ Missing data cannot be invented. Rev. Edonu was the oldest and main eyewitness of his uncle's program in the Gold Coast Colony during the 1930's, but he joined his uncle's over-all emancipation effort midstream. He was not with his uncle during the 1920's when Bresi-Ando was in Nigeria starting schools and churches, so he did not know much of what was going on at that time. In addition, his memories were few regarding his uncle's earlier life on the Gold Coast prior to the 1920's. In fact, Edonu was not even born when his uncle was attending school, and he was only a teenager when Bresi-Ando left for Nigeria in the early 20's. Rev. Edonu could barely explain why his uncle left the Methodist Church; he certainly had no reason nor understanding of what influences had initially formed his uncle within the Methodist matrix, motivating him to dedicate his life to God as a Methodist minister. He simply offered no such information. All the information that he knew and offered has been included in this biography. Missing data cannot be analysed. Furthermore, it is not the purpose of this thesis to be a stand-alone analytical biography of Bresi-Ando. Rather, this biographical Section 2 of the thesis is only a tool to provide enough information in order to make Bresi-Ando into a comprehensible person so that we can move into Section 3 where we will test the hypothesis, examining to see if Bresi-Ando was in fact a Garveyite Pan-Africanist or not. If that can be proved, then we will have a better comprehension of the ideologies that motivated the bishop.

⁴¹ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 34, Log 16, p. 942.

⁴² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 February 1994, Log 10, p. 552.

started his “Liberty School”⁴³. (The date is not known but assumed to be in the early to mid-1920’s.) His nephew Rev. Edonu could not say exactly why Bresi-Ando chose to leave his home country and travel to the neighboring sister colony, there to launch his native educational program, but he did state that in those days if someone was not happy in the colonial Gold Coast, it was common for him to go to Nigeria or Congo⁴⁴. Even the African sociologist Dr. Assimeng was puzzled, wondering why Bresi-Ando chose to start what would become his life’s work, not in his homeland, but in a foreign place⁴⁵. He questions if Bresi-Ando was concerned that “no prophet is accepted in his own country”?⁴⁶ However, Dr. Assimeng notes two important facts. First, rising black leaders contemporary to Bresi-Ando, such as Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, Wallace Johnson of Sierra Leone, and Marcus Garvey of Jamaica, all were more successful in countries other than their own homelands⁴⁷. Second, Assimeng points to the fact that Nigeria was ahead of the crowd when it came to Africans starting independent churches and schools, having witnessed this over three decades by the time Bresi-Ando arrived⁴⁸. Pan-Africanist aspirations were already growing in Nigeria, as evidenced by the new First Wave Ethiopianist AICs being started in that colony, such as the United Native African Church which began in Lagos in 1891 as a result of Blyden’s direct influence⁴⁹. Following this, in southern Nigeria, the concept of a “broad Pan-Africanism” had begun to inspire the local educated locals in the 1920’s as they read about the progressive emancipationist views coming from the famous American-based Pan-Africanists of that day: those of Marcus Garvey and W. E. B. Du Bois⁵⁰. Thus, one can postulate that Bresi-Ando went to the place where the ground was ripe and fertile for his radical ideas. Issues of liberty and freedom must have been on his mind. It appeared that he was beginning to try to do something concrete about his emancipationist desires by starting his first school in Sapele, Nigeria, using an emancipationist name: “Liberty”. His nephew Rev. Edonu concluded that since his uncle did not like the foreign church restrictions that he had experienced in his homeland, he had moved to Nigeria, where he—as a stranger in a foreign place—could be free to express himself religiously,

⁴³ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 66.

⁴⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 942.

⁴⁵ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 75-76.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 76; Luke 4:24 (NKJV).

⁴⁷ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 76.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁴⁹ Hollis LYNCH. “Edward Wilmot Blyden [...]” p. 3.

⁵⁰ Paul E. LOVEJOY. “Historical Setting,” *Nigeria: A Country Study*, 5th ed., Coll. “Area Handbook Series,” Helen Chapin Metz (Ed.), Washington, Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1992, p. 38.

be a creator, and do something good for his fellow Africans⁵¹. He did manage to do something for himself too. He found a nice Gold Coast woman living in Nigeria and married her⁵².

Later, Bresi-Ando moved to eastern Nigeria where he continued to open schools, not recognized, however, by the Colonial Nigerian Government⁵³. This non-recognition by the government was a problem that easily could be solved if a mission church were to be found to be the schools' sponsor. Such was the pattern in these British West African colonies at that time. The European missionaries, such as the Basel Mission, were spreading Christianity through education, attracting members into the church via the schools that they built at each mission station⁵⁴. (Most likely Bresi-Ando was simply following this pattern in which he had participated as a student growing up in colonial West Africa.) The lion's share of colonial-era education was being conducted by the foreign missions, an arrangement which the British government sanctioned since this reduced the amount of money it needed to spend on education⁵⁵. Thus, Bresi-Ando was in need of a church mission to sponsor his new schools.

2.2. Founding his own AIC in Nigeria in 1926

In order to gain the legal footing to back his growing indigenous private school system, it was in Warri, eastern Nigeria, that Bresi-Ando began his own denomination, "The United Free Church of Africa," with a resolution establishing this church dated 31 March 1926⁵⁶. Interestingly, while promising the British government that his resolve was to educate and civilize the African, Bresi-Ando's church motto was "Love, Brotherhood and Freedom,"—words that Dr. Assimeng feels reveal a strong emphasis on emancipation and nationalism in Bresi-Ando's new missionary church work within Nigeria⁵⁷. Rev. Edonu said that his uncle "founded his own church on 'freedom'. He

⁵¹FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 26, 58, and 01 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1532.

⁵²FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 February 1994, Log 10, p. 552.

⁵³Max ASSIMENG. "Methodological Africanism [...]" p. 66.

⁵⁴Elias SCHRENK. *Das Heidenbote*, [s.l.], [s.n.], 1867, p. 63, in J. S. POBEE, *Kwame Nkrumah and the Church in Ghana, 1949-1966*, Accra, Asempa Publishers, 1988, p. 89; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. "Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]" p. 8.

⁵⁵Andrzej MIOTK. "The Collapse of the SVD Togo Mission [...]" p. 121.

⁵⁶E. BRESI-ANDO et al. Resolution establishing the United Free Church of Africa, Warri, Eastern Nigeria, 31 March 1926, Ibadan Archives File CSO.911/23624, Primitive Apostolic African Church, in Max ASSIMENG. "Methodological Africanism [...]" p. 66, 67 & 77 footnote 14.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p. 66-67.

wanted self-governing”⁵⁸. Bresi-Ando’s goal was that his new African Indigenous Church (AIC) would unite all blacks and set them free from white rule, affording Africans the chance to run their own church and be their own bishops. In this, Bresi-Ando fell clearly within the historical First Wave—and definition of—AICs known as “Ethiopianism”⁵⁹. He wanted as an African to be the head of his own indigenous church, but his theology and liturgics were still basically imported: non-sacramental Protestant.

Bresi-Ando told everyone that the goal and purpose of his new church was to free the African⁶⁰. His nephew Rev. Edonu recalled that the mindset of his uncle Bresi-Ando was that “it was time that every African started to do things by himself than to depend solely on the foreign teaching and suppression. There were so many Africans [*who were*] grown up, indeed, who were intelligent and could not serve God because of their color and custom”⁶¹. His church would help *emancipate* the black man—by helping the African realize that God had created him “to live as an African, to worship as an African, to run his government as an African. No more [*were they*] to remain as a servant, a tool of the white man”⁶². Rather, “it was time for blacks to become a master, the time for the mate to be a driver”⁶³. Bresi-Ando proclaimed: “The steps to the Kingdom [*of God*] are not fixed in the white man’s land. It is everywhere. It is in the black man’s land too. From there he will start to climb.”⁶⁴ Bresi-Ando taught that if the white man has given the black man something, then the African is to receive it with thanks, but he must take responsibility for the gift and develop it as an African, making it his own⁶⁵. He “really preached against the British churches in the country. They should move away, should go away and give room, give way to the African.”⁶⁶ Bresi-Ando preached that the white-run British churches should give the African the chance to exhibit his own qualities, to no longer be an apprentice but now finally to be a master⁶⁷. He saw all the British missionary churches as having political views which necessarily supported

⁵⁸ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 3, Log 2, p. 58.

⁵⁹ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica “Ethiopianism”, par. 1; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 13.

⁶⁰ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 3, Log 2, p. 54—italics added.

⁶¹ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 1, Log 2, p. 26.

⁶² RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 3, Log 2, p. 54-55.

⁶³ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 2, Log 2, p. 45.

⁶⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 June 1994, Log 26, p. 1663.

⁶⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 55.

⁶⁶ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 36, Log 16, p. 974.

⁶⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 June 1994, Log 26, p. 1663-1668.

the official British party-line and New Imperialist policy, something which Bresi-Ando was firmly against because it was forever “suppressing and always reducing the African”⁶⁸ Thus, Bresi-Ando’s message was one of *Emancipation* and *Africanization*, including “Ethiopianism”, “blackness”, “black internationalism”, and embryonic “nationalism”. Africans—all blacks—were to do things for themselves, by themselves, their own way, by joining together and combining their own resources to run their own lives and churches and institutions, even their own country someday, as Africans, free from any white suppression⁶⁹. These emancipationist ideas of Bresi-Ando were to be further enhanced by his upcoming amalgamation with Garveyite “Back-to-Africa” aspirations.

2.3. Church name changes

Then came the first of several name changes. In 1929 Bresi-Ando's “United Free Church of Africa” was renamed “The Primitive Apostolic African Church,” with Bresi-Ando now positioning himself as its “Bishop”, having his base in Aba, southeast Nigeria⁷⁰. One can easily see that Bresi-Ando was ecclesiastically longing for a Christianity that pre-dated the Reformation-based European missions which were operating in Africa at the time. *Primitive. Apostolic. African. Bishop.* Had he heard about the Eastern Orthodox Church with its Apostolic roots in north and east Africa? These yearnings for non-European, African-based, Early Church authenticity would later sprout to full fruition within Bresi-Ando’s 1930’s emancipationist agenda.

This new name—“The Primitive Apostolic African Church”—was not to last very long, because in 1930 the American representatives of the Kofey African Universal Church arrived in West Africa⁷¹. Not receiving a welcome from the Gold Coast colonial authorities, they proceeded on to the British Colony of Nigeria in order to make physical contact with Bresi-Ando, meeting up with

⁶⁸ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 36, Log 16, p. 974.

⁶⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 26, 55, and 30 June 1994, Log 26, p. 1665-1668.

⁷⁰ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, Tema, Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1986, p. 243; E. BRESI-ANDO. Letter to the Hon. Chief Secretary to the Government, Lagos, Colony of Nigeria, 25 July 1929, and again to the same on 11 October 1929, Ibadan Archives File CSO.911/23624, Primitive Apostolic African Church, in Max ASSIMENG, “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 67-68, 77 footnotes 16 and 17.

⁷¹ E. BRESI-ANDO. Letter to the Hon. Chief Secretary to the Government, Lagos, Colony of Nigeria, 30 November 1931, Ibadan Archives File CSO.911/23624, Primitive Apostolic African Church, in Max ASSIMENG, “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 69 & 77 footnote 18.

him somewhere between 1930 and 1931⁷². How they knew of Bresi-Ando was a mystery to his nephew Rev Edonu, who suspected it was through the mail⁷³. Rev. Edonu's opinion was that news of the Kofey movement had been published in the press and Bresi-Ando thereby became informed and consequently wrote to the Americans, or, they on the other-hand had heard of his own AIC and had written to him⁷⁴.

It was apparent that not only did the African Universal Church & Commercial League (AUCCL) desire and need an African religious figure to lead their organization in place of the late Laura Adorkor Kofey—to properly “Africanize” it and give it credibility among the Afro-Americans⁷⁵, but they also needed a local African church to sponsor their missionary activities in Africa. This would provide them the legal footing that they needed to live and work in the British West African colonies. Bresi-Ando and his Nigerian AIC appeared to be perfect for this dual task, so Kofey's representatives sought out Bresi-Ando with an offer that he could not refuse.

2.4. Bresi-Ando assumes leadership of Kofey AUCCL organization via merger

The AUCCL representatives did successfully meet up with Bresi-Ando by the end of 1931, because Bresi-Ando personally transmitted the information regarding the safe arrival in West Africa of these “American Industrial Missionaries” in a communique explaining matters to the Nigerian Government on 30 November 1931⁷⁶. Other documentation states that the number of the “repatriated American Negroes to Nigeria by the Koffey African Universal Church (inc.)” eventually totaled “six”⁷⁷. One particular name is mentioned, that of Carey H. Jones of St. Petersburg, Florida, who himself would play a major role in the development of Bresi-Ando's African Universal Church throughout the Gold Coast in the next few years⁷⁸. Rev. Carey Harold

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 26, and 06 January 1993, Log 16, p. 924.

⁷⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 06 January 1993, Log 16, p. 924.

⁷⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 27, and 06 January 1993, Log 16, p. 923.

⁷⁶ E. BRESI-ANDO. Letter to the Hon. Chief Secretary to the Government, Lagos, Colony of Nigeria, 30 November 1931, Ibadan Archives File CSO.911/23624, Primitive Apostolic African Church, in Max ASSIMENG, “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 69 & 77 footnote 18.

⁷⁷ Document of the Interdiction of Bishop Carey H. Jones by Supreme Pontiff Prince-Patriarch Bresi-Ando, The African Universal Church (Orthodox Catholic), 1943, File GR1.34.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

Jones originally had been a member of the Garvey movement but later became an active member of the Kofey's African Universal Church⁷⁹. AUCCL Supreme Elder Martin Dow had ordained Jones in Jacksonville, Florida, where Kofey had a strong following⁸⁰.

In Nigeria, the AUCCL representatives negotiated with Bresi-Ando and then signed the official merger between their Koffey African Universal Church and Bresi-Ando's Primitive Apostolic African Church on 22 September 1931, making Bresi-Ando new "the Supreme Pontiff" of the merged new church entity, known simply as "The African Universal Church"⁸¹. An official document found in Ghana—the 1943 "Document of Interdiction" of Bishop Jones by Patriarch Bresi-Ando—establishes the fact that Bresi-Ando became officially the "Supreme Pontiff" of a merger of the two churches. It reads:

[T]he Koffey African Universal Church (inc.) [...] merged with the Primitive Apostolic African Church into The African Universal Church under a contract of merger signed between Mr. Franklyn Adeniyi Adjei, Second Managing Director of the American Group and the Most Revd. Kwamin Ntsetse Bresi-Ando of the latter church dated 22nd September, 1931 and ratified by resolutions passed by the fusing units at their respective conferences which recognized the authority of the said Most Revd. Kwamin Ntsetse Bresi-Ando as the Supreme Pontiff of the merger known as the African Universal Church.⁸² (From the *1943 Document of Interdiction* of Bishop Jones by Patriarch Bresi-Ando. Note that "Koffey" and "Kofey" are interchangeable alternate spellings).

With a local African as both sponsor and pontiff, the AUCCL now had all the legal footing they needed in order to be allowed to stay and operate within the British West African colonies.

Thus, a new name—"The African Universal Church"—with a more *concrete* Garveyist vision and mission came into Bresi-Ando's own independent African church activities. From this time on,

⁷⁹ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 140.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Document of the Interdiction of Bishop Carey H. Jones [...], File GR1.34. Note: "Koffey" and "Kofey" are interchangeable spellings.

⁸² *Ibid.* The contract of merger was signed by Bresi-Ando and Mr. Franklyn Adeniyi Adjei, "Second Managing Director of the American Group." It is not clear if Mr. Adjei personally traveled to Nigeria in 1931 for this contract negotiation and signing, or if his representatives sent him the document to sign through the mail. The original contract of merger is lost. However, the source of information about this merger comes from another primary source, the 1943 Document of Interdiction of Rt. Revd. Carey H. Jones, which names Rev. Fr. K. A. Eyitey, General Secretary of the African Universal (O.C.) Church, as primary signee. Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, who held this document in his possession in Afransi, Ghana, reported that it was originally drafted by Bresi-Ando in Nigeria in 1943 and then was mailed to Rev. Eyitey in Accra for him to add his signature above his typed name. Presumably this is an unsigned second copy, the first having been delivered to Bishop Jones.

Rev. Bresi-Ando began to call himself the “Bishop of West Africa”⁸³. His ecclesiastical position was enhanced through this merger, as he now was no longer limited to Nigeria, but also had flocks (formerly belonging to Laura Kofey) scattered across the American South, and soon would have many new parishes in the neighboring Colony of the Gold Coast and the Ashanti Protectorate (or, Asante, as it is now referred to).

2.5. The AUC is set up in Nigeria

With the help of the new “Supreme Pontiff”, Bishop Bresi-Ando, branches of the AUC were opened in Nigeria. In fact, the massive research of Robert Hill, a Marcus Garvey historian, demonstrates that a Nigerian branch of the African Universal Church did exist in Lagos in the early 1930’s, operating along its basic initial Garveyite ideology and emphasizing among its church membership the need for the establishment local African-run commerce and industry⁸⁴. The name of the radical Sierra Leonean political activist I. T. A. Wallace-Johnson was briefly associated at the ground level of Bresi-Ando’s AUC branch in Lagos as a founding branch member and local AUC leader during his brief sojourn in Nigeria in the early ‘30s⁸⁵.

Despite stirring up some local interest and opening branches in Nigeria, the AUC repatriation plans for the colony never matured⁸⁶. After some years, the three African-American AUC missionaries assigned to work in Nigeria returned back to the U.S. due to lack of adequate and consistent funding from the national AUC organization in America⁸⁷. Something had broken down in the American side of the former Kofey organization, as we shall see in detail later. However, this abandonment did not spell the collapse of Bresi-Ando’s Nigerian AUC parishes, which continued to operate all through the 1930’s, although very short-staffed at times⁸⁸. To satisfy their need for more clergy, Bresi-Ando opened his St. Ignatius Seminary in Aba, eastern Nigeria, in 1940⁸⁹.

⁸³ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 243.

⁸⁴ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey [...]* vol. X, p. xcix.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion [...]*, p. 140.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 79, and 20 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1640.

⁸⁹ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 243.

3. Establishment of the African Universal Church (AUC) on the Gold Coast in 1932

Having officially merged with the African Universal Church in 1931 and become its “Supreme Pontiff,” Bresi-Ando began to set about effecting the plan of *repatriation* combined with the proclamation of *emancipation*. While an exact date is unknown, about this time (during Bresi-Ando’s initial missionary venture in Nigeria), he linked up with his elder half-brother, Earnest Anderson (known as Earnest Bresi-Ando), better known later as Rev. Ainu (or Ainoo) Ando-Brew, after he had changed his name for the third time. For clarity, and to avoid the reader confusing the two “Bresi-Ando” brothers, going forward Earnest will be occasionally referred to as “*Earnest*” and primarily as “*Ando-Brew*”, but not as “Anderson” or “Bresi-Ando”⁹⁰.

Being a graduate of the prestigious Mfantipim School⁹¹, a former Gold Coast cocoa broker, and a talented Methodist choir conductor, in about 1929 Earnest decided to travel to the sister British Colony of Nigeria as his younger brother Bresi-Ando had done earlier⁹². A good pianist, he landed a job playing entertainment in a bar. However, this late-night job tired him, and so he was ready to take up an entirely new line of work when he met up with his brother Bresi-Ando in Nigeria⁹³.

When the two of them crossed paths, Earnest saw that his younger brother had founded a new Nigerian AIC which now had a fascinating American connection⁹⁴. Bresi-Ando informed him of his mission and the two decided to work together. Bishop Bresi-Ando gave Earnest a short training to be a minister and then ordained him⁹⁵.

3.1. Ando-Brew is sent first to Apam

It was Bishop Bresi-Ando’s wish that his new African Universal Church be established in his native Gold Coast, not only in Nigeria⁹⁶. In fact, it had been the plan of the followers of Kofey that they would bring her church back to her home country and thus fulfill the original design of her Program. She had always been preaching that she had been sent by her Gold Coast father,

⁹⁰ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW, Elijah K. JOHNSON, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1241, 1244, 1258-1260.

⁹¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1641.

⁹² FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1242.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 1242-1244.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1243-1245.

“King Knesipi,” to invite their American black brothers and sisters to come back home⁹⁷. Thus, three of the six AUCCL industrial missionaries had been designated for the Gold Coast⁹⁸. To open the door for these Americans, it was Bresi-Ando’s idea to send his brother, the new “Reverend” Earnest, on ahead and use him to establish the beachhead of his new mission on the Gold Coast⁹⁹. Once Rev. Earnest Ando-Brew would get the embryonic mission up and running on the Coast, Bishop Bresi-Ando and three Afro-American missionaries would follow.

In preparation for the transplanting of his mission in his homeland, Bresi-Ando translated the name “African Universal” into the Ghanaian dialects of Fante and Twi: “Ebibirpim Asore” (in Fante) and as “Abibipem” (in Twi)¹⁰⁰. “Ebibirpim” means “the Thousands of Africa” and “Asore” means “Church”¹⁰¹. Thus, the meaning was “The Church of the Thousands of Africa,” or, “the church for the whole of Africa, for all Africans everywhere,” hence, the African Universal Church¹⁰². It basically meant: *the Pan-African Church*. (Note: since the name “Ebibirpim” was the common local Fante name for the “African Universal Church,” it is being used in this text frequently and interchangeably with the English name, along with the acronym AUC.)

In 1932 Bishop Bresi-Ando sent Rev. Earnest Ando-Brew home to the Gold Coast to begin the work of the new church there¹⁰³. Rev. Ando-Brew organized the first two parishes in his home area in the Central Region, among his Fante tribesmen, who were fishermen along the Atlantic Coast of West Africa. The first parish was established in Bresi-Ando’s hometown of Apam (a larger fishing town) in the house of Ando-Brew’s maternal aunt, Madam Molly Brew¹⁰⁴. For her key beginning role as “financier” of the new Apam parish, Aunt Molly is viewed by Rev. Edonu as an original co-founder of the African Universal Church on the Gold Coast, together with her

⁹⁷ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 131, 134-135; Eli B. NYOMBOLO. *Mother’s Sacred Teachings*, p. 44.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁹⁹ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1243-1245.

¹⁰⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 06 January 1993, Log 16, p. 921.

¹⁰¹ Hans W. DEBRUNNER. *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, Accra, Waterville Publishing House, 1967, p. 331.

¹⁰² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 06 January 1993, Log 16, p. 921, 925.

¹⁰³ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1243; FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1080 (the 1932 eye-witness of start of AUC in Apam by Ando-Brew is Emmanuel A. N. Adentwi); Rev. K. D. NYAAKO-ADENTWI. History of Apam, [unpublished typed manuscript], [s.d.], p. 14, File GR1.19.

¹⁰⁴ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1243; FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1581.

nephew, Rev. Ando-Brew¹⁰⁵. This is yet another example of the famous Brew family being involved in the “brewing” emancipation of the Gold Coast. During this same time period, Ando-Brew also planted a second parish in his hometown of Mumford (where his mother lived), a smaller coastal fishing village, just a few miles west of Apam¹⁰⁶. The Apam parish—being the larger community and commercial center of that area—overshadowed this second mission station. Thus the Apam parish became the “Mother Church” of all subsequent African Universal parishes and mission posts throughout the whole Gold Coast, while the Mumford organization—being really only a branch of Apam—lasted for only about one year¹⁰⁷.

In Apam, Rev. Ando-Brew set about organizing a group of local elders to support and back the goals and aims of the church¹⁰⁸. Having launched the work of the new church in the colony, they then deemed it necessary to send a delegation back to Bresi-Ando in Aba, Nigeria, to invite him to come over to the Gold Coast¹⁰⁹. They were now ready to receive him and his Afro-American missionaries.

3.2. Bresi-Ando arrives with his Afro-American missionaries

Back in Nigeria, Bresi-Ando and three of his African Universal Church “American Industrial Missionaries” were apparently ready to travel, as Ando-Brew’s activity within the Gold Coast had opened the door for them¹¹⁰. The Gold Coast Colony authorities allowed Bresi-Ando to bring his new African-American colleagues along with him into the Colony in 1932 most likely because his mission church was now already “established” in Apam by his elder brother, Rev. Ando-Brew, a Gold Coast native. Although denied access two years earlier, they were now easily admitted into the country, being seen as coming to support (and to be a part of) the activities of an already-established local Gold Coast church mission over which Bresi-Ando was—through the merger—the international “Supreme Pontiff”. One must bear in mind that Bresi-Ando was always very

¹⁰⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1470; FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1581.

¹⁰⁶ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1243; FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1581.

¹⁰⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 969.

¹⁰⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 81; Rev. K. D. NYAAKO-ADENTWI. History of Apam, [...], p. 14, File GR1.19.

¹⁰⁹ Rev. K. D. NYAAKO-ADENTWI. History of Apam, [...], p. 14, File GR1.19.

¹¹⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 06 January 1993, Log 16, p. 921; Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 140.

careful never to do anything illegal nor take any action that might anger the British authorities and thereby jeopardize his church activities. This can be seen from the many telegrams that he sent to the British Colonial authorities in which he constantly reassured and explained his actions¹¹¹. Bresi-Ando was not a rebel nor did he wish to get the reputation of treason. Thus, he very carefully always walked within the confines of the law.

According to Rev. Edonu, Bresi-Ando intended on using the efforts of the American Negro missionaries to help him organize and properly establish their African Universal Church on the Gold Coast, laying the ground work for the thousands of repatriated Americans whom everybody thought were surely soon to come to settle on the Gold Coast—all their long-lost African-American brothers whom Mother Kofey had been recruiting in Florida before her untimely and unfortunate death¹¹². It was an exciting and easy message to bring to the coastal Fantes, the inland Asantes, and the south-eastern Akuapem Twi-speaking locals.

After Bresi-Ando sailed to the Gold Coast in 1932, the three AUC missionaries—Jones and Johnson and a third gentleman—lived in the Gold Coast Colony for a while¹¹³. Evangelist Johnson, however, quickly abandoned Bresi-Ando after arriving on the Coast. While he did remain in the colony for a number of years working in Accra, Johnson never fulfilled his mission on the Gold Coast as an African Universal Church evangelist¹¹⁴. The third un-identified Afro-American, like Johnson, is not remembered by Ghanaians for having played any active role within the AUC on the Coast, but instead he quit Bresi-Ando's mission and worked as a layman with Johnson at an Accra bakery run by a West Indian named Shackelford¹¹⁵. Researcher Newman lays the blame for this on the lack of regular financing coming from the U.S. side of the organization¹¹⁶.

In the end, of the six original “Industrial Missionaries” sent to West Africa by the Kofey African Universal Church & Commercial League, over time the American team was gradually reduced down to only one name—the “semi-illiterate labourer” missionary-farmer Rev. Jones of St.

¹¹¹ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 67.

¹¹² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 27.

¹¹³ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 140.

¹¹⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1096-1097.

¹¹⁵ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 140.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Petersburg, Florida¹¹⁷. Only Jones remained faithful and stuck it out in Africa, holding on to the Kofey “Back-to-Africa” repatriation scheme the longest. He would play a major role in the establishment of the African Universal Church on the Gold Coast, marry a local woman, and remain there until his death in 1975. Decades later, back in Apam, Ghana, only Jones is remembered to have come to town with Bishop Bresi-Ando when they arrived in 1932 to join Rev. Ando-Brew, who was already hard at work at church planting¹¹⁸.

In 1932, when he had traveled home to the Gold Coast, Bresi-Ando left behind Rev. Kofi Brebi (Bennett Sr.) to be in charge of the Nigerian branch of the African Universal Church in his absence¹¹⁹. Rev. Brebi, Sr., was a relative (an uncle by marriage) of Joana, Bresi-Ando’s future Nigerian wife, who was too young for marriage at this time (she was only 15 when she first met Bresi-Ando)¹²⁰. For an unknown reason, Bresi-Ando also left behind the Gold Coast wife whom he had married while in Nigeria in the 1920’s¹²¹. An unfortunate pattern is developing in his personal life. Back in his hometown of Apam, the bishop married for the third time, taking as wife a daughter of one of his African “uncles” in a union that would only last three years¹²².

3.3. Bresi-Ando and Jones meet with Apam elders

Upon their arrival in Apam in 1932, Bresi-Ando, Jones, and Ando-Brew went to see the town chief in order to explain their mission, a procedure which would be followed in town after town in the ensuing years¹²³. Cultivating the backing of chiefs was a very important agenda for Bresi-Ando in the propagation of his Africanized emancipation policy, since the role of the chief along with his council of elders—the heart of the local community—was central to the African understanding and experience¹²⁴. Gathering together Ando-Brew’s new group of church elders plus intellectuals and any others who were interested, Bresi-Ando fully explained to them his “mission”, the new thing that he was bringing from Nigeria, and what he intended to do in his homeland. He told

¹¹⁷ Document of the Interdiction of Bishop Carey H. Jones [...], File GR1.34.

¹¹⁸ Rev. K. D. NYAAKO-ADENTWI. History of Apam, [unpublished typed manuscript], [s.d.], p. 14, File GR1.19; FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1080.

¹¹⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 18 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1454-1455.

¹²⁰ FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO and Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1580; FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 17, p. 1051-1052.

¹²¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 February 1994, Log 10, p. 552.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1080.

¹²⁴ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 21-22.

them his famous line: that he had “been inspired to found his own church *to liberate the African*”¹²⁵. His church would help emancipate the black man—helping the African realize that God had created him “to live as an African, to worship as an African, to run his government as an African. No more [*were they*] to remain as a servant, a tool of the white man.”¹²⁶

3.3.1. Biblical basis of Bresi-Ando’s emancipationist ideology

Bresi-Ando’s ideology was expounded clearly there in Apam in 1932. It was a message of *Emancipation* and *Africanization* through the *Christian Gospel* within *his church*. In his message—and throughout the next few years in his preaching—Bresi-Ando combined the Gospel with the call for Emancipation. Making the Gospel his base, Bresi-Ando’s foundation, according to Rev. Edonu, came from Jesus Christ’s teaching: that the Son of God sets one free¹²⁷. “Therefore if the Son makes you free, you shall be free indeed” (John 8:36 NKJV). Thus, if one wanted to be free, he must first believe in Christ Who, as God the Son, was the Source of everything—spiritual and material¹²⁸. Standing upon this Gospel proclamation of freedom, Bresi-Ando went on to preach emancipation for the black man in all areas of his life—religious emancipation, educational emancipation, commercial emancipation, social emancipation, and even political emancipation¹²⁹. The Africans were to *come together* in all areas—in religion, in education, in commerce, and in politics—to *be free*¹³⁰.

3.3.2. Policy of Africanization and education

Definitely, back in Apam in 1932, it was an all-encompassing program of emancipation that Bresi-Ando outlined to the elders gathered there. His multi-faceted “package plan” included his “Ethiopian” style African-run AIC with its enticing Africanization policy, which was very inclusive of the chieftaincy and certain African practices not allowed by the white European missions. Bresi-Ando spoke of his plans to open African-run schools in every town that accepted his new church. In this he was following the policy already well established by the education-

¹²⁵ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 3, Log 2, p. 54—italics added.

¹²⁶ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 3, Log 2, p. 54-55.

¹²⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1516.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1513-1517.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1514; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 419.

focused Basel missionaries on the Gold Coast: wherever they started a parish (a “station” as they called it), they always opened a school¹³¹. (The term “station” comes from “mission station,” the local base of operations for a missionary in a specific area, including a residence, a school, a church, and sometimes an orphanage or other vocational-technical school. Rev. Edonu always referred to all of his parishes as “stations”, but in this dissertation, the term “parish” is being used.)

3.3.3. The “Back-to-Africa” Repatriation Program

In addition to his *Emancipation Agenda*, which included its *Africanization Policy*, Bresi-Ando also brought the news that a large *Repatriation Program* was in the works. Their long-lost African-American brothers and sisters, who previously had been rudely cut-off from their African roots, sold into slavery, and had suffered greatly over the years, having been denied emancipation for centuries in the New World, were now on their way “home”. Already some had come, and in this Rev. Carey Harold Jones was the prime example and living proof. Light-skinned (“fair-colored”) but definitely a black Negro and definitely American, Jones was proudly displayed as “Exhibit A” of what was surely to come¹³². Bresi-Ando proclaimed that now the Gold Coasters must hurry and prepare a place to receive the large number of American brothers who would be returning to their homeland, to their African heritage. Jones himself, in the next few years, was always bearing witness to this plan, speaking of the African Universal Church’s decision to return blacks back to Africa. Jones would always be explaining how he was only a “forerunner”—one who had gone on ahead in order to prepare a place for others to follow¹³³. He was proof of Kofey’s Garveyite preaching in Florida in 1927 and 1928, as she was recruiting African-Americans to return to Africa. She had heralded out: “I have come to bring you a message of good news and glad tidings [...] Your kings and leaders of Africa who are your fathers and your native people who are your brothers and sisters have also given me a MESSAGE to ask you: They say you have been a long time away from home, why have you not made PREPARATIONS to come home?”¹³⁴

¹³¹ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 8.

¹³² FFN, J. B. QUANSAH. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 20, p. 1223.

¹³³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 55.

¹³⁴ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 135.

3.3.4. Exciting “American bait”

The two Bresi-Ando brothers and Rev. Jones proclaimed that now it was the time for the Gold Coasters to make their own “preparations” to receive all the African-Americans who would soon arrive. This exciting African-American Repatriation aspect worked to make Bresi-Ando’s new church with its over-all emancipation “package plan” appear *very attractive* to the native Gold Coasters, remembers Rev. Edonu. In fact, locals started calling Bresi-Ando’s church the “American” church¹³⁵. In the next few years the American Jones indeed was always being used by Bresi-Ando in his sermons as the “bait” in order to catch and convince prospective members for his quickly-growing African Universal Church (the Ebibirpim Church) as they traveled from town to town with their message. It was an easy sell, and many converts were easily caught. In the early 1930’s—and still in modern Ghana—the Gold Coasters had a love for the United States as well as a great deal of respect for the African-Americans, whom they saw—and still see—as their black brothers¹³⁶. (This is historically linked to the fact that the famous Gold Coast educator at Achimota College, Dr. Kwegyir Aggrey, had studied in America and had inspired in his countrymen a love for the United States¹³⁷.) Any talk of such people returning to the Gold Coast only added up to the perfect plan—with hopes of a beneficial coming together in freedom for both the black American and the Gold Coast national. The Afro-American returnees would certainly bring developmental skills and foreign financial contacts which would help develop and prosper both themselves as newcomers as well as their hosts, their brothers, the Gold Coasters¹³⁸. In a few words, Bresi-Ando’s program was to be summed up in the inscription which he placed on the wall behind the pulpit of his rented church facility in Apam. It read: “Eternal life for the soul, and bread to eat for the body. Look for them here.”¹³⁹

Bresi-Ando’s package plan of freedom had a clear, natural ring to it, and the repatriation aspect was the silver lining. A plan of freedom and development by reuniting with technologically-advanced foreigners (who were in reality only long-lost African brothers) looked much better than the current white colonial system of “development-in-suppression” (as some of them saw it) which

¹³⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 06 January 1993, Log 16, p. 929-930.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 929.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 931.

¹³⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 04 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1547.

¹³⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 15 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1701.

the Gold Coasters were then under-going at the hands of the British. Bresi-Ando's sales pitch was easily repeated again and again in town after town over the next few years, with dramatic positive results.

3.3.5. The Ebibirpim Council is formed

Having told his audience at Apam in 1932 that he had started his church because he wanted the African to be free, Bresi-Ando expressed his hope that many would catch his vision and join forces with him¹⁴⁰. Indeed, the group of elders who had gathered at Apam were convinced and decided to join with Bresi-Ando in the establishment of his church and in the implementation of its goals. Bresi-Ando formed some of these elders (and others of like mind) into his personal advisory board, which he named the "Ebibirpim Council"¹⁴¹. In the ancient tribal culture of Ghana, a leader is better respected when he is surrounded by a group of respected elders¹⁴². Thus Bresi-Ando, in keeping with his pro-African policy, set up a group of elders to back his new church and its goals. The regular meeting place of the Ebibirpim Council quickly moved from Apam to the Central Region town of Agona Abodom, where it met periodically with Bresi-Ando from 1933 to 1942¹⁴³. Chief Robert H. Adams of Fomena (a small town just down the road from Abodom) became the eminent leading chief on the Council¹⁴⁴. He was officially called Nana Essah III, the "Obatan" (or Divisional Chief) of the Nyimfa Division of the Gomoa Assin Traditional Area, the head of a dozen village chiefs within the Division (but not the Paramount Chief, who is above the Divisional Chiefs)¹⁴⁵. A former Methodist Church organist in Cape Coast, Adams was excommunicated when he was enstooled as a chief, due to the pagan sacrifices involved in the ceremony¹⁴⁶. A pious, believing Christian, Chief Adams whole-heartedly welcomed, joined, and for the rest of his life enthusiastically backed Bresi-Ando's African Universal Church, happy to find within it an open door to worship the Holy Trinity as a full communicant. Through his leadership, his town of Fomena accepted Bresi-Ando's teachings in 1932 very quickly after the bishop arrived in Apam,

¹⁴⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1513-1517.

¹⁴¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 11 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1602.

¹⁴² Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 21-22.

¹⁴³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1698.

¹⁴⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 11 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1602.

¹⁴⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1669, 1671, 1674.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1673.

becoming the second large Ebibirpim parish¹⁴⁷, which by the mid-1950's even eclipsed Apam as the new spiritual center of Bresi-Ando's AIC¹⁴⁸. Years later Chief Adams was still very proud of the fact that he was the one who had "sent messengers to Apam for the establishment of the Church at Formina [*sic.*] in 1932"¹⁴⁹. One Mr. Thompson Kobina Yedenu, who believed in the freedom of the black man and was very fluent, became the "linguist" of the Ebibirpim Council, assisting Chief Adams and Bresi-Ando¹⁵⁰. Rev. Edonu, a school teacher at the time, remembered that most of the Council members were actually illiterate (except Chief Adams), therefore they gave the highly literate and very scholarly Bresi-Ando utmost respect and authority¹⁵¹. They viewed his opinion as always better than theirs and considered that he knew how to run the church better than they. However, if a task was within their scope and ability, Bresi-Ando would not limit them, but would give them a chance to try to perform it¹⁵². Having formed a core committee to support his new church, the work of effecting the Bresi-Ando plan began.

4. Marcus Garvey clarifications

One must note that in Bresi-Ando's union of the propagation of the Gospel with the proclamation of emancipation for Africans, as well as in his 1931 merge with the Kofey African Universal Church, one will see a combination of Laura Kofey and Marcus Garvey in *the inspiration of ideas*. However, interestingly, Rev. Edonu, who joined Bresi-Ando's Gold Coast church in 1933, rising up through the ranks and eventually holding the office of Deputy Bishop for 37 years, adamantly *denied* that Garvey or his UNIA ever had any *direct official* connection with Bresi-Ando's church and movement¹⁵³. Bresi-Ando had inherited Kofey's AUCCL organization which itself had broken from Garvey's UNIA, so at best one can admit an *indirect* link, a second-hand connection.

¹⁴⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 969.

¹⁴⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 03 October 1992, Log 3, p. 163-165, and 23 July 1994, Log 30, p. 1918.

¹⁴⁹ Minutes of the Minor Synod of the African Universal (O.C.) Church, Formina [*sic.*], 14 May 1950, p. 6, File GR1.43.

¹⁵⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 42.

¹⁵¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 11 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1602, and Chief ADAMS. Letter to K. A. Ayitey, 31 May 1957, File GR1.8.

¹⁵² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 11 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1602.

¹⁵³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 06 January 1993, Log 16, p. 930-931.

4.1. Mistaken researchers

There is no evidence at all to support the thesis of prominent West African church historian Hans W. Debrunner who tried to say that Bresi-Ando's African Universal Church might have been "a Ghanaian development of the African Orthodox Church propagated in the United States by Marcus Garvey"¹⁵⁴. According to Rev. Edonu, Debrunner made this assumption, which has only confused matters in the literature. It was not the truth¹⁵⁵. Perhaps Debrunner was following historian David Kimble, who in his huge work, *A Political History of Ghana: The Rise of Gold Coast Nationalism 1850-1928* (Oxford, 1965), *incorrectly* identified McGuire's "African Orthodox Church" with Bresi-Ando's Abibipem (Ebibirpim) parish in the town of Larteh, in the Eastern Region¹⁵⁶. Researcher David Brokensha in his *Social Change at Larteh, Ghana*, (Oxford 1966), cites Kimble and repeats the error¹⁵⁷.

Rev. Edonu himself had served for some time as the priest of the Ebibirpim parish in Larteh in the early 1940's under Patriarch Bresi-Ando¹⁵⁸. It turns out that it was Rev. Edonu whom researcher Debrunner had contacted in a letter dated 30 July 1958 seeking information about Bresi-Ando's African Universal (O-C) Church for his upcoming book. Rev. Edonu, as Deputy Bishop, replied to him in a letter dated 15 August 1958¹⁵⁹. In a personal interview with researcher Andrew Anderson on 06 January 1993 in Afransi, Ghana, Rev. Edonu rebutted Debrunner's statement that the African Universal Church in Ghana was a branch of McGuire's "African Orthodox Church": "That is not true in any way. It was his own *assumption*."¹⁶⁰

Rev. Edonu solidly affirmed that the Garvey-associated "African Orthodox Church" of Bishop George Alexander McGuire in the U.S.A. was *not* the parent of Bresi-Ando's church nor directly connected to it in any way, shape or form in 1931, or in 1932, or in 1936—never¹⁶¹. The explanation for the confusion brought by Kimble, Brokensha, and Debrunner (and all subsequent

¹⁵⁴ Hans W. DEBRUNNER. *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, p. 331.

¹⁵⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 06 January 1993, Log 16, p. 931.

¹⁵⁶ David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 544, footnote 3.

¹⁵⁷ David BROKENSASHA. *Social Change at Larteh, Ghana*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1966, p. 127.

¹⁵⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 April 1994, Log 9, p. 459, and 20 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1815.

¹⁵⁹ V. Rev. K. EDONU. Letter to Hans Debrunner, 15 August 1958, File GR1.58.

¹⁶⁰ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 06 January 1993, Tape 30, Log 16, p. 931.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 930-931.

researchers who have cited them) is that a portion of Bresl-Ando's Larteh parish membership broke away in 1955 under Rev. Abradu and Bishop Jones and joined McGuire's "African Orthodox Church," while the rest of the Larteh parish stayed loyal to their founder, Bresl-Ando, and remained within his AIC¹⁶². The name of this loyal Ebibirpim parish for decades was St. Peter's, but it was changed to Ss. Peter and Paul when it joined the canonical Orthodox Patriarchate.

4.2. More proofs of no connection to McGuire's African Orthodox Church

While in no way connected, in 1935 these two already-existing churches—Bresl-Ando's and McGuire's—would curiously find themselves thrown alongside of each other in the current of history, in the "same boat" as "brothers", impacted by the same *episcopus vagans*: Archbishop Vilatte. It was not until years later, in the early 1960's, that Rev. Edonu actually came across an American representative of McGuire's "African Orthodox Church" who was visiting Ghana. An outright merger was contemplated at that time, yet never accomplished¹⁶³. Among other factors working against any such union (between Bresl-Ando's church and McGuire's) was the anti-white stance of McGuire's African Orthodox Church (USA), as it was presented to Rev. Edonu at that time. His opinion was that the McGuire church was racist since it restricted whites from entering the ranks of its hierarchy¹⁶⁴. Such an attitude was not the policy of Bresl-Ando's church, claimed his nephew Edonu¹⁶⁵. This will be better analyzed in Chapter 13 in Section Three, "Bresl-Ando's *Socio-Cultural* Emancipation."

There are other clues disproving any connection between McGuire's church and Bresl-Ando's in 1931—the year of the merge. McGuire's African Orthodox Church was "Old Catholic" in its orientation since its inception in 1921, as he had received his so-called "valid" episcopal orders from the hands of Vilatte, the "Archbishop of the Old Catholic Church of America"¹⁶⁶. However,

¹⁶² FFN, Rev. Gregory Labi ODENG. Larteh, ER, GH, 11 April 1994, Log 8, p. 414; Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary of Rev. K. K. Edonu: February 1951-May 1957, entries 04 April 1955, 27 June 1955, 29 July 1955, 26 September 1955, 09 October 1955, File GR3; FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1179.

¹⁶³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 59-60, and 06 January 1993, Log 16, p. 932-935.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 933.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 930-935.

¹⁶⁶ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, Berkeley, CA, The Apocryphile Press, 2006 [1964], p. 108.

Bresi-Ando's AIC in Nigeria and the Gold Coast was independent Protestant in ecclesiology and liturgy (non-sacramental) from its inception in 1926 until the mid-1930's. It was not until 1935 that Bresl-Ando himself took his existing Protestant AIC church organization into the "Old Catholic" ecclesiastical camp of "Archbishop" Vilatte, at which time he left behind his Protestant practices and took up a Roman Catholic-style of liturgical worship. (This is described in the following chapter.) Thus, Bresl-Ando's existing church body came along side of other "Old Catholic" minted organizations, but Bresl-Ando's ecclesiastical story did not begin with Vilatte (and certainly not with McGuire).

4.3. No "apostolic succession" lists in Kofey's church

Finally, in the official church documentation detailing the 1931 merge, no mention is made of there being any ecclesiastical consecration of Bresl-Ando in 1931 by a Kofey African Universal Church hierarchy, as certainly would have been the case if Kofey's church had been an arm of McGuire's "Old Catholic"-style church¹⁶⁷. As reported above, Kofey started her own church organization all by herself. It was not formed from McGuire's African Orthodox Church. Nor is there to be found in Bresl-Ando's Ghanaian church archives any list of an "apostolic succession" of bishops during his pre-1935 church era. However, Bresl-Ando did publish such a list in his post-1935 booklet, *The Apostolic Succession of the African Universal Church (Orthodox-Catholic)*, after receiving his own "Old Catholic"-style consecration in London by a Vilatte hierarchy in 1935¹⁶⁸. Such succession lists are the hallmark of all the "Old Catholic" *episcopi vagantes* churches, including McGuire's. But, back in 1931, when Bresl-Ando was given the reins of the Kofey organization, he displayed no such list. Kofey's church and Bresl-Ando's church merely merged—by means of ratified resolutions—and remained, for the time-being until 1935, a Protestant organization. This is further witness that Bresl-Ando's organization was *not* an offshoot of McGuire's African Orthodox Church.

¹⁶⁷ Document of the Interdiction of Bishop Carey H. Jones [...], File GR1.34.

¹⁶⁸ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Patriarch of Umuagbaghi. *The Apostolic Succession of the African Universal Church (Orthodox-Catholic)*, Coll. "Orthodox-Catholic Literature," n° 2, [s.l.], The Publication Department of Ebibirpim, Ltd., [s.d.], p. 2-11.

5. AUC becomes a fast-growing “movement” within the Gold Coast and the Asante

Quickly and explosively Bresi-Ando’s African Universal Church (the “Ebibirpim Asore”) became a real “movement,” recalls Ghanaian elder statesman Mr. Kojo Botsio¹⁶⁹. It caught the eye of Ghana’s future political leadership. Mr. Botsio pointed out that Dr. Kwame Nkrumah “was deeply interested in the [*Ebibirpim*] movement and how he [*Bresi-Ando*] was doing it”¹⁷⁰. Mr. Botsio further clarified that Dr. Nkrumah, as a young teacher, really liked the older Bishop Bresi-Ando and was thoroughly interested in his fast-paced movement: “Kwame used to visit him [*Bresi-Ando*] in Apam and chatted with him how he started the church and the schools.”¹⁷¹

5.1. The new church spreads like a wild fire

Hundreds of villagers joined the new Ebibirpim Church movement, excited that thousands of their long-lost American black brothers and sisters were soon to arrive home. Ebibirpim Schools were being opened everywhere. In 3 ½ years, Bresi-Ando started at least 44 churches in anticipation of the Americans’ imminent return. (See Appendix A—List of Ebibirpim Parishes; and see also Appendix C—Maps of Ebibirpim Parishes and Schools.) His church spread fast like a wild fire¹⁷²—rapidly—throughout all the Central Region, and in fact, throughout the Colony and up into the Asante area—as people from one town to the next learned of this new church and petitioned that it be brought to their village as well. It leaped like an unstoppable gazelle from town to village to town. In fact, the church started growing so fast that Bresi-Ando did not have to go out street preaching. Instead, he would wait to be officially summoned by interested parties who wanted him to come and open a new Ebibirpim mission station in their hometown¹⁷³. Villages petitioned him one after another.

During this period a string of Central Region towns and villages opened parishes: Apam (’32), Mumford (’32), Gomoa Fomena (’32), Ekumfi Otum (’32), Gomoa Afransi (’32), Ekumfi Gyirankuma (’32?), Gomoa Aboso (’32/’33), Gomoa Odwobi (’32/’33), Agona Abodom (’33), Agona Bobikuma (’33/’34), Gomoa Pinanko (’33-’35), Gomoa Akropong (’34), Gomoa Odina

¹⁶⁹ FFN, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1189.

¹⁷⁰ RI, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1202.

¹⁷¹ RI, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1188, 1202.

¹⁷² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1643.

¹⁷³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1642.

(’34/’35), Ajumako Essaman (’35), and Gomoa Takwa (?). In the Eastern Region, Akuapem District: Mepom (1933). In the Akyem District (ER): Akim Breman (1934), Kankan (’34/’35), Kwabeng (’33-’35), and Abomosu (’33-’35). In the Akyem Kotoku District (ER): Akyem Adosena (’34?)¹⁷⁴. (See Appendix C—Maps of Ebibirpim Parishes and Schools.)

During this same time period (between late 1932-early 1933), Rev. Ando-Brew was sent by Bresio-Ando to again be a mission planter. He was dispatched north into the Asante to open it up as a new mission field for the African Universal Church¹⁷⁵. By April 1933, when Edonu first arrived in Apam, he found that his uncle Ando-Brew was already in Kumasi¹⁷⁶. After arriving in the Ashanti Region (the Asante lands) to be a missionary, Ando-Brew quickly opened a number of parishes: Senfi and Kumasi (in late 1932/early ’33), Onwe, Ejisu, Sewua, and Sekyere Akrokyere (all between 1933/’34), and the big “mother church” of Kumawu (1934)¹⁷⁷. In 1934, Jones came up to help and greatly expanded the Asante Diocese, opening the large Bekwai parish (Bekwai District), Jeretiasi (Mampong District), Bomen (Sekyere District), six more parishes in the Kumawu District—Abotanso, Amanfrom, Besoro, Pepeasi, Wonno, Woraso, plus four in the Nsuta District—Anwanya, Asuafo, Atwea, Kuruwi¹⁷⁸. The eye-witness to this northern missionary work of Jones is Fr. John Sarkodie-Aidoo, who was an elementary student attending the Akrokyere Ebibirpim School from 1934-1936¹⁷⁹. He was a member of the local Ebibirpim Choir that would travel with Jones, singing at the openings of these new parishes¹⁸⁰. He saw these named stations, but claimed that there were others: “It was more than that. The whole Ashanti and Brong-Ahafo [*Regions*], all our churches are there, but for me, I can’t see all.”¹⁸¹ Apparently there was even an Ebibirpim mission post set up in the city of Dormaa in Brong Ahafo, the old region immediately north of the Ashanti Region (with scanty historical records, yet an actual premises

¹⁷⁴ Parish List, Central and Eastern Regions, File GR20.

¹⁷⁵ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1245, 1247.

¹⁷⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1096.

¹⁷⁷ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1133; FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1255; FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 28 June 1994, Log 28, p. 1762, 1766, 1773.

¹⁷⁸ FFN, Parish List, Asante Diocese, reviewed by Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 28 June 1994, File GR20, and 28 June 1994, Log 28, p. 1762-1764.

¹⁷⁹ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 28 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1646.

¹⁸⁰ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1146.

¹⁸¹ RI, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Tape 76, Log 18, p. 1140.

existed)¹⁸². Rev. John Sarkodie-Aidoo even said that the evangelist Jones served Ebibirpim mission posts in Bawku and Navrongo (very far to the north, in the Upper East Region of north Ghana, on the border with the country of Burkina Faso)¹⁸³.

With Ando-Brew's departure to the Asante to expand the outreach of the AUC into the north, assisted by the Afro-American missionary Jones, the growth of the church advanced even faster. Bishop Bresi-Ando remained based in the south at his headquarters in Apam where he was receiving interested candidates for short training courses (for only three months each) after which he would ordain and post these new ministers to various new mission stations in his rapidly expanding church organization¹⁸⁴. He needed to spend time gathering and quickly training new parish leaders, as his church was rocketing into existence, with numerous new parishes springing up all over. The Ebibirpim/African Universal Church was really moving in those early days. Indeed, it had become a "movement", as Mr. Botsio liked to call it¹⁸⁵.

5.2. Many new Ebibirpim Schools are started

During the time period of 1932-1935 Bresi-Ando and Ando-Brew opened a number of schools in the Central Region, Eastern Region, and the Asante. At least 8 elementary schools (that can be specifically remembered by name or seen listed in records) have been identified¹⁸⁶. (See the List of Ebibirpim Schools in the Appendix B.) Most held only lower primary classes, but three included the upper primary levels: the Apam Ebibirpim Academy, the Prempeh Memorial Institute in Kumasi, and the Orthodox School in Dunkwa-Kyekyawere¹⁸⁷. The number of Ebibirpim Schools—by a most conservative count—decades later would grow to include 24 primary schools,

¹⁸² FFN, Catechist Samuel K. INKOO. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 28 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1645. In 1979 Catechist Inkoom went there to investigate reactivating the old Ebibirpim community. He was shown the actual house used by Ebibirpim worshippers in years gone by, but found no members. A restart did not take place due to the far distance.

¹⁸³ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1152.

¹⁸⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1640.

¹⁸⁵ FFN, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1189, 1202.

¹⁸⁶ List of Schools, File GR20.

¹⁸⁷ In those days, a British colonial-era elementary school consisted of 10 grades (K-9), divided into Lower Primary and Upper Primary. Lower Primary consisted of three Infant classes (K, 1st, 2nd): known as "Infant" i, ii, iii; and three Junior classes (3rd, 4th, 5th): known as "Standard" I, II, and III. Upper Primary was also called "Senior" school (not to be confused with "Senior Secondary" which is High School, whose grade levels were known as "Form"). Upper Primary/Senior elementary school consisted of four classes (6th, 7th, 8th, 9th): known as "Standard" IV, V, VI, VII.

1 secondary school, and a seminary, for a total of 26 institutions¹⁸⁸. There very likely could have been more, but their names have been forgotten as these schools all but one faded away. (The full story of Bresi-Ando's Ebibirpim school system is told in Chapter 15, "Bresi-Ando's *Educational Emancipation*.")

The Apam Ebibirpim Academy came into existence on 06 September 1932¹⁸⁹. Its most famous staff member was J. B. Edonu¹⁹⁰. Born as Kweku Kurafi on 12 April 1907 in Ekwasi (a Fante fishing village next to Sekondi on the coast of the Western Region), he was known during his school years as Job Benjamin Edonu, (or "J. B." as he liked to be called then)¹⁹¹. Later as an AUC priest he was called Rev. Kweku Kurafi Edonu, and finally as an Eastern Orthodox priest since 1982 was known as Fr. Kyriakos Kweku Edonu¹⁹². As a young 26-year-old J. B. Edonu was a Methodist school teacher in Elmina, next to Cape Coast¹⁹³. Requested by his uncle, Mr. Thompson Kobina Yedenu, the linguist for the Ebibirpim Council, to come to help Bresi-Ando's new all-African-run school, J. B. moved to Apam and on 03 April 1933 officially joined the staff of the Ebibirpim Academy, thereby getting himself involved in the work of the church that he would never leave¹⁹⁴. He established himself at that time as the lead eye-witness to the entire life and work of his uncle Bresi-Ando, eventually becoming his "Deputy Bishop," and serving as the main interviewee for this present research. Up in the Asante, his other uncle—Rev. Ando-Brew—with the backing of the powerful Asante tribal leadership¹⁹⁵ opened his school, the "Prempeh Memorial Institute" in Kumasi in 1933¹⁹⁶. The entire saga of these two brave indigenous educational ventures is narrated in much detail in Chapter 15.

¹⁸⁸ List of Schools, File GR20.

¹⁸⁹ FFN, C. B. QUANSAH. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 19, p. 1213; J. S. DUNN. Provincial Inspector of Schools, Central Province. "Official Report on the Apam Abibirpim [*sic.*] Academy," handwritten into the School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 22 February 1934 entry, p. 6, File GR4.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 941.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 941-942.

¹⁹³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 42.

¹⁹⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 40-42; E. BRESI-ANDO. School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 03 April 1933 entry, p. 1, File GR4.

¹⁹⁵ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1588.

¹⁹⁶ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1271, 1276; FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1281; FFN, E. A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 20, p. 1219.

5.3. Reasons for the rapid rate of growth

The most rapid rate of growth for this young Ebibirpim mission (the African Universal Church) occurred between 1932 and 1935, though additional parishes were opened throughout the remainder of the 1930's. Historically, more Ebibirpim churches were started in the 1930's than in any other decade which followed. This present research discovered that in reality there was no single specific reason as to why members joined. Rather, members joined up for a variety of reasons. Some mission stations opened simply due to the appeal of the old-fashioned Christian Gospel message, while some others opened because there was as yet no other church in their town¹⁹⁷. Some opened because of the hope of having a school established in their town, while many, many others were opened because of Bresi-Ando's Pro-African policies, especially his liberal stance on marriage—allowing polygamy¹⁹⁸. Some members joined in response to the emancipation teaching which was new and appealing to them in the early 1930's, while other individuals joined because this new church was “from” America (due to the Kofey-connection, backed by Jones' powerful testimony). Indeed, many members joined simply in hope that foreign goodness (i.e. wealth) would be coming their way if they signed up¹⁹⁹. These believed firmly in the repatriation scheme and hoped that when their American black brothers finally arrived, their African-American knowledge, leadership and finances would assist the Ebibirpim Church and its members (i.e. they—the Gold Coasters) in many ways²⁰⁰. While many folks believed in Bresi-Ando's call for commercial emancipation and material progress, and thus entered his church, the attraction of freedom and money was not the only reason for joining. Some remember joining because they were attracted to the lively African-American (Negro) spirituals that Jones was singing and introducing to them, while others were drawn towards Bresi-Ando's teaching on spirituality (i.e. his sermons on silent prayer and meditation) which they found more moving than what they were hearing in the local Methodist mission at the time²⁰¹.

¹⁹⁷ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1132.

¹⁹⁸ FFN, C. B. QUANSAH. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 19, p. 1215.

¹⁹⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 04 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1547.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁰¹ FFN, J. B. QUANSAH. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 19, p. 1215.

Down in the Colony (the southern section of modern Ghana), the majority of the new African Universal Church's Fante members appear to have come out of the Methodist Church²⁰², while up in the Asante (today's Ashanti Region in modern Ghana), where Christian churches were less numerous at that time, more believers were drawn in directly from the worship of other gods and idols²⁰³, while some were drawn from the Presbyterian/Basel missions²⁰⁴. In the Eastern Region of the Gold Coast, many members were attracted to Bresi-Ando's church from the Presbyterian/Basel missions²⁰⁵. However, in conclusion, it appears that quite often it was a combination of all the above factors which were at work in the formation of a parish at any one place, as Bresi-Ando's over-all package plan was itself multi-faceted.

Thus, the African Universal Church quickly spread north and inland from coastal Apam. However, from that starting point there grew a strong rivalry. The Apam Methodists at that time had viewed themselves as the chief—even the one and only—church in the town, second to none. Thus, when the AUC entered, with its new teachings and Africanized practices, it presented a lively challenge to the established Methodist mission²⁰⁶. Many Apam Methodists defected to Bresi-Ando's church, and thus a great following arose from among the population of mostly illiterate fishermen in the town. It appeared to eye-witness J. B. Edonu who was working there at the time that “almost the whole town” had converted to the new rival church²⁰⁷. Not only was the Apam Methodist mission upset over Bresi-Ando's fast-growing church, whose presence threatened its primacy, but it saw that the African Universal Church was stealing their members, tempting them away, enamored with Bresi-Ando's preaching and policies²⁰⁸. In response, the “orthodox” Methodist establishment in Apam worked hard to frustrate Bresi-Ando's efforts²⁰⁹.

5.4. The year 1935: Ebibirpim's most “glorious state”

By the year 1935, in its Gold Coast Diocese, the *speed* of the Ebibirpim Church expansion was peaking, although the *total number* of parishes for the entire Ebibirpim Church would not reach

²⁰² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 October 1992, Log 2, p. 104.

²⁰³ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1131-1132.

²⁰⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 October 1992, Log 2, p. 104.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁶ FFN, C. B. QUANSAH and J. B. QUANSAH. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 19, p. 1213-1217.

²⁰⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 968.

²⁰⁸ FFN, C. B. QUANSAH and J. B. QUANSAH. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 19, p. 1214-1215.

²⁰⁹ FFN, J. B. QUANSAH. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 19, p. 1209, 1217.

its zenith until 1939²¹⁰. (See Appendix C—Maps of Ebibirpim Parishes and Schools.) It appears that the speed of church expansion in the Asante Diocese may have peaked a little after 1936, according to the scanty information available²¹¹. Rev. Edonu estimated the total Ebibirpim Church membership in 1935 as being “more than 1,500” for the Gold Coast Diocese, and about “3,000 and over” for the Asante²¹², yet this estimate for the Colony appears to the researcher to be far *too modest*. During the period of 1932 to 1935 the rate of growth for this new little church was very encouraging. At least 44 parishes (that can be remembered and named) in both the Asante and the Colony were planted during these *first three years* (see entire list in Appendix A). An average of one new parish was opened *every* three and a half weeks for a period of three years! There were certainly others, but their names have long been forgotten. While Bresi-Ando’s church was still very small when compared to the established, larger European missions, such as the Basel, Methodist and Anglican, yet he and his African Universal Church were becoming more and more known every year. The church was really moving—it was in its most “glorious state” in 1935²¹³. As Kojo Botsio described it: it was now a “movement”, large enough to catch the watchful eye of the future Ghanaian president, who used to pay personal visits to Bresi-Ando in Apam to discuss with interest how Bresi-Ando was growing his following²¹⁴. Although people joined Bresi-Ando’s church for a variety of reasons—depending upon which aspect of his multi-faceted emancipation program appealed to them—by 1935 one single question haunted them: where were all the promised African-American repatriates?²¹⁵ Except for missionary Jones, none had come. The two others who were employed at the Accra bakery were doing nothing for the movement. Why had not all the hoped-for repatriates sailed home to Africa already? The Africans were now ready for them, but where were the Americans? This question demanded an answer, and in early 1935 Bresi-Ando prepared himself to travel to the United States (via London) in order to search it out personally²¹⁶. Little did he know that in doing so his life and program would meet with an incredible new twist. Yet his emancipationist dreams and goals never diminished²¹⁷.

²¹⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 966.

²¹¹ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1152.

²¹² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 969.

²¹³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 967.

²¹⁴ RI, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1188, 1202.

²¹⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 967.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

²¹⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1517.

Conclusion

This first of five biography chapters began with a review of Bresi-Ando's early family life in his native Gold Coast, his character traits, education, marriage and ordination. After re-locating to Nigeria in the 1920's, Pan-Africanist seeds of emancipation, his dislike of colonialism, and the beginning of his search for religious origins motivated Bresi-Ando to open his own African-run schools, followed by his own African independent church (AIC) in Nigeria in 1926, which he said he founded to "liberate" the African from the white man. Merging with Laura Kofey's African Universal Church in 1931 and adopting the "Kofey synthesis", Bresi-Ando—as the new "Supreme Pontiff" of the merged denomination—brought his emancipationist ideology and independent church organization back home to the Gold Coast in 1932. In Apam, the Central Region, and throughout the land Bresi-Ando presented a Garveyite repatriation ("Back-to-Africa") ideology—via the Kofey organization—as a practical solution to colonialism and its economic suppression of the Africans. Afro-American industrial missionary Carey H. Jones was paraded through the villages and towns as "proof" that thousands more like him would soon repatriate to the Coast. In addition to *Repatriation*, Bresi-Ando preached *Emancipation* and *Africanization* through the Christian Gospel via his AIC. Many converts were quickly and easily won.

Marcus Garvey repatriation ideology was echoed by Bresi-Ando, but mistaken researchers have drawn false conclusions stating that Bresi-Ando's Ebibirpim Asore (his African Universal Church) was a branch of McGuire's "African Orthodox Church." Such was not the case. Bresi-Ando inherited Kofey's independent church organization (the AUCCL), not Garvey's UNIA nor McGuire's AOC. Garvey had long since given up on ideas of repatriation, but his former assistant and break-away Laura Kofey had not, so she had formed her own organization in Florida which Bresi-Ando inherited after her death. The expectation that thousands of African-Americans were about to repatriate back to Africa stimulated a rapid growth for Bresi-Ando's new church in Gold Coast Colony and the Asante between 1932-1935. 44 parishes were opened. With a new parish opening every three and a half weeks, and many Ebibirpim Schools being started, Bresi-Ando's organization quickly became a "movement" that began to catch the eyes of young up-and-coming politicians such as Kwame Nkrumah and Kojo Botsio. However, after three years of vigorous evangelism and much anticipation of the imminent advent of the missing American blacks, everyone in Bresi-Ando's AUC was wondering why no one had come except for missionary Jones.

On the strength of the “glorious” growth of his young organization and to answer this burning question, in early 1935 Bresi-Ando set sail to the United States via London to determine the delay of the black American repatriates. There in London his life and that of his church took an incredible unforeseen new twist that changed his future forever but did not dilute the content of his emancipationist message.

SECTION TWO: THE LIFE OF REV. KWAMIN N. BRESI-ANDO (1884-1970)

CHAPTER 9 BIOGRAPHY PART B—IMPLEMENTING A FULL PAN-AFRICAN PROGRAM, 1935-1939

Purpose

The purpose of this second biographical chapter is several questions: What happened to Bresi-Ando's much-loved Kofey repatriation program? What new concept did he adopt to replace it, in order to continue with his goal of full African emancipation? How did this "Orthodox Catholic" church get planted into his AIC and how thoroughly was it received? What personnel rose through the ranks to assist in this endeavor? Did his modified AIC continue to flourish through the second half of the 1930's under this new banner? And finally, was Bresi-Ando able to launch his commercial emancipation agenda before the decade came to a close?

Sources

Primary Sources:

The lion's share of information for this second biographical chapter on the life of Kwamin Ntsetse Bresi-Ando is sourced in the 49 interviews conducted with the chief informant of this project, the late Protopresbyter, the Very Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu. Notes and partial transcriptions of these interviews are located in the 34 log books containing Anderson's 1992-1994 Ghana research Fulbright Field Notes (FFN). The nephew of Bresi-Ando, a teacher at Apam Ebibirpim Academy from 1933 to 1936, a catechist working for missionary Jones inland among the Akyem from 1936 to 1938, and an Ebibirpim Limited company secretary and book-keeper in Accra from early 1938 to mid-1939, Rev. Edonu was seemingly almost always positioned in the right spot at the right time to see where the action was happening. In the early 1930's in Apam with his uncle, he witnessed first-hand the phenomenal movement of the Ebibirpim Church and schools across the Central Region. Up in his first pastorate in Akyem as a catechist Edonu saw how Bresi-Ando's new AIC had spread into the cocoa-farming areas of the Eastern Region. Then, returning to the colonial capital, Accra, for the remainder of the decade and working at Bresi-Ando's Accra headquarters, company secretary Edonu was highly qualified to speak of the financial details of

the commercial side of the organization as Bresi-Ando incorporated and launched his new company.

What Edonu did not see—namely, the growth of the church in the Ashanti Region—was intimately witnessed by the second most important informant for this chapter, Rev. John F. Sarkodie-Aidoo. His travels as a school age youth at various levels of education through several Ebibirpim Schools up in the Asante, brought him into contact with Jones. Engaged as an Ebibirpim Choir member, Sarkodie-Aidoo had the privilege of accompanying missionary Jones as he went around many districts of the Asante opening new churches in the mid-‘30s.

Helpful to understand and explain the growth and spread of the African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church through the decade of the 1930’s were several tools developed and compiled during the 1992-1994 Fulbright field research: Parish Lists, List of Schools, and Clergy Timeline, all part of Anderson’s Ghana Research Fulbright File GR20: “More Miscellaneous items: Important interview notes and transcriptions, timelines, lists of Bresi-Ando’s churches and schools.”

Throughout the chapter, Bresi-Ando often speaks for himself from his 30-page booklet, *The Apostolic Succession of the African Universal Church (Orthodox-Catholic)*, issued by The Publication Department of Ebibirpim, Ltd.

Other Primary Source materials:

“Ebibirpim Limited: Memorandum And Articles of Association,” Incorporated the 8th Day of May, 1938, p. 1-23, located in Anderson’s Ghana research Fulbright File GR1.

“School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946,” located in Anderson’s Ghana research Fulbright File GR4.

J. S. DUNN. Provincial Inspector of Schools, Central Province. “Official Report on the Apam Abibirpim [*sic.*] Academy,” handwritten into the School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 22 February 1934 entry, p. 5-13, 27-28, (Certified true copy), File GR4.

W. J. D. WADLEY. Provincial Inspector of Schools, Central Province. “Official Report on the Ebibirpim Academy, Apam,” handwritten into the School Log Book

of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 19 March 1935 entry, p. 32-39, (Certified true copy), File GR4.

Secondary Sources:

The 20th Century academic authority on Archbishop Joseph René Vilatte and all similar modern-day “bishops at large”—the *episcopi vagantes*—is the famous church historian Peter F. Anson. His 593-page tome entitled, *Bishops at Large* (2006 reprint), is the definitive work on the subject. Anson provides much historical background information on Vilatte and his artificial “Old Catholic” movement. He also describes Archbishop Churchill Sibley, the man who trained and consecrated Bresi-Ando in London in 1935. Sibley was the person who introduced to Bresi-Ando to the “Orthodox Catholic” church of Jacobite/Monophysite connections. In the “Introduction” to Anson’s 2006 edition, Henry St. John very clearly explains the *episcopi vagantes*’ common misunderstanding and misuse of “Apostolic Succession.”

Anson greatly developed the ground-breaking work on the subject done by Henry R. T. Brandreth in his book, *Episcopi Vagantes and the Anglican Church*, extremely useful in its mere 79 pages. Originally published in 1947, two slightly different editions are used here: SPCK 1961, and the recently slightly modified edition reprinted by Apocryphile Press in 2006. Of import is Appendix A (in 2006 edition), the “Notice from the Syrian Patriarch of Antioch and All the East,” dated 10 December 1938, which declared the Syriac Patriarchate’s denouncement of Vilatte and all his churches, such as Bresi-Ando’s AIC. J. A. DOUGLAS provides a very useful “Foreword” to Brandreth’s 2006 edition, which defines both the term “*episcopi vagantes*” and clearly differentiates between these fake “Old Catholics” and the real ones who left the Roman Catholic Church at the time of Vatican One.

Filling in where ever needed is biographical information gathered by Professor Max Assimeng, in both his article, “Methodological Africanism: Bresi-Ando as an Episcopus Vagans,” *CONCH*, vol. VII, n° 1 & 2, 1975, and his book, *Saints and Social Structures* (1986).

Finally, to substantiate the narrative given by Rev. Edonu concerning the 1937-1938 Cocoa Crisis is information from journal research published by Rod Alence, “The 1937-1938 Gold Coast Cocoa

Crisis: The Political Economy of Commercial Stalemate,” *African Economic History*, 1990, n° 19. It is amazing to see how the professional research validated the memory of Rev. Edonu.

Structure

There are *five* distinct parts to this *second* biographical chapter, covering the years 1935-1939:

- 1) Exchanging the failed AUC repatriation program for the “Orthodox Catholic Church”
- 2) The African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church: its transition to the “Monophysite” theological and ecclesiastical tradition.
- 3) Accra headquarters and important clergymen: Jones, Edonu, Labi Odeng, and Abradu
- 4) Second period of church growth (1935-1939)
- 5) Cocoa politics and a new commercial enterprise: “Ebibirpim Limited”

This second biographical chapter presents historical facts of origin that are equally as important as that which was already presented. The previous chapter narrated how Bresi-Ando founded his independent African denomination in Nigeria and how he transplanted it into the Gold Coast in 1932 utilizing Kofey’s African Universal Church and its Garveyite “Back-to-Africa” ideology. This second chapter begins with the disappointing failure of that grand repatriation scheme and the resulting crisis within Bresi-Ando’s pro-Africanist movement, but moves on to tell of Bresi-Ando’s next important foundation stone for his AIC—the embrace of what he thought was ancient Orthodox Christianity.

In the first part of this chapter the reader will observe how in London in 1935 Bresi-Ando made the historically important decision to exchange his failed Garveyite repatriation program for an entirely new agenda and religious affiliation: “Orthodox Catholic.” The missing Afro-American repatriates had placed Bresi-Ando into a moment of crisis which threatened his AIC’s reason of existence, positioning him to appear to be both a liar and failure in the eyes of his African faithful. Yet, providentially, Bresi-Ando found a solution with which to reinvent himself, enabling him to both continue and improve upon his pro-African emancipationist dream. His ensuing search in London in 1935 for the origins of African Christianity (attempting to be fully religiously emancipated from Western Christianity while being authentically canonical) began a long and

slow odyssey towards Orthodoxy, albeit at first within Archbishop Vilatte's so-called "Old Catholic" movement. Having made contact with these *episcopi vagantes*, Bresi-Ando was "consecrated" a "Patriarch", and automatically his AIC in Africa became (in his mind) an "autocephalous" "Apostolic" African church, connected to Africa's ancient Orthodox Catholic roots.

The second part of the chapter relates the efforts of the new "Patriarch" to transition his Ebibirpim/African Universal Church into a new upgraded "Orthodox Catholic" status, however actually along the lines of the "Monophysite" theological and ecclesiastical tradition. Viewing himself as the head of an authentic "Apostolic" communion designed to unify all African Christians on the continent while removing them from the European missions, Bresi-Ando returned to the Gold Coast to preach emancipation through his new and improved "African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church." His adoption of Non-Chalcedonian ecclesiology and theological terminology, combined with Roman Catholic-style liturgical praxis resulted in a confusing incomplete liturgical reform during this slower second period of church growth (1935-1939) as Patriarch Bresi-Ando transitioned his AIC from a non-sacramental to a sacramental approach.

The third part of the chapter speaks of several clergymen whose roles will become very important to the future of Bresi-Ando's AIC, as his biography unfolds. They engaged his imported "Orthodox Catholic" ecclesiology and partnered with him to plant it in West Africa. The fourth part lists the new parishes that were opened during the second half of the decade. Finally, the fifth part introduces the inauguration of Bresi-Ando's church-run company: Ebibirpim Limited. The 1937-1938 Cocoa Crisis of the Gold Coast became the opportunity for Bresi-Ando to launch his long-awaited church commercial venture, with the view to economically liberate his countrymen while at the same time underwriting the educational emancipation program of his own organization, and thus bring all his dreams to fruition.

1. Exchanging the failed AUC repatriation program for the "Orthodox Catholic Church"

It was on the strength of its phenomenal church growth in the Colony and the Asante, said Rev. Edonu, that the African Universal Church prepared itself to send its "Supreme Pontiff" Bresi-Ando

off to America to look for the missing repatriates¹. For *three years* (1932 to early 1935) Bresi-Ando's new African parishes all across the Gold Coast had been preparing for and expecting the advent of thousands of repatriated African-American brothers and sisters. Thousands of Fantes and Asantes were awaiting their entrance. Yet, strangely, by 1935, no African-American repatriates had yet arrived—apart from Jones (and Johnson and the third AUC partner, both of whom were not contributing to the mission's efforts). Nothing concrete was happening; only communications from the States had been coming, and then these too also stopped. Even Jones' usual American stipend had stopped coming from the U.S. side of their church². This should have been a clue that something had gone wrong in the U. S. branch's national organization. (It was probably at this same time that the three American missionaries working for African Universal Church in Nigeria quit and returned to America, due to lack of finances from their American organization's national office³.)

1.1. Travel overseas to find and bring home the missing repatriates

As the demand for the Americans had been getting greater and greater⁴, the Ebibirpim Church/African Universal Church leaders decided that their “Supreme Pontiff” Bresi-Ando must travel to the United States to investigate the delays⁵. A church send-off Synod was held at Apam (see photo, p. 798, App. D) during which Bresi-Ando placed Rev. J. A. C. Anaman—as the most senior clergyman—to be in charge of the whole African Universal Church throughout the Gold Coast (and Asante) during his absence⁶. When Bresi-Ando set sail for America (via London) in early 1935, little did he know that he was closing behind himself an entire period—an era—in his churchly ministry, namely, that of the (Kofey) African Universal Church and its African-American repatriation dream.

Finances only took Bresi-Ando as far as London. From there he contacted (via the mails) the U.S. branch of his international church organization of which he was supposed to be the “Supreme

¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 967.

² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 February 1994, Log 11, p. 608.

³ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 140.

⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 967.

⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 February 1994, Log 11, p. 608.

⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 February 1994, Log 11, p. 608, and 21 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1473.

Pontiff.” News came back to Bresi-Ando that the organization had been “dissolved”⁷. (This was the only information that Bresi-Ando reported when he returned to the Gold Coast). Rev. Edonu could only surmise that there probably had been some financial trouble and mismanagement in the U.S. branch, resulting in factionalism whose quarreling members had no desire to continue with a national organization, nor any desire to stand before their “Supreme Pontiff” and answer hard questions⁸. His educated guess was not far from the truth. While some of Laura Adorkor Kofey’s most faithful American followers did try very hard to carry her banner down through the decades—with a handful of parishes still existing to this day in Florida and Alabama⁹—the early decades following Kofey’s assassination saw the disintegration of any national organizational unity among her new American parishes¹⁰. In fact, after the initial effort of sending the six AUC industrial missionaries to Africa, the desire for local self-rule/autonomy and its resulting divisions within the AUC back in the U.S. caused many of its parishes to become independent and very parochial¹¹, cut off from the movement altogether, each going their own way¹².

Rev. Eli B’usabe Nyombolo, being very committed to Kofey’s guiding principles, emerged as a leader in Jacksonville, Florida, who organized one group of American AUC followers into a second new church: the “Missionary African Universal Church, Inc.” with himself as its head, which he led “the way ‘God told him to do’”¹³. In the later 1930’s Rev. Addison also split off, left Jacksonville, and established his own “African Universal Church” with his headquarters in East Orange, New Jersey¹⁴. This factionalism contributed to the AUC’s failure to operate under one central administration¹⁵, of which Bresi-Ando was convinced that he was the “Supreme Pontiff.” Thus, with the extended absence of Bresi-Ando (i.e. his not being in America to help lead the

⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 February 1994, Log 11, p. 608.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Examples of websites from two of Kofey’s existing parishes, in Alabama and Florida: *African Universal Church*. (Page consulted on 20 August 2019), <https://africanuniversalchurch.org/>; *African Universal House of Worship*. (Page consulted on 16 February 2017), <http://assemble.auhow.org/>.

¹⁰ J. Gordon MELTON. “Black Trinitarian Pentecostals: African Universal Church, Inc.,” *Melton’s Encyclopedia of American Religions*, 8th ed., James BEVERLEY and C. Jones CONSTANCE (Eds.), Farmington Hills, MI, Gale/Cengage Learning, 2009, 1386 p., put online [s.d.], (page consulted on 16 February 2016), <https://www.encyclopedia.com/religion/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/black-trinitarian-pentecostals#A>, par. 2 & 5.

¹¹ “Our History,” *African Universal House of Worship*. (Page consulted on 16 February 2017), <http://assemble.auhow.org/>, par. 11.

¹² J. Gordon MELTON. “Black Trinitarian Pentecostals [...],” par. 2.

¹³ “Our History,” *African Universal House of Worship*, par. 9-11.

¹⁴ Sherry Sherrod DUPREE. *African-American Holiness Pentecostal Movement* [...], p. 350, Annotation 2110.

¹⁵ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 137.

American side of the African Universal Church from 1931-1935), its national organization there had fragmented into parochialism and self-autonomy.

This period of disintegration of national organizational cohesiveness within the Kofey movement is what Bresi-Ando discovered (via mail) while in London. Kofey's loyal followers had searched for a spiritual leader and had found one in Bresi-Ando, while he was still in Nigeria. But their new "Supreme Pontiff" was far away in Africa and was not personally present to oversee and unite his American congregations on a day-to-day basis. (One can even wonder how well known or how well received in the U.S. was the news of the "merger" signed between Mr. Franklyn Adeniyi Adjei—the "Second Managing Director"—and Bresi-Ando.) Thus, historically, Kofey's American congregations gradually grew sadly apart, becoming independent self-governing parishes.

In response to Bresi-Ando's inquiring letters from London, a kind friend in the U.S. reported back to Bresi-Ando (in 1935) that there was no use for him to try to come to the States. There was no African Universal Church national organization for the "Supreme Pontiff" Bresi-Ando to meet with or to lead. It was "dissolved"¹⁶.

1.2. Bresi-Ando's conundrum and crisis moment

"Dissolved." Not in existence! Bresi-Ando had dedicated over three years (September 1931-early 1935) of hard work, toil and sweat—in Nigeria, the Gold Coast and the Asante lands—to his beloved (Kofey) African Universal Church repatriation scheme, only now to be met with nothing! Nothing but surprise, shock and disappointment! Actually, the Kofey organization had already begun to unravel philosophically for some time. It had taken several years for Jones and Bresi-Ando themselves to realize the complete "failure" of the AUC repatriation scheme and its collapse back home in the U.S. The fatal mistake in both Kofey and Garvey's "Back-to-Africa" repatriation plans proved to be very simple: putting all the rhetoric aside, most African-Americans by the 1920's and '30s actually viewed the United States to be *their* homeland (the land of their birth). They did not want to leave America to go "back home" to a distant land that was their great-great-

¹⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 February 1994, Log 11, p. 608.

great grandfather's homeland, but *not theirs*¹⁷. Over time, the majority of African-Americans opted for the NAACP's themes of racial equality and integration instead of Garvey's racial separatist stance¹⁸. Martin Luther King Jr. later came along and helped bring this civil rights equality ideology to fruition in the U.S. in the 1960's¹⁹.

It was Garvey's own anti-white racial isolationist stance which proved deadly to both his UNIA and to Bresi-Ando's AUC repatriation plans in the long run. Garvey's ideological archrival and critic, W. E. B. Du Bois, a black co-founder of the NAACP, won out. While Garvey advocated separatism (i.e. whites to get out of Africa, and blacks to go back "home" to Africa to run their own African countries), Du Bois and the NAACP, on the other hand, advocated integration (with full equality of civil rights and all opportunities) right at home within the United States²⁰. With this plan, no one had to re-locate back to Africa. History shows that Martin Luther King Jr. and the American Civil Rights Movement of the '50s and '60s followed Du Bois' equal rights course rather than Garvey's separatist stance and were granted the victory. Black Americans wanted to be treated fair and square—equally—regardless of color, right at home in the U.S.A. which they had helped build, without having to run back to the African home of their ancestors²¹. And eventually, that is what they got.

However, while the American civil rights crowds ultimately followed the thinking of the NAACP, Garvey's own UNIA movement—the largest black movement of its kind in modern history—is remembered and honored by many for helping liberate the black person from "the psychological bondage of racial inferiority"²².

¹⁷ "The Life and History of Marcus Garvey," *University of Northern Colorado: Marcus Garvey Cultural Center*. Put online 27 April 2010, (page consulted on 06 December 2010), <https://web.archive.org/web/20100528150830/http://www.unco.edu/garvey/history.asp>, par. 3.

¹⁸ "People & Events: W.E.B. Du Bois, 1868-1963, American Experience: Marcus Garvey—Look For Me in the Whirlwind," *PBS*. (Page consulted on 04 April 2011), https://web.archive.org/web/20111007013509/http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/garvey/peopleevents/p_dubois.html, par. 1, 3, & 4; and, "W.E.B. Du Bois and the NAACP," *The Civil Rights Movement in Virginia*, Online Exhibitions, *The Virginia Historical Society*. (Page consulted on 04 April 2011), <https://web.archive.org/web/20110515091902/http://www.vahistorical.org/civilrights/naacp.htm>, par. 1-3.

¹⁹ "People & Events: W.E.B. Du Bois, 1868-1963 [...]," par. 8.

²⁰ "People & Events: W.E.B. Du Bois, 1868-1963 [...]," par. 4.

²¹ "The Life and History of Marcus Garvey," *University of Northern Colorado: Marcus Garvey Cultural Center*, par. 3.

²² "People & Events: Marcus Garvey, 1887-1940, American Experience: Marcus Garvey—Look For Me in the Whirlwind," *PBS*. (Page consulted on 04 April 2011),

How the struggle for racial equality in the United States would play out in American 20th Century history was certainly unknown to Bresi-Ando back in 1931. What he did know at that time was that he had merged his Primitive Apostolic African Church (his personal AIC) with an American Protestant church (the Kofey African Universal Church) which itself was organizing for the mass transport of African-Americans back to Africa. But having learned the news of its dissolution, Bresi-Ando had to brace himself and absorb the reality that the *entire* Kofey repatriation scheme had *failed*! It was over! One can only wonder what thoughts ran through his mind at this juncture. Certainly, he was wondering what he would say to all his loyal church members back home on the Gold Coast who were anxiously awaiting both him and the missing African-American repatriates. He would look like both a liar *and* a failure!

So, no longer having to continue his journey to America, Bresi-Ando decided to stay for a while in London in order to try “to consolidate his position and that of the organization of the church he had founded by contacting officials,” said Rev. Edonu²³. Bresi-Ando decided to search out a hopeful contact. Back in the Gold Coast he had been given the name of one Archbishop Sibley by Dr. J. W. de Graft-Johnson (a later famous Ghanaian politician), who himself had already spent some time abroad and was an acquaintance of the hierarch. Bresi-Ando and de Graft-Johnson’s common love of political emancipation had brought them together. Bresi-Ando had spoken to DeGraft-Johnson of his upcoming plans to travel to the U.S. via London, and de Graft-Johnson reportedly had suggested that he look up Archbishop Sibley, as he might be of use to Bresi-Ando religiously²⁴. This is exactly what Bresi-Ando did. Thus Bresi-Ando made contact with the famous *episcopi vagantes* (in Latin: “wandering” or “stray” bishops) of the so-called “Old Catholic” movement in London which was attracting and re-ordaining Anglican clergymen in the early decades of the 20th Century²⁵. These “Old Catholics” are basically ecclesiastical frauds who need to be distinguished from the regular historical group of Old Catholics in Europe who broke

https://web.archive.org/web/20110519194555/http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/garvey/peopleevents/p_garvey.html, par. 1.

²³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 28.

²⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1515.

²⁵ J. A. DOUGLAS. “Foreword”, in Henry R. T. BRANDRETH, *Episcopi Vagantes and the Anglican Church*, Berkeley, CA, Apocryphile Press, 2006 [1947], p. xvi.

from Rome over Vatican I's pronouncements of papal infallibility and supremacy in 1870 and who look to the Old Catholic Archbishop of Utrecht (Holland) as their spiritual leader²⁶.

1.3. Contact with Rene Vilatte's *episcopi vagantes* and the "Old Catholics"

Archbishop Sibley was in a line of succession of fake so-called "Old Catholic" bishops who claimed to trace their "valid orders" and "Apostolic succession" back to the Syrian-Jacobite Orthodox Church and its (Oriental Orthodox) Patriarchate of Antioch. One Archbishop Joseph René Vilatte is perhaps the 20th Century's "*episcopus vagans*" par excellence. This term specifically refers to "a bishop who, without canonical authority, intrudes himself of his own will into the jurisdiction of other bishops", in other words, a wandering bishop²⁷. (Its plural is *episcopi vagantes*.) These problem-causing bishops are "without authority or without recognition in any major Christian church. Such bishops may have been properly consecrated but were not assigned to a diocese or were deprived of their diocese for some reason or were excommunicated by their church; or they may have received an irregular consecration by another bishop"²⁸.

1.3.1. Prince of the wandering bishops: Archbishop Joseph René Vilatte

Originally ordained to the priesthood by a regular Old Catholic hierarchy in Switzerland for the purpose of pastoring immigrant Belgian Old Catholics in Wisconsin, USA, Vilatte was eventually denied access to the hierarchy by the same group²⁹. Those who knew him personally described him as a man "with no religious principles"³⁰, "governed by inordinate ambition and insatiate greed for money and power"³¹, who drank too much and fled his creditors³². Not being the most stable of men nor obedient to any church authority, this "buccaneer ecclesiastical adventurer" simply

²⁶ The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica. "Old Catholic church," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 24 June 2013, (page consulted on 16 August 2019), <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Old-Catholic-church>, par. 1 & 6.

²⁷ J. A. DOUGLAS. "Foreword", in Henry R. T. BRANDRETH, *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 2006, p. ix.

²⁸ The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica. "Episcopus vagans," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 19 December 2011, (page consulted on 16 August 2019), <https://www.britannica.com/topic/episcopus-vagans>, par. 1.

²⁹ Henry R. T. BRANDRETH. *Episcopi Vagantes and the Anglican Church*, Berkeley, CA, Apocryphile Press, 2006 [1947], p. 31.

³⁰ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, Berkeley, CA, The Apocryphile Press, 2006 [1964], p. 118.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*, p. 111, 117.

went out “shopping” for someone else to ordain him a bishop³³. Somehow he heard that the Jacobites in India were pastoring a group of “schismatic Latin Catholics” in Ceylon³⁴. (To this day these Non-Chalcedonian bishops in India still identify as “Jacobites”, and are known officially on their website as the “Malankara Jacobite Syrian Christian Church,”—“an integral part of the Universal Syriac Orthodox Church” with their patriarch in Antioch³⁵.)

Having traveled to India, on 29 May 1892 the Old Catholic priest Vilatte was duly consecrated an archbishop by regular Syrian-Jacobite Metropolitans of Malabar to be the “Archbishop of the Old Catholic Church of America” with the goal of pastoring a flock of ex-Roman Catholic Americans³⁶. This was intended to be a missionary outreach to America by the Syrian Jacobite See of Antioch under Patriarch Ignatius Peter III³⁷. However, when the independent-minded Vilatte began to single-handedly (unilaterally) consecrate his own bishops against the canon law of their church (which requires three bishops for any episcopal consecration), this same Syrian-Jacobite Orthodox Church quickly excommunicated Vilatte and his followers³⁸, an action which appeared not to have had any effect upon Vilatte, who went about consecrating even more bishops by himself, thereby creating chains of “apostolic successions” descending from himself—chains which he claimed were canonical and valid, but which were *not* recognized by the Syro-Jacobites just the same³⁹.

³³ Henry R. T. BRANDRETH. *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 2006, p. 31; Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 118.

³⁴ Henry R. T. BRANDRETH. *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 2006, p. 33.

³⁵ *Jacobite Syrian Christian Church*. (Page consulted on 16 August 2019), <http://www.jacobitesyrianchurch.org/>, par. 1. Yes, to this day these Non-Chalcedonian bishops in India prefer to be known as “Jacobites”, in order to distinguish themselves from several other “Syrian” churches and sects within India. This is their official church website.

³⁶ Henry R. T. BRANDRETH. *Episcopi Vagantes and the Anglican Church*, 2nd ed., London, SPCK, 1961 [1947], p. 52; Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 107-108; Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 2.

³⁷ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 107-108. This Syriac Oriental Orthodox Patriarch is also known as Ignatius Peter IV, if one counts St. Peter himself as the first bishop of Antioch. (The Editors of World Heritage Encyclopedia. “Ignatius Peter IV,” *Project Gutenberg Self-Publishing Press*, World Heritage Encyclopedia, put online [s.d.], (page consulted on 02 March 2017), http://self.gutenberg.org/articles/ignatius_peter_iv.)

³⁸ Henry R. T. BRANDRETH. *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 1961, p. 52.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 51-52, 54; Notice from the Syrian Patriarch of Antioch and All the East, Homs, Syria, 10 December 1938, in Henry R. T. BRANDRETH, *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 2006, p. 70, Appendix A.

1.3.2. Syriac Patriarchate complains about “Old Catholic” schismatics

When the Syriac/Syrian Patriarchate complained of “a number of schismatic bodies which have come into existence *after direct expulsion* from official Christian communities and have devised for themselves a common creed and system of jurisdiction of their own invention,” they were speaking of Vilatte and his followers⁴⁰. Thus, in 1915 Archbishop Vilatte consecrated Archbishop Frederick E. J. Lloyd (of “The American Catholic Church”)⁴¹; and, Archbishop Lloyd in 1929 consecrated Archbishop Churchill Sibley, to be his “Missionary Archbishop and Vicar-General of the Order of Antioch in England” and “Metropolitan of the American Catholic Church for the British Empire”⁴². “Archbishop” Sibley, with his “valid orders” made it his business to re-ordain any interested Anglican clergymen into his “Order of Antioch” so that they might be certain that they truly possessed “Apostolic succession” rooted in the ancient Antiochian East, not in the recent Protestant Reformation⁴³. It was this same Archbishop Sibley who met and instructed Bresi-Ando in London in the year 1935, readily preparing him for instant episcopal ordination⁴⁴. By this time Sibley was calling his denomination “The Orthodox Catholic Church in England”, while he also operated his “Intercollegiate University” which was famous for producing fake degrees, the sale of which apparently brought Sibley a fair revenue and public denouncement as “a notorious charlatan”⁴⁵.

The fact that Vilatte and his followers had all been excommunicated by their Oriental mother church did not seem to worry him nor the bishops whom he ordained. They all continued to spawn other “autocephalous” churches. Church historian Brandreth notes that perhaps the most widespread of Vilatte’s succession was the “African Orthodox Church” (in the U.S.A.) whose founder was George Alexander McGuire whom Vilatte consecrated in 1921⁴⁶. This was the same McGuire who had at one time been the national chaplain for Garvey’s UNIA. It was McGuire’s particular “African Orthodox Church” which had the breath of Garveyism in it. It later spread to South

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁴¹ Henry R. T. BRANDRETH. *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 2006, p. 35-36.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 43; Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 276.

⁴³ J. A. DOUGLAS. “Foreword”, in Henry R. T. BRANDRETH, *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 2006, p. xv-xix.

⁴⁴ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 2-3.

⁴⁵ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 276-278.

⁴⁶ Henry R. T. BRANDRETH. *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 1961, p. 54-55.

Africa when McGuire consecrated Daniel William Alexander in 1927 to be the AOC primate and archbishop for “the African Province”⁴⁷.

1.3.3. Syriacs renounce Vilatte, all his consecrations, all his churches

After Vilatte died in 1929, his followers continued their work of breeding new church bodies. The Syrian-Jacobite (Syriac) Patriarch of Antioch and his bishops in India grew more and more upset over all these consecrations performed by the followers of the excommunicated Vilatte, being greatly disturbed by all the new “autocephalous” churches which were claiming ecclesiastical descent from India and bringing shame to their Oriental Patriarchate. Therefore, in 1938 they officially announced and re-stated to the whole world very clearly their *non-recognition* of Vilatte and *all* of his episcopal consecrations and *all* the churches that he and his successors had founded. They viewed Vilatte and all his followers to be under the ban of *excommunication*. All the consecrations done by Vilatte and his followers they considered to be *null and void*⁴⁸.

Their Patriarchal press release of 10 December 1938 unequivocally stated concerning “all the sects claiming succession through Vilatte”:

We find it necessary to announce to all whom it may concern that *we deny any and every relation whatsoever with these schismatic bodies and repudiate them and their claims absolutely*. Furthermore, our Church forbids any and every

⁴⁷ Richard NEWMAN. “Archbishop Daniel William Alexander and the African Orthodox Church,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 16, no 4, 1983, p. 624. Note: 1927 was the same year that the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria started its Holy Archdiocese of Johannesburg and Pretoria, in South Africa. Alexander, however, spread his church north to Uganda in 1931 and Kenya in 1935. In Uganda in 1932 Alexander ordained Reuben Spartas. Learning of their non-recognized, un-canonical status, Spartas and his Ugandans quickly broke away from the McGuire/Alexander “African Orthodox Church” in order to join the canonical Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria, Egypt, who eventually received them in 1946, after the war. At the Ugandans’ urging, their Kenyan colleagues also broke from the un-canonical Alexander and were received into the same Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate in 1946 as well. (See “Holy Archdioceses,” *The official website of Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa*. (Page consulted on 15 August 2019), <http://www.patriarchateofalexandria.com/index.php?module=content&cid=004001>; Richard NEWMAN. “Archbishop Daniel William Alexander [...],” p. 625-626; Metropolitan Makarios TILLYRIDES. “The Origin of Orthodoxy in East Africa,” *Orthodox Research Institute*, (page consulted on 06 November 2010), http://www.orthodoxresearchinstitute.org/articles/church_history/makarios_tillyrides_east_africa.htm, par. 9; Stephen HAYES. “Orthodox Mission in Tropical Africa,” p. 5).

⁴⁸ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 282; Notice from the Syrian Patriarch of Antioch and All the East, Homs, Syria, 10 December 1938, in Henry R. T. BRANDRETH, *Episcopi Vagantes [...]*, 2006, p. 34 and 70, Appendix A; Metropolitan Makarios TILLYRIDES. “The Origin of Orthodoxy in East Africa,” *Orthodox Research Institute*, par. 7.

relationship and, above all, intercommunion with all and any of these schismatic sects and warns the public that their statements and pretensions as above are *altogether without truth*.⁴⁹

This 1938 announcement by the Syro-Jacobites came after Lloyd and Sibley and McGuire and several others had already been ordained bishops. Thus, in 1935, the year when Sibley met Bresiano Ando, both men were completely convinced that Sibley's ordination was valid. They certainly had no clue that their "mother church" in India would very soon publicly denounce all their episcopal consecrations. Had Vilatte even bothered to inform them of his excommunication? Did he even care? By 1938 he was dead⁵⁰.

1.3.4. Western Augustinian ecclesiology vs. Eastern understanding

At any rate, Vilatte and his followers held the Western Augustinian ecclesiological view on holy orders: "Once possessing the powers of a bishop, always possessing the powers of a bishop."⁵¹ This view allows for distinctions in consecrations, such as "valid" but "illicit" (irregular, unlawful)⁵². Such concepts are completely *foreign* to the Eastern Orthodox (and Oriental) non-Augustinian view on holy orders, which focuses on whether or not the consecration (to bishop) or ordination (to priesthood) was done "by lawful authority" (i.e. in communion with and authorized by the appropriate Holy Synod)⁵³. If not done within this communion and synodal authority, then the orders are simply not recognized. There is no such thing in the East as "valid, but illicit" ordinations. So the question remains, did Vilatte (who grew up in the West as a French Roman Catholic) and his American and British followers fully understand this Eastern Christian *non-Augustinian* view and care to abide by it?⁵⁴ It rather appears that they simply remained within the Augustinian Roman Catholic mindset, contenting themselves with the belief that having "validly" obtaining holy orders (regardless of the lack of synodal authorization), now they had the right to

⁴⁹ Notice from the Syrian Patriarch of Antioch and All the East, Homs, Syria, 10 December 1938, in Henry R. T. BRANDRETH, *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 2006, p. 70, Appendix A—italics added.

⁵⁰ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 128.

⁵¹ Henry R. T. BRANDRETH. *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 2006, p. 8-9. See St. Augustine, *Contra Epistolam Parmeniani*, II, 28.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

freely ordain and consecrate whomever they wished, according to the Augustinian maxim: “Once a bishop, always a bishop.”⁵⁵

Over the years the disapproval of Vilatte and his ordinations continued to mount. Even the regular Old Catholic churches in Europe eventually disassociated themselves with Vilatte and his particular “Old Catholic” organization. By 1937, the regular Dutch Old Catholics (of Utrecht) were openly declaring “null and void” the acts of another leading “Old Catholic” *episcopus vagans* named Bishop Mathew, who had betrayed them just as Vilatte had betrayed the Indians.⁵⁶ Interestingly, Vilatte in his old age (in 1925) in his native France formally repented of his wandering ways and re-united with the Roman Catholic Church, where he stayed until his death in 1929⁵⁷. This most famous *episcopus vagans* “regretted that he had obtained Holy Orders in an unlawful and irregular way; and that he had illicitly and sacrilegiously conferred upon others various orders”⁵⁸. In addition, he “asked pardon of God, for the scandal he had given, and promised to repair it by the example of his life, inviting all those who had followed his errors to imitate his example”⁵⁹. Sadly, his many imitators did not heed his call to repentance.

1.3.5. Extremely limited view of Apostolic Succession: ecclesiological game of tag

In London in 1935, through the late Vilatte, men like Archbishop Sibley felt strongly “connected” to the ancient Syrian-Jacobite Orthodox Church (known to many for centuries as the “Monophysite” church) which had broken away from the Eastern Orthodox Church following the famous 4th Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D.⁶⁰. They felt they had “valid” ordinations and were part of a true “apostolic” succession. From their writings, such as Bresi-Ando’s own booklet, *The Apostolic Succession of the African Universal Church (Orthodox-Catholic)*, one sees an ideological oneness with the old Jacobite polemic against the Western (Roman Catholic) and

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6, See St. Augustine, *Contra Epistolam Parmeniani*, II, 28.

⁵⁶ J. A. DOUGLAS. “Foreword”, in Henry R. T. BRANDRETH, *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 2006, p. xvi.

⁵⁷ Henry R. T. BRANDRETH. *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 2006, p. 36.

⁵⁸ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 119, 126.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁶⁰ Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 33-37.

Eastern (Greek) Orthodox Churches, which claims that these all broke away from the Jacobite Church in the 5th Century!⁶¹

The academic authority on Archbishop Joseph René Vilatte and all such modern-day “bishops at large”—the *episcopi vagantes*—is the famous historian Peter F. Anson, whose tome entitled, *Bishops at Large*, has become the definitive work on the subject. In its “Introduction,” Henry St. John explains that their highly limited vision of apostolic succession, reduced to the mere passing on of “valid” orders, is “a *reductio ad absurdum* of the divinely ordained hierarchical structure of the Church constituted by apostolic succession”⁶². It becomes a churchly game of ecclesiastical tag—“divorced from almost every consideration but a mechanical conception of validity”⁶³. Their “determined conviction” and guiding “principle” is *Ubi ordines validi, ibi ecclesia*—where the orders are valid, there is the church⁶⁴. For these *episcopi vagantes* “such validity is the sole hallmark of the nature of the Church and its authority”⁶⁵. With their constant stress on correct and valid “apostolic succession,” such pretending pontiffs forgot that to be the Church, they must also hold the true Apostolic Tradition and Apostolic Teaching, in addition to possessing an “Apostolic Succession”. They end up using their new authority to invent personal versions of “apostolic teaching”:

The result of this action is that they are in effect reduced to saying “Get valid orders and you can choose what you believe.” They are unaware that they are saying this, and consequently lay great stress on the supreme importance of an orthodoxy, which turns out to be no more than their own particular and sometimes variable “doxy”.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Patriarch of Umuagbaghi. *The Apostolic Succession of the African Universal Church (Orthodox-Catholic)*, Coll. “Orthodox-Catholic Literature,” n° 2, [s.l.], The Publication Department of Ebibirpim, Ltd., [s.d.], p. 27.

⁶² Henry ST. JOHN. “Introduction”, in Peter F. ANSON, *Bishops at Large*, Berkeley, CA, The Apocryphile Press, 2006 [1964], p. 17.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

Furthermore, they completely lost sight of the fact of “Apostolic Collegiality”. In order to avoid being labeled “schismatic”, they must be in recognized communion within the global family of the historic Orthodox Catholic Church.

1.3.6. Bresi-Ando’s sincere intention and honest mistake

In London in 1935 Bresi-Ando did not see himself as studying a mere modern-day phenomenon of wandering pseudo-bishops “on the loose” playing ecclesiastical tag. While he certainly liked the “high sounding ecclesiastical nomenclature”⁶⁷, Bresi-Ando was not merely another early 20th Century African clergyman simply “stimulated by a search for status and independence”⁶⁸. While such was part of his motivation, he now had discovered a more substantial rock upon which to build his comprehensive African emancipation program. Bresi-Ando was convinced that under Archbishop Churchill Sibley’s tutorage he was studying something much older, something more authentic, something with a much deeper history. Having made the acquaintance of these “Old Catholics” of Syrian-Jacobite connection, Bresi-Ando began to learn about the ancient Orthodox Church. Although it was the Jacobite/Monophysite schismatic offshoot which he had contacted, Bresi-Ando was very impressed. Rev. Edonu remembered that his uncle, Bresi-Ando, was really inspired by the Orthodox Church, by its doctrines and by the fact that the origin of Christianity was in the Orthodox Catholic Church itself⁶⁹. Bresi-Ando became utterly convinced that historically it alone was the original Church that Jesus Christ began, and that its doctrine was the beginning of the foundation of the Christian Church⁷⁰. Therefore Bresi-Ando decided that his own church organization back in Africa should become Orthodox⁷¹.

Only many years later was Rev. Edonu able to discern that Bresi-Ando, in his historical research, while on the right track, had stopped short at a certain point: “He never went beyond the Jacobite” to the canonical Eastern Orthodox Church of the first century, said Rev. Edonu.⁷² Bresi-Ando had discovered that Orthodox Christianity had come to Africa first, long before the arrival of any

⁶⁷ Henry R. T. BRANDRETH. *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 2006, p. 37.

⁶⁸ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, Tema, Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1986, p. 241.

⁶⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 28.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 48, and 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1510.

European missionaries. It was brought to the continent in the 1st Century by the Apostles themselves. Therefore, Bresi-Ando reached back into history for this ancient African Christianity, but didn't reach back far enough. He got stuck in the 5th Century Monophysite polemic—whose modern-day descendants are commonly referred to as the “Oriental” Orthodox Churches which broke from the communion of the main body of the early Orthodox Catholic Church in 451 A.D. and have never returned⁷³. Although there was in the late 1980's and beginning of the 1990's a contemporary theological dialogue between the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox global communions, such aspirations for unity are too recent for this research on Bresi-Ando's 1930's pro-African emancipationist notions. In his own writings, sermons, and speeches in the 1930's, Bresi-Ando adopted (and noisily promoted) the classical, old-fashioned monolithic Monophysite ecclesiastical party-line, which viewed Roman Catholics, Protestants and Eastern Orthodox as being *not part* of their communion⁷⁴, which they held to be the only true apostolic one. Chapter 2 introduced this topic, and provided the necessary background for a deeper analysis of Bresi-Ando's theological convictions, which will be carried out in Chapter 14—“Bresi-Ando's *Religious Emancipation*.”

1.4. Consecrated an autocephalous “Orthodox” patriarch in London in 1935

After his quick and very short study of church history, Bresi-Ando's big day arrived. It was an important moment for him there in London when he received his own episcopal consecration at the hands of Archbishop Churchill Sibley “at 22 Fernshaw Road on Friday, the 8th day of March, 1935” and became “The Most Rev.d. Kwamin Ntsetse Bresi-Ando (Mar Kwamin), Prince-Patriarch of Umuagbaghi of the African Universal Church”⁷⁵. Sibley also conferred upon Bresi-Ando the “Order of Antioch” (“O.A.”)⁷⁶. In his understanding, upon his episcopal ordination, Bresi-Ando's AIC back in Nigeria and the Gold Coast *immediately* became “an autonomous self governing Church canonically erected and with unquestioned regular and Valid Apostolic

⁷³ Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 33-37.

⁷⁴ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 25-28; Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, Tema, Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1986, p. 243.

⁷⁵ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 3.

⁷⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1538.

Succession and Holy Orders, with power to develop a purely indigenous African Church and to effect unifications wherever and whenever practicable”⁷⁷.

“Self-governing”—this concept certainly was music to Bresi-Ando’s African emancipationist ears! With his episcopal elevation, Bresi-Ando willingly and enthusiastically received the title “Prince-Patriarch”⁷⁸, similar to the title “prince of the apostles” used for St. Peter by the Roman Catholics⁷⁹. This title “prince” summarizes all the ecclesiastical authority which the Roman Catholics contend has been passed down to all the successors of St. Peter in Rome, and can be seen in the official decrees of Vatican I (1870) in its sections on papal primacy and supremacy⁸⁰. For years after, Bresi-Ando would often sign his name, “Prince-Patriarch,” with his faithful followers ever lovingly calling him the same⁸¹. By gaining the new ecclesiastical titles of “Prince” and “Patriarch” via his episcopal consecration, Bresi-Ando felt empowered and emboldened to push his agenda towards higher levels of African emancipation. He was now officially a “Pope”, an authentic and supreme leader. As a “Pope”, he was “autocephalous” and did not have to worry about answering to a white man nor to any European bishop ever again. Now, through him, black Africans had a more significant and true—“canonical”—religious emancipation, and thus could reach for emancipation in the other areas of life as well.

While still in London, the new “Prince-Patriarch” began to “effect unifications” when “he organized a British section of the church and on Sunday the 1st day of September, 1935, he consecrated the Most Rev’d. Frederic C. A. Harrington”—a white man—placing him in charge of this British section, which was named the Holy Orthodox Catholic Diocese of St. George. Bresi-Ando remained head bishop⁸². However, before he traveled back to the Gold Coast, Bresi-Ando made this British section a full sister church to his church—“autonomous and autocephalous”⁸³. It

⁷⁷ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 3.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ “Decrees of the First Vatican Council, Session 4: 18 July 1870,” *Papal Encyclicals Online*. Put online 20 February 2017, (page consulted on 01 March 2017), Chapter 1, Section 6, and Chapter 3, Section 1, <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Councils/ecum20.htm#Chapter 1>.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Most Revd. Dr. K. N. BRESI-ANDO. Telegram to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, 06 February 1956, in Rev. K. A. EYITEY, General Secretary. Bobikuma Synod Minutes, The Catholic Apostolic Church, Catholicate of the South, (African), commonly called The Orthodox Catholic Church, 3rd to 6th February, 1956, p. 2, File GR1.47.

⁸² Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 4; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 28; Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 243.

⁸³ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 4.

was Bresi-Ando's consecration of this "Metropolitan" Archbishop Harrington and the establishment of his very own "One Holy Orthodox Catholic Church" in England which served as a stimulus for the Syrian Jacobite Patriarchate to issue their public repudiation of all of Vilatte's sects! Both Harrington and Vilatte are named in the 10 December 1938 press release from the Patriarchal office in Homs, Syria⁸⁴.

With emancipationist dreams in mind for a large-scale export business in the future, Bresi-Ando opened his church "headquarters" (as he always referred to it) in London at 86 Caledonian Road, N.1.⁸⁵, and placed his friend and colleague, Archbishop Harrington, in this church office as his direct representative⁸⁶. For many years, Bresi-Ando remained in close contact with Archbishop Harrington and his London church "Headquarters", although later observers noted that this office seemed to have operated more as a church-run business venture than as an international church headquarters⁸⁷. This was due to the fact that several years later when Bresi-Ando was finally able to incorporate his church-run business, "Ebibirpim Limited", he used the Caledonian Road office as his international branch office, with Archbishop Harrington assisting with the business transactions there⁸⁸.

Thus, with plans for a church-run business in the near future, Bresi-Ando was able to lay the groundwork for some financial arrangements while in London in 1935⁸⁹. However, as he had not designated a specific person within the Gold Coast to be his direct representative responsible for setting up such financial matters and arrangements within the Colony, and, finding difficulty communicating his financial plans to his men back home, Bresi-Ando decided that he had to return to the Gold Coast to see about setting up everything at that end personally⁹⁰. With all this in mind, it was actually another minor financial matter that triggered Bresi-Ando's quick return to the Gold Coast.

⁸⁴ Notice from the Syrian Patriarch of Antioch and All the East, Homs, Syria, 10 December 1938, in Henry R. T. BRANDRETH, *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 2006, p. 70, Appendix A.

⁸⁵ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 271 footnote 32; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 422.

⁸⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 940-941.

⁸⁷ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 271 footnote 32.

⁸⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 940-941, and 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 422.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 422.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 422-423.

Before he left London, Bresi-Ando found himself dragged before a British judge over a small matter, being accused of allegedly missing an installment payment for a piano⁹¹. In the courtroom he found himself against no less a witness than the Governor of the Gold Coast himself, His Excellency, Sir Arnold Hodson. (This entire story is related in greater detail in Chapter 16, “Bresi-Ando’s *Commercial Emancipation*”.) Bresi-Ando was sure he could win the case but instead received the legal advice to simply return to Africa and let the court proceedings die a quiet death, which is exactly what happened⁹².

Finally, on a personal note, when Bresi-Ando sailed to London earlier in the year, he abandoned his third wife, his “uncle’s” daughter⁹³. Then, during his nine-month stay in London, the non-racist Bresi-Ando met a white British woman, named Evelyn, whom he married⁹⁴. She can be seen in an old black and white photograph showing Bresi-Ando in London surrounded by white associates⁹⁵. This British wife soon became pregnant and later gave birth to twins whom Bresi-Ando never saw. When Bresi-Ando had to suddenly leave London and return to West Africa because of the court case, Evelyn did not travel with him⁹⁶. According to Mrs. Joana Bresi-Ando, since her husband knew that his people would not bless his marriage to a white woman (“His people doesn’t allow him to come with the white”), therefore he divorced Evelyn and returned to the Gold Coast without her (nor with the twins who were still in-utero)⁹⁷. Bresi-Ando never saw these children⁹⁸. Born after their dad had returned to Africa, years later, while planning to make a visit in 1948 to see their father in Africa for the first time, they tragically drowned in the river in London, and were found clinging to each other when their bodies were pulled from the water⁹⁹.

⁹¹ The GOVERNOR of the Gold Coast. Letter to the Governor of Nigeria, 15 July 1943, Ibadan Archives File CSO.192/41394, African Universal Church and Ebibirpim Ltd., in Max ASSIMENG, “Methodological Africanism [...]”, p. 71 & 77 footnote 22; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 April 1994, Log 8, p. 424, and Log 10, p. 544-545.

⁹² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 April 1994, Log 8, p. 424-425, and Log 10, p. 544-545, 563.

⁹³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 February 1994, Log 10, p. 552.

⁹⁴ FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 17, p. 1055.

⁹⁵ *Bresi-Ando and associates in London*, 1935, Montreal, Private Collection: “A. J. Anderson Ghana Fulbright Research,” File GR26BOX.Album 6, 1 photograph, black and white, 9 cm x 14 cm.

⁹⁶ FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 17, p. 1055.

⁹⁷ RI, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Tape 57, Log 17, p. 1055.

⁹⁸ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]”, p. 71.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 April 1994, Log 8, p. 430-431. Edonu reported that when he and Labi Odeng visited Bresi-Ando in Nigeria in 1949, the bishop informed them that his colleague Archbishop Harrington had been caring for the education of his sons prior to his death. Being about 12

2. The African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church: transition to the “Monophysite” theological and ecclesiastical tradition

Viewing himself as a “Primate of Africa”¹⁰⁰, Bresi-Ando set sail and returned to the Gold Coast, having left and returned, all in the same year of 1935¹⁰¹. His return was in about October, 1935, according to Rev. Edonu, who tried hard to recollect. However, he was adamant that Bresi-Ando’s trip to London was entirely within the year of 1935, being about six-to-nine months duration¹⁰².

Patriarch Bresi-Ando returned to his native people with a new program altogether¹⁰³. The former Kofey program of repatriation was now gone for good. Gone as well was the Protestantism of the African Universal Church (at least officially). Changed too was the name. Bresi-Ando brought with him a new name then in use among Old Catholics in Europe, that of “Orthodox Catholic”¹⁰⁴. However, not budging an inch away from his African emancipationist dream, despite the loss of the repatriation agenda, Bresi-Ando maintained his beloved Africanization policy within his new church agenda. He “wanted Orthodoxy plus Africanization,” and he believed firmly in both, that they could go hand in hand¹⁰⁵. Therefore, he did not at first drop the word “African” from the title. Rather, keeping “African Universal,” he only added “Orthodox-Catholic” in brackets, at times abbreviating it simply to “(O.-C.)”¹⁰⁶. For a long time on his letterhead the name of the church would read, “The African Universal Church (Orthodox-Catholic)”¹⁰⁷. By 1935 the Fante name “Ebibirpim” had become fairly permanent among parishioners, yet over the decades it gradually

years old, and now that WWII was over, the boys had said that they had wanted to go to Africa to see their father. Sadly, before traveling, they drowned in the London when crossing a river in a boat. A friend in London had written Bresi-Ando with the sad news. This was the first time Rev. Edonu had ever heard of Bresi-Ando having had a foreign wife and children.

¹⁰⁰ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 243.

¹⁰¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 944.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 April 1994, Log 8, p. 430. Dates in print exist which approximate this six-to-nine-month duration. In his booklet, *The Apostolic Succession*, Bresi-Ando records his date of consecration in London as being on 08 March 1935 (p. 3), and writes that he himself consecrated Archbishop Harrington in London on 01 September 1935 (p. 4), prior to his return to the Gold Coast.

¹⁰³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1595.

¹⁰⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 06 January 1993, Log 16, p. 928.

¹⁰⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 28.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ Sample of 1945 letterhead: The Most Revd. Dr. K. N. BRESI-ANDO. Appointment letter authorizing Revd. Fr. Kweku Kurefi [*sic.*] Edonu to act as his “Deputy Bishop”, 01 February 1945, File GR1.36.

wore away as the priests emphasized the fact that they were now “Orthodox” members in the “Orthodox Catholic” Church¹⁰⁸.

Back in Africa, Bresi-Ando immediately began to effect the *second major transition* (reformation, rebirth) of his West African indigenous church. The *first* transformation had been his adoption of the Kofey repatriation program in 1931, during which time he had started numerous parishes and mission communities in order to receive the much-awaited-for Afro-Americans who never came. Now, instead, having found in London the Syrian-Jacobite (Monophysite) Oriental Orthodox Church, Bresi-Ando desired to switch gears and feed his people something more historical and lasting—something deeply rooted in the past. Something original (so he thought) that was not going to fade away. While he had lost the repatriation aspect from his over-all pro-African program, the new “autocephalous” status fit nicely into his larger emancipationist goals. In fact, his foundational desire for the liberation of the African via his AIC was greatly enhanced by the fact that he could now posture himself as a “legitimate” Patriarch within the original African Christian community: the Orthodox Catholics. No longer would he need to look to European Protestants or to Roman Catholics in matters of religion. He was now autonomous and autocephalous—he was ecclesiastically free and emancipated!

Thus the ecclesiological switch began: from being a Protestant organization to becoming an “Orthodox Catholic” Eucharistic and hierarchical community. (In reality, from hind-sight, one can see that they simply turned into an “Old Catholic”-style church. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 14, “Bresi-Ando’s *Religious* Emancipation”.) Bresi-Ando gathered his clergymen and reported to them that, “After all, the original Church was Orthodox”¹⁰⁹. He explained to them how through his contacts and research in London he had found the original Christianity—by “diving deep into the foundation of Christianity, he got the Orthodox”¹¹⁰. Then, to ensure that his priests had valid orders, Patriarch Bresi-Ando re-ordained them all¹¹¹. Even Jones was re-ordained a priest (although he had been previously ordained an AUC minister in the

¹⁰⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 06 January 1993, Log 16, p. 929.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 927.

¹¹⁰ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 06 January 1993, Tape 30, Log 16, p. 927.

¹¹¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 04 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1547.

U.S. prior to coming to Africa)¹¹². Some of Bresi-Ando's clergymen, however, were not ordained due to the fact that during his long stay in London, several of them had jumped ship. In 1935, Rev. Mensah, Rev. Reynolds, and Rev. York had vanished from the scene, while Rev. J. A. C. Anaman, had quietly departed to become a founding member of the new AIC known as the "Apostolic Church"¹¹³.

The transition into a liturgical church was difficult and complicated, involving a completely new ecclesiastical understanding and praxis. (This will be discussed in much detail in Chapter 14, "Bresi-Ando's *Religious* Emancipation," and to a lesser degree in Chapter 13, "Bresi-Ando's *Socio-Cultural* Emancipation.") The entire organization had to change its theology and liturgies from a non-sacramental Protestant approach to an ancient Orthodox Catholic sacramental one. Liturgical reforms required the choice and translation of old liturgies, plus the re-training of all the clergy. Believing that the Eastern (Syriac Jacobite) liturgies were too difficult for his simple clergy, Bresi-Ando instead opted for an edited English-language Roman Catholic-style missal¹¹⁴. (More information about this strange choice will be offered in Chapter 14.) In the long run, Bresi-Ando's 1930's-era liturgical reforms were incomplete. His unfinished catechesis left his church members confused for decades.

Meanwhile, the Prince-Patriarch put his pro-Africanism into high gear over the next seven years (late 1935-1942), carefully attempting to implement, to a fuller degree, all the various components of his emancipationist plan—not only theologically, but also culturally, educationally, politically and commercially. Celebrating this new era in his life, Bresi-Ando took a new wife, Mrs. Wilhelmina Helen Bresi-Ando, whom he first referred to as the "Supreme Mother"¹¹⁵. Since she was an *educated*, light-skinned mulatto, the daughter of a foreign parent, he considered her more in line with his exalted Patriarchal status. He wanted a wife who would "match his bishop's status"¹¹⁶. However, he later strangely "consecrated" Wilhelmina as "Matriarch" on Palm Sunday,

¹¹² Rev. K. D. NYAAKO-ADENTWI. History of Apam, [...], p. 14, File GR1.19. Adentwi in his manuscript "History of Apam" noted that Bresi-Ando had arrived in Apam in 1932 from Nigeria "with an American Pastor called Rev. Carry Harry Jones."

¹¹³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 03 October 1992, Log 3, p. 155.

¹¹⁴ *The Liturgy, According to the Use of The Liberal Catholic Church*, 3rd ed., London, St. Alban Press, 1942, p. 7-17—Bresi-Ando used an earlier edition.

¹¹⁵ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 8.

¹¹⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 February 1994, Log 10, p. 552-553.

02 April 1939, at his church in Accra¹¹⁷. Whatever ecclesiastical function she served remains a mystery. However, in an African polygamous understanding of marriage, and in promotion of his concept of Africanization, she did become the “head wife” (a “matriarch” of sorts) when Bresi-Ando proudly took a second wife in 1941¹¹⁸. By keeping two wives at the same time, Bresi-Ando personally put into effect his Africanization policy, in a deliberate effort to show his men that it was “alright to marry more than one”¹¹⁹. He practiced what he preached, although he later repented of this sin by faithfully keeping only one wife—Joana of Nigeria, his last wife—until his death.

3. Accra headquarters and important clergymen: Jones, Edonu, Labi Odeng, and Abradu

Bresi-Ando’s change to Roman Catholic-style worship in 1935 did not stop the growth of his church, as new parishes continued to be opened¹²⁰. Aside from the loss of the repatriation plank in his platform and his theological move away from Protestantism, the other aspects of Bresi-Ando’s emancipation program continued. Throughout the remainder of the decade (1930’s) he continued to open new parishes and launch more schools, although at a much slower rate (as explained in Chapter 15, “Bresi-Ando’s *Educational* Emancipation”). He would also make a serious attempt to bring his commercial emancipation dream into reality (described in detail in Chapter 16, “Bresi-Ando’s *Commercial* Emancipation”), while at the same time becoming very friendly with certain of the Gold Coast’s educated, political class (discussed in Chapter 17, “Bresi-Ando’s *Political* Emancipation”).

3.1. Accra replaces Apam as the new center of operations

When the new Patriarch returned from London in late 1935, he settled in the colonial capital, taking over the newly-organized Accra parish community (located in a large rented structure at N53/9 New Cromer Road)¹²¹. His subordinate, Rev. K. N. Rogers Osamdadzi, had been organizing this group since Bresi-Ando’s spring departure to London, so by the time that the Patriarch returned in the fall, he met a new parish community already in place. Bresi-Ando adopted this Accra venue

¹¹⁷ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 7-8.

¹¹⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 February 1994, Log 10, p. 553.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 11 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1603.

¹²¹ Ebibirpim Limited: Memorandum And Articles of Association, Incorporated The 8th Day of May, 1938, Accra, Gold Coast Colony, p. 23, File GR1.25; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 29-30.

as his new base of operations, no longer using the smaller fishing town of Apam. As a “valid” Patriarch and a churchly “Prince”, he was now a much “bigger” item, and therefore he positioned himself within the large colonial capital in order to better further his emancipation dreams and goals for the African. Thus, his new Accra site served as both his Patriarchal headquarters and the venue for his pro-cathedral parish—“Christ the King Church”¹²². In 1936, Bresi-Ando opened yet another “Ebibirpim Academy,” (at both lower and upper educational levels), this one in the Accra Patriarchal headquarters. In that same year, his brother, Rev. Ando-Brew, was still monitoring the northern diocese from his base in Kumasi, while Rev. Jones was still splitting his time traveling between the Ashanti Protectorate and the Eastern Region (in its Akyem and Kwahu Districts)¹²³.

3.2. Missionary Jones is adopted into the Bresi-Ando family

During most of the 1930’s missionary Jones was both a missionary and priest for Bresi-Ando’s church. Missionary work was his first love. His role as an “Industrial Missionary” was limited to his planting a solitary sugarcane plantation at Fomena in the Central Region in between 1932-1933, a task that ended as quickly as it started¹²⁴. Even while he lived at Fomena, Jones and Bresi-Ando would travel around, opening up new parishes¹²⁵. Then in 1934 Jones gave up the Fomena farm and became heavily involved in church planting father away, up in the Asante, opening up many new stations for Ando-Brew¹²⁶. Evangelism was a “sugar” for his soul which energized him. For his entire life he was a traveling evangelist. After a while he was given the task of pastoring a new sub-section of the African Universal Church’s Asante Diocese plus a section of the Eastern Region, the majority of which parishes he himself had helped plant. Most likely in early 1935, right before he sailed to London, Bresi-Ando assigned Jones to a large pastoral circuit of about 20 parishes: the towns and villages in the farming and bush areas of the Bekwai, Kumawu, Nsuta, Mampong, and Sekyere Districts of the Ashanti Region, plus the neighboring Akyem and

¹²² Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 7.

¹²³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1640.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1508, and 20 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1640; FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1150-1151, and 28 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1646.

Akyem-Kotoku Districts of the Eastern Region¹²⁷. In addition, Jones continued his missionary church planting throughout the second half of the decade, helping to open up the entire Kwahu District of the Eastern Region¹²⁸. Thus, geographically, Rev. Jones pastored the in-between zone—flanked by Ando-Brew up north in Kumasi and Bresi-Ando down south in Accra¹²⁹. Hierarchically, Jones worked under (and reported to) Ando-Brew, the “Priest Superior” of the Asante Diocese¹³⁰. Ando-Brew personally managed the remainder of the northern parishes but was accountable to his brother, the Patriarch, for the whole of the Asante Diocese. After the Kofey African Universal Church organization in the United States disbanded, Jones found himself marooned in Gold Coast. Therefore, he was “adopted” into the family by old Mr. Anderson, Bresi-Ando’s dad, becoming a “brother” to both Bresi-Ando and Ando-Brew in an African cultural manner¹³¹. He was given the local name “Kwesi Dutton Bresi-Ando”¹³². Somewhere between 1938-1940 Jones married a local woman from the town of Kankan in the Akyem District, which he had been pastoring¹³³. There he lived most of his life until his death and burial in Ghana in 1975¹³⁴. Although he was on the road during most of the 1930’s, the American Jones ultimately settled down in Kankan and raised a family whose descendants are today part of the canonical Orthodox Church of Ghana¹³⁵.

3.3. Teacher Edonu begins his life as a pastor

In 1936 Teacher J. B. Edonu was still hard at work at the Ebibirpim Academy in Apam, challenged by too many students, limited staff, poor facilities, and little money¹³⁶. He had been rejoined by the senior instructor, Charles Adentwi, who had been transferred back down from Kumasi to the

¹²⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1508, and 20 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1640; FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1150; Kankan school card, School Cards, GR20.

¹²⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1508.

¹²⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1640.

¹³⁰ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 243.

¹³¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1640.

¹³² Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 8.

¹³³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1508.

¹³⁴ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1147-1148; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 419.

¹³⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1640.

¹³⁶ W. J. D. WADLEY. Provincial Inspector of Schools, Central Province. “Official Report on the Ebibirpim Academy, Apam,” handwritten into the School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 19 March 1935 entry, p. 33-34, File GR4.

Apam Academy to be its Principal Teacher as of 08 May 1935 after the Apam school had received its second poor inspection result in two consecutive years¹³⁷. The colonial Provincial Inspector of schools had demanded a “complete change” in its mode of operation, bringing the academy into “strict compliance with the Education Ordinance and Rules”¹³⁸.

J.B. Edonu’s talents were much in demand. In September of 1936, Rev. Jones appeared in the Central Region looking for Edonu. Jones desperately needed him to come help manage the Akyem District¹³⁹. Rev. Jones’ pastoral ability was stretched very thin. He was so busy planting so many new churches in the Eastern Region and caring for so many in the Ashanti Region that he could not properly maintain the Akyem District. He needed the help of a good man to oversee it and hold it together. Therefore, in September of 1936 Teacher Edonu was transferred up to the town of Kankan in the Eastern Region to begin his “first pastorate,” caring for the Akyem circuit of parish stations as an un-ordained lay evangelist—a “catechist”¹⁴⁰. This transition—from school teacher to *de facto* “pastor”—was a milestone in the life of the Edonu, whose future would forever be intertwined with the pastoral needs of Bresi-Ando’s church. For the rest of his life, Edonu would always be trying to hold the Ebibirpim Church together. While in Kankan, (from September 1936 to January 1938, when he was transferred to Accra to help Bresi-Ando’s school and business there), Edonu actually never saw very much of Jones, who was always on the road doing his missionary work, opening more new parishes in the Eastern Region (in the Kwahu District) and in the Ashanti Region and beyond¹⁴¹, plus constantly pastorally visiting the many far-flung stations which he had opened¹⁴². Eyewitness Rev. John Sarkodie-Aidoo remembers that as a school-age youth, one of his friends (an altar server named Kofi Gari) twice travelled with Jones on visits to

¹³⁷ W. J. D. WADLEY. “Official Report on the Ebibirpim Academy, Apam,” [...], 19 March 1935 entry, p. 32-39, File GR4; J. S. DUNN. Provincial Inspector of Schools, Central Province. “Official Report on the Apam Abibirpim [*sic.*] Academy,” handwritten into the School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 22 February 1934 entry, p. 5-13, 27-28, File GR4; School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 08 May 1935 entry, p. 40, File GR4.

¹³⁸ W. J. D. WADLEY. “Official Report on the Ebibirpim Academy, Apam,” [...], 19 March 1935 entry, p. 39, File GR4.

¹³⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1508.

¹⁴⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 418.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 418-419.

¹⁴² FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1152-1153.

mission outposts as far north as Bawku and Navrongo in the Upper East Region¹⁴³. In fact, at his post in Kankan Edonu remembered seeing Jones only once in 1936 and once in 1937.

3.4. The Larteh men: Labi Odeng and Abradu Amoah

In 1936 another set of very important milestones were set up in the history of Bresi-Ando's church. St. Peter's parish (today called Ss. Peter and Paul) was opened in the mountain top village of Larteh, in the Eastern Region¹⁴⁴. Another important player in the history of this church, whose life also would be forever married to it, entered the scene. A native of Larteh, Mr. Labi K. Odeng (later known as V. Rev. Gregory K. Labi Odeng, the life-long fellow-worker and assistant to Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu in the work of the church) heard about the African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church and inquired of it at its Mepom parish in the Eastern Region. He then informed his father, old elder Jacob Odeng, who himself began to frequent the Mepom parish¹⁴⁵. Loving Bresi-Ando's church, Jacob arranged for it to be brought to his home town of Larteh, and thus Patriarch Bresi-Ando came and officially opened it in 1936¹⁴⁶. It was called St. Peter's "Abibipem" Church in Larteh, because Akuapem Twi was spoken in that Akuapem District of the Eastern Region. An "Abibipem School" was also opened there, as usual, with the headteacher being the first acting-catechist, Mr. Michael Abradu Amoah¹⁴⁷. Mr. Labi Odeng and Mr. Ofori served as staff teachers¹⁴⁸. Catechist Abradu Amoah was later ordained a priest by Bresi-Ando on 20 June 1938 and was sent to serve as priest in the Nkawkaw parish¹⁴⁹. Being dynamic, the Patriarch would soon elevate him into a high position of responsibility.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 1152; FFN, Parish List, Asante Diocese, reviewed by Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 28 June 1994, File GR20, and SARKODIE-AIDOO, Accra, GAR, GH, 15 October 1994, File GR20.

¹⁴⁴ Larteh parish card, Parish Cards, File GR20.

¹⁴⁵ FFN, Rev. Gregory Labi ODENG. Larteh, ER, GH, 11 April 1994, Log 8, p. 409.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*; FFN, Rev. Gregory Labi ODENG. Larteh, ER, GH, 12 January 1993, Log 21, p. 1329.

¹⁴⁸ FFN, Rev. Gregory Labi ODENG. Larteh, ER, GH, 11 April 1994, Log 8, p. 409.

¹⁴⁹ Joseph ABRADU AMOAH. Accra, GAR, GH, 23 October 1994, Abradu papers, File GR20; Joseph ABRADU AMOAH and Solomon Otu ABRADU. Accra, GAR, GH, 18 June 1994, Abradu file, p. 2, File GR20.

4. Second period of church growth (late 1935-1939)

From the fall of 1935 onwards, Bresi-Ando's Ebibirpim/African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church continued to expand during this era of reformation, though not as rapidly as before. During the rest of the decade (late 1935 to 1939), a number of additional parishes (stations) were added. (See Appendix C—Maps of Ebibirpim Parishes and Schools.) There was the new parish in Accra (1935). In the Central Region: Ajumako Assasan (1936/37), plus Ajumako Abeadzi (?), Ajumako Beseasi (?), and Breman Asikuma (?)¹⁵⁰. In the Eastern Region: Larteh (1936), Akuapem Aborodiem (1937), Akuapem Asuokyene (by 1938). In the Kwahu District of the Eastern Region: Abetifi, Asakraka, Pepease, Nkwatia, Twendruase, (all opened between 1935-1937), and Kwahu Praso, Kwahudaa, Asubone Kokrumpe, Asubone Okragyei, (all about 1938), and the well-known Nkawkaw (1938)¹⁵¹. In the Asante, the parish at Nsuta-Chebi in the Nsuta District was begun around 1938, while in 1939 (circa or before) Ando-Brew went and opened two parishes in the Denkyere area (Dunkwa-Adwumamu and Dunkwa-Kyekyewere) where the Ashanti Region borders the Central Region¹⁵². Also in 1939 there was a weak attempt to start a parish at Kpandu in the northern Volta Region¹⁵³. Finally, to train new clergy for his expanding AIC, in January 1939 Bresi-Ando opened his St. Simon of Cyrene Seminary in his residence in Accra, where he and Seminary Rector, Fr. Yaw N. Kyerematen, gave the lessons¹⁵⁴.

Along with these 22 new stations were added 12 more Ebibirpim primary schools¹⁵⁵. Therefore, by the close of the decade, a conservative total of 20 primary schools and 66 parishes ("stations") had been opened within the Gold Coast and the Asante since 1932¹⁵⁶. Despite a few losses (5 closures), there were at least 61 parishes in operation in early 1939. (More losses would soon come.) Numerically, 1939 was the year that the African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church

¹⁵⁰ FFN, Samuel K. INKOOM. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 28 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1645. Information about these three Central Region stations was supplied by Rev. Samuel Inkoom, but he did not know the exact start dates. Rev. Edonu could not confirm information about these parishes.

¹⁵¹ Parish List, Central and Eastern Regions, File GR20.

¹⁵² Parish List, Ashanti Region, File GR20; FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1134.

¹⁵³ Parish List, Volta Region, File GR20.

¹⁵⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 April 1994, Log 9, p. 458.

¹⁵⁵ List of Schools, File GR20.

¹⁵⁶ Parish List, Asante, Central, Eastern, and Volta Regions, GR20; and, List of Schools, File GR20.

saw its *greatest number* of parishes and schools functioning at the same time¹⁵⁷. (See the Appendices for the complete listing of Ebibirpim parishes and schools.) These are the most *conservative* figures. There certainly were more parishes, and especially more schools, but these listed in this research were all the parishes and schools that could still be remembered *by name* by the chief informants during the research field visits in 1992-1994.

The growth rate since Bresi-Ando's "Orthodox-Catholic" transition in the fall of 1935 was only 22 new parishes in 3 ½ years (from fall 1935 to spring 1939), as compared to 44 new parishes planted during the first 3 ½ years (1932 to spring 1935). The speed of growth had slowed down considerably. When comparing the growth rate of 1932-1935 versus late 1935-1939, Rev. Edonu, as a personal eye witness of these events, concluded that in the early '30s the emancipation preaching had been new and attractive to many folks. Bresi-Ando had been "showing them the light," so they readily and quickly joined his church¹⁵⁸. However, in the late 1930's, after Bresi-Ando had returned from London, church growth was slower because the masses were getting used to the idea of emancipation as more and more people in the colony had been exposed to it already. Thus, they were not so easily convinced that they should join a church just for this reason¹⁵⁹.

There was also another reason: Missionary Jones. There was just not enough of him to spread around the whole country. With his impetus there were three general growth spurts: Central Region (1932-1933), then Ashanti Region & Akyem (1934-1936), then Eastern Region/Kwahu (1935-1938). From 1932-1933 Jones was based in the south at Apam (and for a time at Fomena). From the beachhead at Apam, and with Jones' witness that a grand repatriation plan was in the works, the Ebibirpim Church really spread throughout the Central Region at this time. Then in 1934, when Jones went north to the Asante to help Ando-Brew evangelize, the church planting accelerated and developed widely in that area (plus in the nearby Akyem area of the Eastern Region). Jones' presence was needed to explain the repatriation program: to confirm the story that more black American brothers like him were coming¹⁶⁰. Thus, by the time Bresi-Ando set sail for London in 1935, there were at least 44 parishes (21 in the Colony and 23 in the Asante). Then in

¹⁵⁷ List of Schools, Central, Eastern, and Ashanti Regions, File GR20; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 966.

¹⁵⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1539-40.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 418.

1935, when Jones was assigned by Bresi-Ando to pastor the Asante (and Akyem ER parishes) that he had helped open, Jones based himself in Kankan but was not content to just sit still. He continued his evangelization work, pushing into the Kwahu District of the Eastern Region. But he was stretched thin, pastoring a circuit of about 20 parishes by himself, plus continuing his missionary church-planting. He could not do everything. According to witness Fr. John Sarkodie-Aidoo, week by week priest Jones was going around his circuit, serving Holy Communion and baptizing¹⁶¹, which his parish elders and catechists were unauthorized to do. Yet he depended on these men to hold the parishes together on a day-to-day basis and he needed more laborers for his growing vineyard. This is why he summoned young Edonu up to Akyem in September of 1936 to help him¹⁶². Jones' missionary success and the resulting pastoral burden is probably a major reason why the church-planting slowed down in the second half of the 1930's.

Finally, one should bear in mind that there were many African Universal mission stations—not listed here—which never really took root and died on the vine. They were, in effect, stillborn. Evangelization had taken place. A few members had accepted the church with great hopes of establishing a vibrant parish in their town, but they couldn't get organized—thus the little seedling died almost as soon as it was planted¹⁶³.

5. Cocoa politics and a new commercial enterprise: “Ebibirpim Limited”

Before the decade ended, Bresi-Ando had the fantastic opportunity to plant a commercial “seedling” of his own, something that he had long dreamed about, but something which too would die on the vine. The famous 1937-1938 Gold Coast Cocoa Crisis was the critical moment for Bresi-Ando's bold attempt to realize his much-awaited economic emancipationist program. (This will be described in full detail in Chapter 16, “Bresi-Ando's *Commercial Emancipation*.”) In short, in September of 1937 the European cocoa companies (Cadbury, the United Africa Company, and 11 other European firms) formed a cooperative cocoa buying “Pool” in an effort to control prices in their favor¹⁶⁴. Since these 13 foreign companies controlled 94% of the colony's cocoa exports

¹⁶¹ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1150-1153.

¹⁶² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 418.

¹⁶³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1509.

¹⁶⁴ Rod ALENCE. “The 1937-1938 Gold Coast Cocoa Crisis: The Political Economy of Commercial Stalemate,” *African Economic History*, n° 19, 1990, p. 83, 88.

at that time, eliminating competition amongst themselves by colluding upon a set purchase price would definitely fill their pockets¹⁶⁵. The African farmers felt cheated¹⁶⁶. Reportedly, Bresi-Ando played a key role in helping organize chiefs and farmers at a massive farmers' meeting held at Suhum (ER) on 28 October 1937¹⁶⁷. Paramount Chief Nana Sir Ofori Atta I took the side of the farmers¹⁶⁸. Similar protest meetings were held at Salt Pond (CR) and Nsawam (ER) and elsewhere across the Colony and the Asante¹⁶⁹. At these meetings the chiefs and farmers launched their "Anti-Pool" as their response to the white man's "Pool"¹⁷⁰. Refusing to sell their cocoa at the "Pool's" set price, the "Anti-Pool" named their own selling price but gained no ground—only a stale-mate with the stubborn white buyers¹⁷¹. Although the farmers' protest was technically extremely successful in that cocoa exports from the Colony dropped nearly 90% by February and March of 1938¹⁷², the foreign merchants remained adamant. Unwilling to concede and sell their cocoa at the demanded lower fixed price, angry farmers resorted to burning their stock-piled cocoa in retaliation all across the country, beginning on 15 February 1938¹⁷³. Due to his involvement in the organizing of the "Anti-Pool", Bresi-Ando gained some notoriety, and as a result, some of the famous chiefs, like Nana Sir Ofori Atta I and Sir Tsibu Darko, became his friends¹⁷⁴.

Bresi-Ando seized the cocoa crisis as his opportunity to form his beloved church-run company, "Ebibirpim Limited," with an aim to export cocoa to Europe and America¹⁷⁵. The fires of the burning cocoa stockpiles were hardly extinguished by the time Bresi-Ando had officially incorporated his company¹⁷⁶. His goal was to export cocoa in the very next growing season. Using his church network, he marketed his business idea directly to the Gold Coast and Asante farmers. He proposed that together they would sell their cocoa directly to foreign markets and circumvent

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 88-89.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 90 (date of Suhum meeting); FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 30, and 17 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1453, and 10 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1597-1598a, and 11 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1598b-1599.

¹⁶⁸ Rod ALENCE. "The 1937-1938 Gold Coast Cocoa Crisis [...]," p. 88.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 90, 95.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 30.

¹⁷¹ Rod ALENCE. "The 1937-1938 Gold Coast Cocoa Crisis [...]," p. 80; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 30.

¹⁷² Rod ALENCE. "The 1937-1938 Gold Coast Cocoa Crisis [...]," p. 96.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 98-99; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 30.

¹⁷⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 April 1994, Log 10, p. 567.

¹⁷⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 29.

¹⁷⁶ Ebibirpim Limited: Memorandum And Articles of Association, Incorporated The 8th Day of May, 1938, Accra, Gold Coast Colony, cover page, File GR1.25.

the rich, greedy (white/European) middle men¹⁷⁷. In this he was in agreement with the strategy of Chief Ofori Atta who was advocating the use of “direct sale contracts” in order to ship to foreign consumers and bypass the price collusion¹⁷⁸.

Bresi-Ando’s dream of commercial emancipation for the African really looked achievable and he easily gained a large following of farmers ready to partner with him and advance him their cocoa for sale. After all, his church was well positioned, with many parishes being located right in the Asante and Eastern Region cocoa-growing areas. He challenged the Asante, Akyem and Agona farmers and chiefs with a much better option than simply burning their product in protest and losing their income in the process¹⁷⁹. Bresí-Ando’s cry for economic emancipation was “not ‘burn’ but ‘bring’”—bring him their cocoa, don’t burn it¹⁸⁰. He urged them all to organize together with him commercially and sell their cocoa to the “Americans”, to Great Britain, to where ever they wanted¹⁸¹. (The American chocolate company Hershey was a big importer of Gold Coast cocoa¹⁸².) Therefore, on 08 May 1938, the church company, “Ebibirpim Limited,” was legally incorporated and began to collect and stockpile cocoa from farmers¹⁸³. In 1939, after the shipping license was granted, the initial shipments of cocoa were made to London and were received by Bresí-Ando’s business partner, Archbishop Harrington¹⁸⁴. Things were looking good. Bresí-Ando’s complete “package” plan of “Eternal life for the soul, and bread to eat for the body” appeared to be just on the horizon—within reach¹⁸⁵. With the shipment of cocoa and the receiving of cash payments from London, Gold Coast and Asante farmers hoped they were entering the era of financial liberation—real commercial emancipation. Additionally, profits were to be used to fund Bresí-Ando’s growing national African-run educational program—funding real educational emancipation. The poor Ebibirpim school system would finally receive their much-needed injection of cash. St. Peter would be paying St. Paul. Together, Africans would be solving their

¹⁷⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 29.

¹⁷⁸ Rod ALENCE. “The 1937-1938 Gold Coast Cocoa Crisis [...]” p. 96.

¹⁷⁹ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1583.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 29.

¹⁸² Rod ALENCE. “The 1937-1938 Gold Coast Cocoa Crisis [...]” p. 88.

¹⁸³ Ebibirpim Limited: Memorandum And Articles of Association, Incorporated The 8th Day of May, 1938, Accra, Gold Coast Colony, cover page, File GR1.25.

¹⁸⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 940-941, and 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 422.

¹⁸⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 15 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1701.

own problems and improving their own country. Needless to say, hopes and expectations ran high, as every facet of Bresi-Ando grand emancipationist dream for his African brothers and sisters hung upon the impending success of the commercial side of his church. However, as 1939 rolled on—being the year of both the big Accra earthquake and the global “earthquake” of World War II—Bresi-Ando began to experience his own type of “earthquake”, as tremor after tremor shook his grand plan to its very core, threatening to destroy all that he had been working so hard to build up for a decade.

Conclusion

So much had transpired between 1935 and 1939. Even though the much-expected African-American repatriation program had failed to materialize, in its place Bresi-Ando had stumbled upon a more ancient foundation stone—the Orthodox Catholic Church—with its ecclesiastical roots planted in Africa by the Apostles themselves in the 1st Century. By receiving what he thought was a “valid” episcopal consecration and authentic “Apostolic succession” from the hands of an *episcopus vagans*, Archbishop Churchill Sibley, in London in 1935, Bresi-Ando positioned himself as an “autocephalous” African “Prince-Patriarch” ready to attain ever higher levels of African liberation. Rev. Edonu later admitted that his uncle had not gone back far enough into history. Bresi-Ando had reached for the Early Church of Orthodoxy but fell short and had only arrived at the 5th Century Monophysite Jacobites. But the real truth is that Bresi-Ando did not even reach the Jacobites. They rejected his ordination. Bresi-Ando had actually merely located late 19th Century/early 20th Century *episcopi vagantes*—English and American Protestants who dressed up as Roman Catholics with Eastern Orthodox titles while claiming Indian Jacobite credentials. All of it was fake.

Although the theological transformation of his flock into either ancient “Orthodoxy” or Jacobite “Monophysitism” was incomplete and confusing, Bresi-Ando was assisted by certain able clergymen—Jones, Edonu, Labi Odeng, and Abradu—whose lives would become increasingly more important to his church’s ensuing history. The new “Patriarch” was able to plant more parishes and open additional schools throughout the remainder of the 1930’s, yet the pace and numbers were less than in the first half of the decade. He added 22 more stations to the 44 that were started in the first 3 ½ years. By early 1939, a conservative total of 66 parishes, 20 schools,

and a seminary had been opened in little less than seven years, for a total of 87 institutions formed by Bresi-Ando. With a loss of 5, the net growth was 61 parishes in operation in the spring of 1939. However, more would shut down before the year was over.

Bresi-Ando's interaction with farmers, chiefs, and politicians during the 1937-1938 Gold Coast Cocoa Crisis culminated in his most courageous and outrageous attempt to date—the whole-sale establishment of a colony-wide native-run cocoa export company: Ebibirpim Limited. His vision was that financial emancipation would liberate them and ensure all the other aspects of his multi-tiered, all-encompassing emancipationist dream. Everything that Bresi-Ando had embraced along his ever-twisting and interesting road of life had brought him to this 1939 climax, where he suddenly found himself inside the crosshairs of the colonial establishment. His honest and best intentions had gained the attention of the European powers-that-be, and they felt financially threatened. The results for Bresi-Ando's beloved Ebibirpim organization—church, schools, and business—would prove to be disastrous. That terrible year—1939—which shattered so many of Bresi-Ando's hopes and dreams, will be the focus of the following chapter.

SECTION TWO: THE LIFE OF REV. KWAMIN N. BRESI-ANDO (1884-1970)

CHAPTER 10 BIOGRAPHY PART C—DISINTEGRATION OF THE PROGRAM, 1939-1942

Purpose

The purpose of this third biographical chapter is to answer the question: How did Bresi-Ando's emancipationist dream for the Gold Coast with all its particular concrete manifestations and efforts come crashing down as the decade of the 1930's closed and the world went to war?

Sources

Dr. Max Assimeng, in his ground-breaking work on Bresi-Ando, the twenty-six page 1975 journal article, "Methodological Africanism: Bresi-Ando as an Episcopus Vagans," *CONCH*, vol. VII, n° 1 & 2, provides the initial pieces to this chapter's challenging puzzle. He quotes newspaper articles and police reports that he found on file in Nigeria. But Assimeng's valuable facts are disjointed and out of order, with many gaps. Thus, to get as close to the historical answer as possible, this chapter will rely heavily upon the Fulbright interviews conducted in Ghana between 1992-1994 in order to supplement the brief puzzle pieces supplied by Dr. Assimeng. Those men and women who knew the Prince-Patriarch personally during the time period covered in this chapter will be relied upon, beginning with his nephew, the V. Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu. He knows the entire flow of the disintegration of the Ebibirpim Church due to his critical role as Deputy Bishop. He also knows the story of the disintegration of the church company, Ebibirpim Ltd., because he worked as its secretary and book-keeper. The schism in the Asante Diocese, which resulted from the rupture between Bresi-Ando and his brother, Ando-Brew, is told from the perspectives of family members from both sides: Rev. Edonu, as Bresi-Ando's nephew, offers his recollection, which is corrected and aided by that of Mr. Earnest Ando-Brew (Jr.), the son of Ando-Brew, with help from Mr. Elijah K. Johnson, Ando-Brew's nephew. Their valuable insights as witnesses of the disintegration of the Asante Diocese, as well as of the downfall of Ando-Brew's Kumasi school, are aided by the memories of Rev. John Sarkodie-Aidoo, who attended the Kumasi school in 1937 and in time became the last living priest of the last remaining parish in the Asante Diocese. Ando-Brew's nephew, Mr. E. A. N. Adentwi, is the younger brother of Rev. K. D. Nyaako-Adentwi, the former Education Secretary of the Ebibirpim school system. He was able to provide

details about his late brother, as well as facts about the decline of the Ebibirpim parish and school in Apam. Rev. Nyaako-Adentwi, who had been for years the Headmaster of Bresi-Ando's Apam Ebibirpim Academy, documents his own 1940 break with the Patriarch in his 17-page primary source document, an unpublished paper he authored, entitled, "History of Apam". Bresi-Ando's last wife, Mrs. Joana (Cookey) Bresi-Ando, living in retirement in Apam, supplied key information of Bresi-Ando's life story after he returned to Nigeria in 1942, telling briefly of their marriage, his Nigerian parishes, businesses, and political adventures. Several other interviewees were also used in this chapter, such as Mr. Joseph Amoah Abradu, who provided information about the late Rev. Abradu, one the several senior Ebibirpim clergymen with whom Bresi-Ando came to disagree.

To substantiate and support all of the above personal testimonies, primary resource documents were used from Anderson's 1992-1994 Ghana Fulbright research collection, such as the "Minutes of the Minor Synod of the African Universal (O.C.) Church, Gomua Formina [*sic.*], 13-14 May 1950," located in Anderson's Ghana Fulbright File GR1—"Oldest Letters and Documents, 1927-1970." From Ghana Fulbright File GR4—"Log Books and Later Diaries"—key facts were double-checked and established. Entries were taken from the official "School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946," as well as from the "Church Log Book, Diocese of St. Ignatius, Ghana" (authored by Rev. K. K. Edonu), both of which are located within File GR4.

Structure

There are *three* parts to this *third* biographical chapter which covers the years 1939-1942:

- 1) Multiple failures in 1939 year
- 2) Early WWII years: Bresi-Ando fights to hold onto his dying Gold Coast program
- 3) Self-exiled to Nigeria in 1942

The first part of this chapter is structured in a way to carry the reader through the multiple crises that nearly completely destroyed Bresi-Ando's AIC, beginning in 1939: the crisis in the Asante Diocese, the crisis in Nigeria, the crisis in the church company, Ebibirpim Ltd, and the crisis in Apam. Since the saga of the collapse of his commercial enterprise as well as the story of the downfall of his Ebibirpim school system are very interesting and quite detailed histories, their

complete stories are reserved for Chapter 15 (“Bresi-Ando’s *Educational* Emancipation”) and Chapter 16 (“Bresi-Ando’s *Commercial* Emancipation”). Only brief details are retained within this biographical chapter so as to enable the reader to understand the placement of those events within the sequence of Bresi-Ando’s life story. The second part of the chapter then follows the historical repercussions of these sad events in which Bresi-Ando fought to prevent the total defeat of his Gold Coast program. The third part describes Bresi-Ando’s departure from the Colony in 1942, in what came to appear to be a voluntary self-exile in nearby Nigeria. The chapter tells of his successive attempts to re-ignite his emancipationist program, church, and personal life in Nigeria upon arrival. These include evangelism, marriage, business, and politics.

1. Multiple failures in 1939: year of the Accra earthquake and the start of WWII

Numerically, 1939 was the year that the African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church would not only count its greatest number of parishes to date, but also suffer its greatest losses. It was the year of the beginning of the Second World War on 01 September 1939¹, as well as the year of the large ’39 Earthquake in Accra. The worst earthquake ever to strike the Gold Coast in three hundred years measured 6.5 on the Richter scale and shook the colonial capital on 22 June 1939². It was a harbinger of a bad year for Bresi-Ando’s emancipationist program in the Colony.

During this same year, internal warring within Bresi-Ando’s church shook the unity of his still young organization to its very core. In the same vein, the collapse of Ebibirpim Limited’s cocoa venture was an “earthquake” to the small African Universal (O-C) Church: broken ground, broken hearts, broken dreams, broken everything. The 1939 quake not only ruined Bresi-Ando’s Accra headquarters, drawing his Accra Ebibirpim Academy to a sudden undignified end, but it became a symbol of other destructive events in the same year for Bresi-Ando’s AIC, as well as a sort of omen of future disappointments and breakdowns that were to befall his church in the ensuing years. While world war was breaking out globally in 1939, locally, Bresi-Ando’s organization started

¹ *Worldwar-2.net*. (Page consulted on 10 October 2011), <http://www.worldwar-2.net/>, par. 1. On September 1st, 1939, Nazi Germany invaded Poland. On September 3rd, France and the United Kingdom declared war on Germany.

² P. AMPONSAH. “The Earthquake Of 22nd June 1939 And Its Effect In Ghana,” EGS-AGU-EUG Joint Assembly, Abstracts from the meeting held in Nice, France, 6-11 April 2003, abstract #14097, *EGU, The Smithsonian/NASA Astrophysics Data System, SAO/NASA ADS Physics Abstract Service*, put online April 2003, (page consulted on 15 October 2011), <http://adsabs.harvard.edu/abs/2003EAEJA....14097A>.

experiencing multiple fractures, ruptures, breakdowns and breakups of its own. The breakdown of Ebibirpim Limited's cocoa business caused farmers to go financially broke, members to quit, elders to resign, and parishes to close; the Accra HQ was destroyed, its academy was closed, and the Apam and Kumasi academies would soon also meet with trouble and close; a rift between Bresi-Ando and Ando-Brew would tear the two brothers and their dioceses apart; and priests would soon start to break away from Bresi-Ando, even as far away as Nigeria. Even the one-year-old St. Simon of Cyrene Seminary (located in Bresi-Ando's Accra residence which was damaged by the quake) did not survive to see the next year³. Too many things were breaking apart, leaving behind broken hearts, broken plans, broken lives, and broken dreams. It was all very, very sad, but Bresi-Ando would never talk about nor admit to failure⁴. "It was not a good year", recalled Rev. Edonu⁵.

1.1. Bresi-Ando defrocks his brother Ando-Brew and loses the Asante diocese

Right in the very middle of the brewing 1939 Ebibirpim Ltd. cocoa drama there erupted another heart-breaking story. Trouble between Patriarch Bresi-Ando and his elder brother, Priest Superior Rev. Ando-Brew, caused the entire Asante Diocese to shake and tremble in an "ecclesiastical earthquake" which had devastating results for their church community. Trouble erupted between the two brothers which led Bresi-Ando to defrock "Priest Superior" Ando-Brew, his brother who had been so helpful in founding the Ebibirpim Church on the Gold Coast in 1932 and had spread it north into the Asante lands⁶.

1.1.1. Brothers break apart

Up in Kumasi Rev. Ando-Brew had had trouble over the years securing able managers for his Prempeh Memorial Institute⁷. Staffing and financial problems had led him to reorganize the school several times⁸. His third re-start was in 1937 when he purchased an old theatre, the Hippodrome,

³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 April 1994, Log 9, p. 458-459.

⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, Log 23, p. 1518.

⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1830.

⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1469, and 16 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1702; FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1125.

⁷ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1285.

⁸ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1280-1281; FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON and Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1690-1691; FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 28 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1646; FFN, J. B. QUANSAH. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 19, p. 1210.

in which to house his church and school⁹. Somehow the purchase of this school building (the Hippodrome) developed into a terrible misunderstanding between the two brothers. History shows that Bresi-Ando mistakenly and falsely accused his elder brother of misappropriation of funds: of using church money to buy the Hippodrome property in his own name¹⁰. Ando-Brew defended himself (and rightly so—since he was innocent), stating he had paid for his building out of his own hard-earned money¹¹.

Son Earnest Ando-Brew admitted that the dispute over the purchase of the Hippodrome was a major part of the two brothers' break-up—but he held firmly that his father was innocent, stating, “He didn’t buy a house with the church’s funds”¹², but rather purchased it “out of his own sweat”¹³. Son Earnest and nephew Elijah K. Johnson explained that to pay for the building (150 pounds), Ando-Brew had borrowed money (100 pounds) from an Apam gentleman and paid 50 pounds out of his own pocket¹⁴. He then worked hard to repay the loan with his own money, generating his own funds from his side-business (a printing press)¹⁵. Later, Ando-Brew borrowed 104 pounds from his son Earnest and used some of this amount to clear the remainder of his debt to the Apam creditor¹⁶. Thus, Ando-Brew did *not* use church funds to obtain the Hippodrome, which remained family property, eventually being inherited by nephew Elijah K. Johnson and two others, who in time sold it¹⁷.

Not everyone was privy to Ando-Brew’s family’s personal financial details. Unfortunately, the common gossipy perception of the problem by outsiders (near and far) was that Ando-Brew had misappropriated (i.e. “chopped”, wasted) church funds in order to get the property as his own¹⁸.

⁹ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1683-1684; FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW and Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1248; FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1259.

¹⁰ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1259; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 82.

¹¹ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW and Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1258-1260.

¹² RI, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Tape 82, Log 20, p. 1260.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 1259.

¹⁴ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW and Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1258-1260.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1250-1251.

¹⁸ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1125.

Sadly, Bresi-Ando also heard this wrong story and over-reacted¹⁹. However, as important as it was, the Hippodrome purchase was not the sole issue in the two brothers' misunderstanding nor was it ever the main issue, according to Rev. Edonu. Rather, it was a secondary issue, more of a personal matter²⁰. This was 1939 and there were larger issues at stake—specifically, Ando-Brew's management of the Asante Diocese and the Asante branch of Ebibirpim Limited's cocoa dealings, which were not working as well as they should have been²¹. Bresi-Ando was very eager to have his cocoa company succeed so that it could support the church and all his grand emancipationist plans²². He was certainly worried about his company, which by this time in the spring of 1939 was experiencing many obstacles set upon it by the British government and European firms.

While some details are lacking concerning all that occurred, it is known that in 1939 Bresi-Ando, in his new Ford touring car, drove with Rev. Jones up to Kumasi to meet with Ando-Brew²³. Along the way, Bresi-Ando had an accident, breaking both a fender and Jones' arm²⁴. These were not the only things that were about to break. The acute disagreement which ensued in Kumasi between the two brothers culminated in Bresi-Ando's dismissal and defrocking of his elder brother right there on-the-spot in the Hippodrome Chapel room, as Bresi-Ando physically removed Ando-Brew's clergy collar²⁵. Mistakenly, Bresi-Ando felt that his older brother had assumed too much by presuming that he (Bresi-Ando, the Patriarch who had ordained him) would excuse Ando-Brew's financial actions simply because Ando-Brew was the elder brother²⁶. Not having all the facts, and assuming that he was in the right, Bresi-Ando chose his church over any personal loyalty to his older brother, whom he was sure had acted presumptuously²⁷. Thus, Ando-Brew was forbidden to have anything to do with the African Universal (O.C.) Church in the Asante *ever again!*²⁸ With this act, their brotherly relations broke, and stayed broken for a very long time.

¹⁹ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1259.

²⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 16 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1702, and 20 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1832.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 16 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1702.

²³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1534.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 12 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1604-1605, and 16 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1703.

²⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 82.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

Rev. Edonu personally did not like this unilateral action of his Patriarch, seeing it as unfair and unwise—a big mistake. “Unfair” because Rev. Ando-Brew was not called before a church council in order to have his actions examined publicly, and “unwise” because Ando-Brew lived in the Asante, not Bresi-Ando²⁹. All the Asante was for Ando-Brew—it was his area, in his pocket, his backyard. The locals knew him. Bresi-Ando simply dismissed Ando-Brew, left Kumasi, and drove back to Accra, faraway in the south. “To dismiss someone and then leave—what is the use?” asked Rev. Edonu³⁰. This action did not stop Ando-Brew. It merely alienated many Asante church members—most of whom only knew Ando-Brew anyway, having never met Bresi-Ando³¹. Many would stay with Ando-Brew, and he would have the lion’s share³².

Indeed, the immediate response of Ando-Brew’s dismissal was an “earthquake” for the Ebibirpim Church organization. “It was completely a breakout,” recalls Ando-Brew’s nephew, Elijah K. Johnson³³. Asante parishes broke from Bresi-Ando to stay with their leader, Ando-Brew³⁴. While some parishioners remained loyal to Bresi-Ando, others stuck to the side of Ando-Brew, with each side struggling to retain members—each trying to draft some members to their favorite brother³⁵. Thus, complete disorganization entered the Ebibirpim Church in Asante as the immediate result of the brothers’ break-up. This disunity among the leadership led to the loss of many discouraged members who, seeing that their “frontline” was fighting itself, would rather leave and go away³⁶. Indeed, this “earthquake” even led to the closure of some of the Asante parishes³⁷. An Asante priest years later lamented: “These two bishops spoiled the whole church.”³⁸

1.1.2. Ando-Brew goes into schism

Ando-Brew was not about to be stopped by his younger brother’s action. He did not casually accept the defrocking measure, but immediately started to style himself as a “bishop” and began to compete with his brother. He emerged as the leader—now as a “bishop”—of his own Asante

²⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1469.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*; FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1264.

³³ RI, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Tape 83, Log 20, p. 1262.

³⁴ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Tape 82, Log 20, p. 1261.

³⁵ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Tape 83, Log 20, p. 1262, 1264.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1262-1263.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1263.

³⁸ RI, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Tape 75, Log 18, p. 1124.

church organization which had split from Bresi-Ando's African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church³⁹. For a while, Ando-Brew's church un-canonically adopted the name "Greek Orthodox" on its letterhead in order to differentiate itself from that of Bresi-Ando⁴⁰. Furthermore, Ando-Brew, who up to this time had been known as "Rev. Earnest Bresi-Ando," changed his own name to "Rt. Rev. AINU Ando-Brew" in order to further disassociate himself from his younger brother⁴¹. Ando-Brew (as Rev. Earnest Bresi-Ando) had been mistakenly receiving too many invoices addressed to "Rev. Bresi-Ando" for purchases made by his more famous younger brother, the Patriarch. He was tired of all the name confusion, and so after their breakup, he ended it once for all⁴².

This fractious family feud led some Asante parishioners to quit immediately⁴³. But many more Asante were soon going to quit the church entirely after Ebibirpim Limited's cocoa problem reached its climax in mid-1939⁴⁴. The net effect—when the dust settled in the long run—was that what remained of the Asante Diocese followed "Bishop" Ando-Brew away into schism from Bresi-Ando, especially after the Patriarch had left the Gold Coast permanently for Nigeria in 1942⁴⁵. Time tells the truth: in hurrying to dismiss his brother, Bresi-Ando ended up losing his entire northern diocese.

1.2. Bresi-Ando ordains Jones as bishop to run the Asante diocese

Following the dismissal of his elder brother, Bresi-Ando tried to take care of his Asante parishes. He did not want them to slip away into his brother's hands, who was now styling himself as a competitive hierarch. With the authority and status of a bishop, Ando-Brew could quite possibly gain control of the whole Asante affair⁴⁶. At first in 1939, Bresi-Ando sent a senior clergyman

³⁹ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW and Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1261, 1266; FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 20, p. 1220; FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 11, p. 651.

⁴⁰ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW and Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1261; FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1687.

⁴¹ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Tape 82, Log 20, p. 1244, 1258, 1261.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 1258-1259.

⁴³ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1263.

⁴⁴ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1156-1157.

⁴⁵ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1264.

⁴⁶ FFN, RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 83.

named Rev. K. N. Rogers Osamdadzi to Kumasi to take over, but the Kumasi parishioners did not cooperate with him⁴⁷. Another plan had to be made.

In an effort to win control of the Asante parishes for himself, Bresi-Ando decided to send them a new personal representative. He would create a new bishop loyal to his person and post him in Kumasi. That bishop would be in charge of the entire Asante Diocese of St. Peter III of Antioch. Such a bishop needed to be someone who intimately knew the Asante people, their towns and their roads. Missionary Jones seemed to be the perfect candidate. Therefore, in Accra on 02 April 1939 Patriarch Bresi-Ando consecrated Jones to be a bishop, with the name “The Right Revd. Kwesi Dutton Bresi-Ando”⁴⁸. This consecration was done after the fashion of many of the *episcopi vagantes* (i.e. performed solo, *without* two other concelebrating hierarchs assisting him). Known also as “Mar Dutton”, Jones was entitled “Bishop of the United States of America for the scattered flocks in the New World”⁴⁹. However, the new “Bishop” Jones was not sent to oversee his “scattered” American flocks, but instead was posted up north to take charge of the whole Asante Diocese as the Bishop of Kumasi⁵⁰, which at this point in time was at its peak, numbering at least 26 parishes⁵¹.

Bishop Jones did not immediately re-locate himself into the Asante Diocese nor its capital Kumasi following his ordination. Rather, having married a local Kankan woman (somewhere between 1938-1940⁵²), Jones simply returned to his wife and home in Kankan. From there for the rest of the year the new hierarch paid visits to his former Asante parishes, such as the one in Akrokyere—as he always had—this time not as a priest but as a bishop⁵³. However, dutifully, in 1940 Bishop Jones did move with his young family into the Asante Diocese proper and settled there for a couple of years (1940-1942)—not in the big city of Kumasi—but in the little village of Akrokyere, which lay far in the outskirts, in the “bush”⁵⁴.

⁴⁷ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1684-1685.

⁴⁸ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 8.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 20, p. 1220-1221.

⁵¹ FFN, Parish List, Asante Diocese, reviewed by Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 28 June 1994, File GR20.

⁵² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 419.

⁵³ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1147-1150.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

This act revealed much about the African-American. Jones did not have the heart to get too close to Ando-Brew in order to fight with him for control of the remaining Asante parishes. In fact, he chose not to fight. Rather, he simply stayed out of Ando-Brew's way and did not contend with him nor even visit him for a while⁵⁵. In fact, Bishop Jones was seen only once in Kumasi in all of 1939 and 1940⁵⁶. According to Earnest Jr., the son of Ando-Brew (who at the time was in Kumasi teaching at his father's Prempeh Memorial Institute)⁵⁷, Jones seemed to be a bishop "of his own diocese"⁵⁸. He appeared to be satisfied with ministering to the outlying and far spread town and village parishes who knew him—the same ones which he had founded between 1934 and 1939—but not the nearby ones which Ando-Brew had founded earlier (during 1932-1934) and still personally controlled⁵⁹ (which included Kumasi, Ejisu, Onwe, and Sewua), plus two in the Denkyere area (Dunkwa-Adwumamu and Dunkwa-Kyekyewere) where he had posted a catechist⁶⁰. The exception was the parish at Senfi, Ando-Brew's first Asante parish, which Jones was somehow able to secure⁶¹.

Living in Akrokyere for the next two years (before relocating back to Kankan in 1942)⁶², Bishop Jones was able to keep his usual circuit of Asante and Eastern Region parishes going strong because he kept on visiting them and communing them—that is, visiting the ones that had not already closed due to the brothers' quarrel or due to the cocoa disaster which followed shortly on its heels⁶³. In the Asante lands, Bishop Jones was caring for the parishes of Akrokyere, Bekwai, and Senfi, plus eight more in the Kumawu and Nsuta Districts⁶⁴. In addition, in the Eastern Region he was caring for his parish in Kankan as well as the nearby stations at Kwabeng and Abomosu in the Akyem District⁶⁵. The point being made here, that Bishop Jones was active and took the

⁵⁵ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 11, p. 651; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 84-85.

⁵⁶ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1267.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1271; FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Tape 82, Log 20, p. 1253.

⁵⁸ RI, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Tape 83, Log 20, p. 1267.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*; FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1134.

⁶⁰ FFN, Parish List, Asante Diocese, reviewed by Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 28 June 1994, File GR20; FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1134.

⁶¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 76, and 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 418.

⁶² FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1150.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 1151-1152.

⁶⁴ FFN, Parish List, Asante Diocese, reviewed by Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 28 June 1994, File GR20.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

pastoral responsibilities of his circuit very seriously. Therefore, throughout 1939 and 1940, there was basically a continuation of the *status quo* which had operated from 1934 to 1939, when Jones—as a priest—had been managing a sub-section of the African Universal Church Asante Diocese on behalf of Priest Superior Ando-Brew and reporting his missionary activities back to him. The only difference was that now Jones reported to Bresi-Ando instead of to Ando-Brew. Or at least he was supposed to. In reality, news from Bishop Jones was non-existent. He was working silently—perhaps too busy always traveling—not reporting to Ando-Brew in Kumasi, nor coming down to Accra to report to Patriarch Bresi-Ando either⁶⁶. In fact, since his move to the Asante in 1940, Bishop Jones had failed to return to Accra to attend any of the Synod meetings⁶⁷.

1.3. Jones' failure to supplant Ando-Brew in the Asante diocese

Thus, the episcopal replacement plan for the Asante Diocese of St. Peter III of Antioch was a total failure. It was flawed and doomed from the start. The ordination of Bishop Jones and resulting loss of control of the northern parishes turned into *second* huge 1939 earthquake for Bresi-Ando and his ecclesiological emancipationist adventure. Jones had been sent to be Bishop of all the Asante in order to supplant Ando-Brew, but he did not. He could not. He would not. The older Ando-Brew held sway over Jones partly because Ando-Brew was a Gold Coast native and Jones was a foreigner, and partly because Jones was the “adopted” younger brother to Ando-Brew, and Jones respected their relationship⁶⁸. In this Jones was seen by some as weak because he could not and/or would not stand up to the older Ando-Brew as Bresi-Ando did⁶⁹. But who could blame Jones? It was sad enough that the two Bresi-Ando brothers were quarreling. Did there need to be more division in their family and in their church?

Finally, Bresi-Ando's plan to re-gain control over the Asante parishes could not succeed because he had put Jones into the very awkward position of having to stand up against the superior priest to whom he had been reporting all of his activities for over a half a decade. To reverse the roles and to turn the subordinate into the master was next to impossible. Thus, the very concept of

⁶⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1470.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1267; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Tape 6, Log 2, p. 84-85.

⁶⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Tape 6, Log 2, p. 84-85.

making Jones a bishop in order to supplant Brew was a fatally flawed idea, impossible to succeed, for all the above reasons.

In reality, when Jones became Patriarch Bresi-Ando's new bishop for the Asante Diocese in 1939, he could only hold hierarchical influence (as "his own diocese") over those outlying parishes which he had personally started or previously pastored, but he was not able to take control of Ando-Brew's parishes in the Kumasi and Dunkwa⁷⁰ areas which Ando-Brew continued to manage by himself and for himself⁷¹. Rev. John Sarkodie-Aidoo of Akrokyere noted that when Jones came to live there in 1940 as a bishop, Ando-Brew didn't "come there again"—he stopped his pastoral visits there⁷². With Bishop Jones operating in the outlying villages and towns, Ando-Brew did not visit those parishes that Jones had founded⁷³. There was a kind of "truce" between the two men. Jones didn't bother Ando-Brew and "his" parishes, and Ando-Brew didn't bother Jones nor "his" parishes. They chose not to fight each other, and in the long run, ended up cooperating with one another.

In the minds of many Asante folks, the older Ando-Brew would always remain "the big man"—the senior bishop—while the younger Jones was viewed as a second bishop—an assistant, an auxiliary⁷⁴. However, regardless of seniority, there definitely was love and loyalty and a strong family bond between the two leaders. Years later Ando-Brew's family fondly remembered that Jones always "stood with Brew"⁷⁵. Therefore, it was not surprising that after a while—when the loud and impressive Patriarch Bresi-Ando left the Gold Coast for Nigeria in 1942 and Bishop Jones was free to switch his allegiances—that he quietly began to conspire and cooperate with Rev.

⁷⁰ The two parishes in the Denkyere area (Dunkwa-Adwumamu and Dunkwa-Kyekyewere), bordering the Central and Ashanti Regions, were grouped within the Asante Diocese of St. Peter III of Antioch, having being opened personally by Ando-Brew circa 1939, but were too far to the southwest for either Ando-Brew or Jones to visit. Ando-Brew delegated senior catechist Asafu Brebo to care for these in about 1944. They died when Brebo left the Dunkwa area somewhere between 1945-1946. FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1173.)

⁷¹ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1137-1139; FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON and Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 11, p. 651.

⁷² FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1134.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1135, 1137; FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW and Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1265-1267.

⁷⁵ RI, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Tape 83, Log 20, p. 1266.

Ando-Brew during the era of troubles and unending schisms which Bresi-Ando's organization experienced through the decade of the 1940's⁷⁶.

1.4. Nigerian diocese in desperate need of leadership

While Bresi-Ando had been distracted by the shake-down in the Asante diocese, a *third* earthquake began to rumble: trouble in his Nigerian parishes had been erupting which was competing for his immediate attention. Bresi-Ando's Nigerian flock, feeling neglected due to his long absence from him, cried to him for help⁷⁷. They felt orphaned and leaderless due to the fact that Bresi-Ando's representative in Nigeria—Rev. Kofi Brebi (Bennett Sr.) who had been in charge of his Nigerian church communities—had moved back home to his native Gold Coast in early 1939⁷⁸. The result was that there was no “head” (no church leader) remaining in Nigeria to oversee Bresi-Ando's Nigerian flock. (The African-American AUC missionaries had long since left that scene⁷⁹.) In fact, there were no other AUC priests left in Nigeria⁸⁰. Feeling orphaned and facing difficulties, the Nigerian churches demanded Bresi-Ando's attention, asking that someone be sent in Rev. Brebi (Bennett Sr.)'s place⁸¹. It was a crisis. They wanted leadership, preferably Bresi-Ando, lest his churches and schools that he started in their land should cease to exist⁸². As Bresi-Ando was currently too preoccupied with the power struggle within the Asante Diocese, and hounded by growing trouble within his cocoa export company, he knew that he could not travel outside the country at this time to attend to matters by himself. Therefore, he opted to send a personal representative to the neighboring colony. Thus, on 15 March 1939⁸³, (just prior to Rev. Edonu's 14 May 1939 ordination)⁸⁴, Bresi-Ando dispatched one of his more trusted priests, Rev. Michael Abradu Amoah (known to many as Rev. Abradu), to Nigeria with full authority to act on his behalf as his personal representative to run the African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church in Nigeria

⁷⁶ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW and Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1266-1267; FFN, RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Tape 5AB, Log 2, p. 79.

⁷⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 79-80.

⁷⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 24 February 1994, Log 10, p. 520, and 18 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1454-1455.

⁷⁹ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 140.

⁸⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 18 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1455.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² FFN, RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 79-80.

⁸³ Joseph ABRADU AMOAH. Accra, GAR, GH, 23 October 1994, Abradu file, File GR20.

⁸⁴ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Certificate of Ordination to the Priesthood for Kweku Kurafi Edonu, Diocese of St. Ignatius of Antioch, The African Universal Church, Orthodox Catholic, Accra, Gold Coast Colony, 14 May 1939, File GR1.27.

and to settle some important matters concerning it⁸⁵. In addition, Bresi-Ando commissioned Rev. Abradu to open a branch of Ebibirpim Limited—his church-run business—in Nigeria, with the favored commodity for exportation being cassava powder (starch)⁸⁶. (Nigeria is a major producer of cassava starch, a food carbohydrate commonly known as “tapioca”⁸⁷.) Exercising the power of his Patriarchal status, Bresi-Ando must have considered the Nigerian crisis over, as he continued to operate as an autocephalous primate and promote his clergymen to various positions of leadership within his AIC. Just two weeks later, on 02 April 1939, the same day that he consecrated Jones to be Bishop for the Asante Diocese, Patriarch Bresi-Ando elevated the old priest Brebi (Bennett Sr.) to the rank of “bishop”⁸⁸. “Mar Brebi” was to be the “Bishop of Apam” with the goal of doing mission work in the western side of the colony, yet nothing much came of this effort and he quickly retired⁸⁹. However, on his side, the younger Rev. Abradu began his new duties with vigor, and in 1940 the Seminary of St. Ignatius of Antioch was opened in Aba, Eastern Nigeria, to train priests for Bresi-Ando’s church in that colony⁹⁰. Just the same, assigning Rev. Abradu to the neighboring colony proved to be only a temporary fix, as Bresi-Ando’s Nigerian followers over time still demanded his personal presence. They did not understand why he had not returned in person but had only sent a representative⁹¹. After all, it had now been *seven* years since they had last seen their leader and they were not satisfied.

1.5. Ebibirpim Ltd. cocoa export business is crushed

In mid-1939, Bresi-Ando’s earthquake of troubles experienced a *fourth* severe shock. Careful Gold Coast Colonial Government maneuvering, hand-in-hand with the European export and shipping firms, worked step by step to successfully obstruct Bresi-Ando’s attempt to enter the

⁸⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 79-80, and 25 April 1994, Log 9, p. 458, and 20 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1815; FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1168.

⁸⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 32, and 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 935, and 20 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1815.

⁸⁷ The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica. “Tapioca”, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 28 February 2011, (page consulted on 07 August 2019), <https://www.britannica.com/topic/tapioca>, par. 1.

⁸⁸ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDU. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 7-8.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 24 February 1994, Log 10, p. 520, and 01 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1537-1538.

⁹⁰ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 243.

⁹¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 80.

competitive cocoa exporting business⁹². Ebibirpim Limited was forced to stop exporting cocoa as the European shipping firms outright refused to transport his huge stockpile of Ebibirpim cocoa⁹³. (This tremendously interesting sad saga is reserved in its entirety for Chapter 16—“Bresi-Ando’s *Commercial* Emancipation”). Not willing to concede defeat for his goal of commercial emancipation, Bresi-Ando turned to a new commodity—the sale of cassava starch. He chose to try to collect, mill, and export it internationally from the Gold Coast⁹⁴. In fact, he had a great motivation to do something fast, because his company was now hugely in debt to a host of angry Asante and Gold Coast farmers who had advanced to Bresi-Ando their cocoa in hope of higher sales profits. The failure to ship meant no payments for those bags of cocoa which sat rotting on the beaches of Accra⁹⁵. The repercussions of this financial tremor were very severe, very immediate, and harassed Bresi-Ando for years to come.

1.6. Some parishes close due to collapse of commercial side and membership decreases

The collapse of the cocoa venture of Ebibirpim Limited in 1939 began a major crisis in Bresi-Ando’s AIC. Many members (farmers) left the church when they learned that their local Ebibirpim Ltd. cocoa agents (parish elders) had no money to pay for the cocoa which had been advanced to them for sale⁹⁶. These same church elders likewise quit Bresi-Ando’s AIC in extreme sorrow, being very upset seeing how the colonial government had worked against their economical emancipationist vision⁹⁷.

The African Universal/Ebibirpim Church membership in the Asante was particularly angered, feeling deceived by Bresi-Ando and his promise of lucrative payments which did not materialize⁹⁸. Since most of the Gold Coast’s cocoa is produced on Asante farmland, the sad news hit them the hardest. Their crushing disappointment led to an immediate sharp membership decline in

⁹² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1107-1110, and 22 April 1994, Log 10, p. 566-570.

⁹³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 951-952;

⁹⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 952-953, and 22 April 1994, Log 10, p. 570-571.

⁹⁵ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1593.

⁹⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1107.

⁹⁷ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1094-1095; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 1, Log 2, p. 32, and 10 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1107.

⁹⁸ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1156-1159.

Ebibirpim churches in the Asante. “Most of the stations closed one time and [*there only*] remained some stations. Closed because of deceiving—that you say they must give their cocoa to you and then you will give them high price, and the money didn’t come,” recalled native Asante priest Rev. John Sarkodie-Aidoo⁹⁹. Perhaps “most” is a bit exaggerated; however, six Asante parishes did in fact shut down immediately due to the cocoa failure, namely—Abotanso, Pepeasi, Woraso (all located within the Kumawu District), Jeretiasi (in the Mampong District), Bomen (in the Sekyere District), and Asuafo (in the Nsuta District), and perhaps others whose names have been forgotten¹⁰⁰. Curiously, the parish of Wonno (in the Kumawu District) was saved from closure when church elder Dwufoo (a Bekwai native) out of love for the African Universal Church, sold his very big farm in order to personally repay the cocoa debt owed to Wonno’s membership and the other Kumawu District farmers—a desperate attempt to try to bring back the members who were running away, refusing to return¹⁰¹. Not every member in these Asante parishes had cocoa; rather, only the rich cocoa farmers. When these key individuals got angry and left the church, the poorer members sympathized with the rich and left too, as they could not afford to keep the parishes open by themselves¹⁰². Thus, there were several complete parish closures.

Everyone’s hopes had run high, expecting the success of Bresi-Ando’s commercial program, Ebibirpim Ltd¹⁰³. It was the concrete expression of everything that he had been proclaiming in his emancipationist ideology when he had preached: “Eternal life for the soul, and bread to eat for the body. Look for them here”¹⁰⁴. The shock wave of Ebibirpim Limited’s 1939 “commercial earthquake” tore through the church when the members, farmers, town chiefs and elders “found that following the church commercially, it could not go farther. The church started to dwindle”¹⁰⁵. Rev. Edonu recalled how that “the membership became numerous for nothing. As they came in, so they went away. It dwindled when what they expected to get they could not get—material progress”¹⁰⁶. Such were the folks who had joined the church not merely for the sake of the Gospel

⁹⁹ RI, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Tape 76, Log 18, p. 1159.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1159, and Log 19, p. 1160-1162.

¹⁰¹ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1160.

¹⁰² FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 October 1994, Log 19, p. 1160 marginal clarification note.

¹⁰³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1504.

¹⁰⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 15 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1701.

¹⁰⁵ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 35, Log 16, p. 966.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 968.

but in hope of material gain via the promised commercial emancipation¹⁰⁷. Ironically, “it was the commercial side that started to put a check to the spreading of the church,” reported Rev. Edonu¹⁰⁸. The beginning of the 1939 year had witnessed the zenith of the African Universal (O-C) Church in terms of its greatest number of parishes and parishioners; however, from mid-1939 onwards a long period of decline set in.

As Rev. Edonu recalled: 1939—“It was not a good year”¹⁰⁹. The sad schism with his older brother, Priest Superior Rev. Ando-Brew, which occurred earlier that year, added up to many losses for Bresi-Ando in the Asante land: the loss of many members and parishes, and over time, the demise of the entire Asante Diocese itself. Compounding these negatives in 1939 were the cataclysmic losses in membership and parishes that arrived a few months later as a result of the collapse of the Ebibirpim cocoa business. The brothers’ breakup and the cocoa business failure—both in the same year, right before the June 1939 Accra earthquake—added up to a double-sized disaster for the African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church. Never again in the 20th century would it have the large number of parishes and members that it had at the beginning of 1939!

1.7. Apam Rupture: Teacher Adentwi resigns and starts own school and church

The shockwave of the two Bresi-Ando brothers’ breakup in Kumasi was felt as far away as the coastal town of Apam, where another unfortunate *aftershock* occurred early in 1940 with their nephew, Rev. K. D. Nyaako-Adentwi—a *fifth* tremor. For some unknown reason this loyal head teacher, Ando-Brew’s blood nephew and faithful school master, who for years had been holding together the Apam Ebibirpim Academy, was suddenly suspended by his uncle Patriarch Bresi-Ando on 09 February 1940¹¹⁰. Things were not going well financially for the Apam Academy, nor for the entire Ebibirpim school system. The Ebibirpim Limited commercial venture was failing to provide the needed and expected funding for the Ebibirpim schools. Not getting paid, teachers were quitting¹¹¹. Adentwi felt his suspension was unlawful, so he turned around and resigned¹¹².

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 966.

¹⁰⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomua Afransi, CR, GH, 20 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1830.

¹¹⁰ School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 09 February 1940 entry, p. 70, File GR4.

¹¹¹ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 20, p. 1226.

¹¹² Minutes of the Minor Synod of the African Universal (O.C.) Church, Gomua Formina [*sic.*], 13 May 1950, p. 5, File GR1.43.

By this time (since January 1939), Adentwi had already been ordained an Orthodox Catholic priest by the Patriarch Kwamin¹¹³, had changed his name to the Rev. K. D. Nyaako-Adentwi¹¹⁴, and had been appointed by Bresi-Ando to be the new Education Secretary of the Ebibirpim Church school system¹¹⁵. He had become very important and useful to Bresi-Ando in the administration of his AIC, so losing nephew Adentwi was another big loss.

In his own words in his “History of Apam,” Adentwi wrote that “On March 1st, 1940, Rev. Father K. D. Nyaako-Adentwi relinquished his appointment when autocracy started to reign in the Orthodox Catholic Church in the Gold Coast”¹¹⁶. “Autocracy started to reign”—but who was the “autocrat”? Was it himself? Or, was Adentwi referring to Patriarch Bresi-Ando becoming a “despot” of sorts? Was he referring to Ando-Brew’s effort to become an independent bishop in imitation of his younger brother? Or were they all feeling *free* to become “autocrats” in imitation of the self-ruling “Prince-Patriarch”? As for himself, nephew Adentwi did not go anywhere when he became his own “autocrat” of his own AIC. He simply took over the entire Apam Academy student body and venue for himself and ran the school under the new name: “The Apam Liberal School”¹¹⁷. He joined the Liberal Catholic Church of Britain which he claimed gave him the “mandate to run the school for the church”¹¹⁸. Adentwi had learned of this very unique, free-thinking liberal off-shoot of the “Old Catholic” movement in Britain from their Liturgy book which Patriarch Bresi-Ando had brought back for use in his Gold Coast churches in 1935¹¹⁹. With the students of his re-organized “wonder school” as his founding parishioners, Adentwi started his Liberal Catholic Church in Apam¹²⁰. So many of the Apam Ebibirpim faithful followed Adentwi into his new church that—to a large number of the townsfolk, especially the students—it looked like the whole Apam Orthodox Catholic Church had become Liberal Catholic¹²¹. Indeed, many parishioners did switch, but not all; others just scattered¹²². However, for the students, the

¹¹³ Rev. K. D. NYAAKO-ADENTWI. History of Apam, [unpublished typed manuscript], [s.d.], p. 14, File GR1.19; School Log Book [...], 19 January 1939 entry, p. 59, File GR4. This entry shows the signature of Rev. K. D. N. Adentwi for the first time as a clergyman.

¹¹⁴ Rev. K. D. NYAAKO-ADENTWI. History of Apam, [...], p. 14, File GR1.19.

¹¹⁵ School Log Book [...], 18 October 1939 entry, p. 68, File GR4.

¹¹⁶ Rev. K. D. NYAAKO-ADENTWI. History of Apam, [...], p. 14, File GR1.19.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *The Liturgy, According to the Use of The Liberal Catholic Church*, 3^d ed., London, St. Alban Press, 1942, p. 7.

¹²⁰ Rev. K. D. NYAAKO-ADENTWI. History of Apam, [...], p. 14, File GR1.19.

¹²¹ FFN, J. B. QUANSAH. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 20, p. 1230.

¹²² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 06 January 1993, Log 16, p. 928.

transition was seamless—just a name change¹²³. Thus, another schism in Bresi-Ando's Ebibirpim/African Universal Orthodox Catholic Church had begun, tragically separating family members while increasing the disintegration of Bresi-Ando's decade-long emancipationist dream for the Gold Coast.

This Apam schism made matters very delicate for the Brew-Anderson family, as Ebibirpim Church co-founder Aunt Molly Brew remained loyal to her step-nephew Bresi-Ando who had defrocked her blood-nephew Ando-Brew and suspended her grandson Adentwi¹²⁴. Although this tragic sadness of misunderstanding separated these family members for years, Bresi-Ando personally and lovingly reconciled with his both brother Ando-Brew and “nephew” Adentwi prior to his death¹²⁵. As for Rev. Adentwi, he eventually lost his Liberal Catholic School and Church in 1949 when the colonial government transferred his school into the Roman Catholic Education Unit¹²⁶. Relocating for a while to Afransi where he took up a position in a government school, Rev. Adentwi personally reconciled with his “brother/cousin”, Rev. Edonu¹²⁷. Until he was transferred to another school far away, Fr. Adentwi helped run the Afransi parish as a second priest, proving himself to be a very loyal friend and priest until his death in 19 October 1974¹²⁸.

Meanwhile, in 1940 Bresi-Ando was not to be outdone by his schismatic “nephew” Adentwi. The Patriarch worked hard to re-open his beloved Apam Ebibirpim Academy, which he did a year later in April of 1941.¹²⁹ The two rival Apam academies and churches—Orthodox Catholic and Liberal Catholic—co-existed for a few years throughout the 1940's before dying out (their tale is told in Chapter 15, “Bresi-Ando's *Educational* Emancipation”).

¹²³ FFN, J. B. QUANSAH. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 20, p. 1230.

¹²⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1468-1470.

¹²⁵ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary of Rev. K. K. Edonu: February 1951-May 1957, 15 July 1970 entry, p. 14, File GR3; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 90, and 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 960.

¹²⁶ Rev. K. D. NYAAKO-ADENTWI. History of Apam, [...], p. 14, File GR1.19.

¹²⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 90.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 90-91; Church Log Book, Diocese of St. Ignatius, Ghana, File GR4: see backside of page “A” for date of death of Revd. Kobena Duodo Nyaako-Adentwi. Expired in Apam on 19 October 1974.

¹²⁹ School Log Book [...], 15 April 1941 entry, p. 71, File GR4.

2. Early WWII years: Bresi-Ando fights to hold onto his dying Gold Coast program

2.1. Starts cassava starch powder business in 1939; needs to pay his creditors

The Ebibirpim Limited's financial chaos of 1939 continued to tumble right into the early '40s. Bresi-Ando switched to cassava starch exportation in May/June of 1939, immediately after the collapse of his cocoa venture, just prior to the June 22 Accra earthquake¹³⁰. The new product looked promising. Ebibirpim Limited succeeded in shipping cassava starch from Accra in 1940 and received payment easily, as this business venture was entirely new to the colony and had zero competition¹³¹. At first it looked like the Prince-Patriarch would be able to pay his creditors and salvage his grand economic emancipationist agenda—and indeed, his whole program—but instead he once again attracted the ire of the white colonial authorities. It did not take long for trouble to arrive. Somewhere between 1940 and 1941 the Gold Coast colonial government passed a law forbidding cassava starch export, ostensibly to prevent famine in the colony during the war¹³². This move put Bresi-Ando completely out of business—a *sixth* massive quake. Although Ebibirpim Ltd. remained a legal licensed entity, it ceased to function on the Gold Coast¹³³. All of Bresi-Ando's followers assumed that the government had taken *direct action* to crush Bresi-Ando's commercial emancipation dream¹³⁴. After all, Ebibirpim Ltd. was the *only* company exporting cassava starch powder from the Gold Coast at that time¹³⁵.

2.2. Moves to Cape Coast in 1941 to set up new church HQ and school there

Having no school, no cathedral, no seminary, and now no company in Accra, Bresi-Ando had no reason to stay in the colonial capital. Never admitting failure¹³⁶, in late 1941 he packed up and moved to Cape Coast, his birth place—not to quit—but to start all over again¹³⁷. He hoped for a re-birth for his dream on the Gold Coast. Bresi-Ando's was unstoppable. He would not give up

¹³⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1828.

¹³¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 952.

¹³² *Ibid*; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, Log 23, p. 1527.

¹³³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 April 1994, Log 9, p. 459.

¹³⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 April 1994, Log 10, p. 571.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*.

¹³⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, Log 23, p. 1518.

¹³⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 April 1994, Log 9, p. 459, and 01 June 1994, Log 23, p. 1527.

on his guiding emancipationist vision, and his move to the town of his birth was an effort to get back to basics and resuscitate his dying church and school in the Gold Coast Colony¹³⁸. In fact, in Cape Coast he promoted his Africanization policy by taking a high school teacher as a second wife (in addition to “Matriarch” Wilhelmina)—having two at the same time¹³⁹. By this act he defied those who had challenged his emancipationist vision of liberation from the white man who had tried to shut him down.

The famous political figure, Kobina Sekyi, a close personal friend with whom Bresi-Ando was reportedly in “constant communication,” helped the homeless Patriarch locate a fine three-story building in Cape Coast to rent, where Bresi-Ando established his new headquarters, parish, and school¹⁴⁰. Soon the “Ebibirpim Grammar School” in Cape Coast was up and running in early 1942, under the tutelage of Headteacher G. O. Quano¹⁴¹. It attempted to operate at both the lower and upper primary levels.

3. Self-exiled to Nigeria in 1942

Bresi-Ando’s desperate attempt in Cape Coast to rescue his fading dream was a last-ditch effort. The Asante Diocese and Kumasi School were in schism with Ando-Brew. The new Bishop Jones had failed to supplant Ando-Brew up north. Most of the Apam parishioners and former Apam Ebibirpim Academy students were in schism with Adentwi. The Accra Academy and Pro-Cathedral had been destroyed by the 1939 earthquake. His fledgling St. Simon of Cyrene Seminary had closed and the British had crushed Ebibirpim Limited’s commercial activities in the Gold Coast colony. The Patriarch’s emancipationist dream was crumbling all around him. Then, in 1942 Bresi-Ando’s forgotten Nigerian flock began to write him, again demanding his presence¹⁴².

¹³⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1853.

¹³⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 February 1994, Log 10, p. 553, and Log 11, p. 607.

¹⁴⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 24 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1482.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1858.

3.1. Bresi-Ando is summoned to Nigeria by his flock, demanding his presence

Bresi-Ando's Nigeria flock missed him and Rev. Abradu needed him. Bresi-Ando had been away for a complete decade, since 1932. As a representative, Abradu had been dispatched to Nigeria by the Patriarch in March of 1939 to lead the churches, start a seminary, and open up the Nigerian branch of the Ebibirpim Limited starch business. Abradu and his committee had worked hard and had developed everything to the point that now Abradu himself was begging Bresi-Ando to come; they all demanded Bresi-Ando's presence¹⁴³. Rev. Abradu had done the best he could to get the seminary going, to pastor the churches and to start the starch export operation; however, the further development of the entire program depended upon Bresi-Ando, whose leadership and expertise were needed to re-organize his starch business and take it to the next level¹⁴⁴. Interested committee members and lawyers were asking Abradu questions beyond his ability, thus he and the committee members were all begging Bresi-Ando to come back to Nigeria as soon as possible¹⁴⁵.

3.1.1. Holds Departure Synod at Cape Coast, promising to return soon

Having been summoned by the Nigerian flock, between January and February of 1942 Bresi-Ando held a Departure Synod at Cape Coast with all his remaining Gold Coast clergy during which he informed them of his plans to leave, settle some issues in Nigeria and to return¹⁴⁶. He re-appointed all his clergy assignments, giving them his final instructions before departing¹⁴⁷. Rev. Edonu, priest of St. Peter's parish in Larteh, was put in charge of the Akuapem District of the Eastern Region, where Larteh is located, and teacher/catechist Labi Odeng, a Larteh native, was ordained a Subdeacon¹⁴⁸. Fr. Kyerematen was sent to Nkawkaw to be in charge of the Kwahu District (he soon quit and in his place Subdeacon Labi Odeng was sent later in '42)¹⁴⁹. The most important assignment was that Rev. Osamdadzi was named to be the "Deputy Bishop" in the Patriarch's absence and placed in charge of the entire Gold Coast Diocese¹⁵⁰. The news of Bresi-Ando's

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 1854.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1477.

¹⁴⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1854.

¹⁴⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 April 1994, Log 9, p. 459-460, and 01 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1538.

¹⁴⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 April 1994, Log 9, p. 459.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ FFN, Rev. Gregory Labi ODENG. Larteh, ER, GH, 11 April 1994, Log 8, p. 410; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 April 1994, Log 9, p. 459-460.

¹⁵⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 April 1994, Log 9, p. 459-460.

decision to travel to Nigeria came as a surprise to his men, as no one actually had a clue that he was planning on going there until the day he announced it at the Cape Coast Synod meeting¹⁵¹.

3.1.2. Travels to Nigeria: “He left the Gold Coast to escape his creditors”

By early March 1942, the Patriarch left the Gold Coast for Aba, Nigeria, alone, without his two wives¹⁵². Everyone expected him to return soon. It sure looked and sounded that way when he departed¹⁵³. No one thought that he was running away into a self-made exile in an attempt “to escape his creditors”. Yet that is exactly how the colonial government saw it. On 15 July 1943 the new governor of Gold Coast wrote to the governor of Nigeria about Bresi-Ando, stating: “He left the Gold Coast to escape his creditors”¹⁵⁴. Indeed, over time that is how many folks in the Gold Coast and Asante interpreted the fact. Having left the colony in 1942 promising to “be right back” (“to go and come”), it took Bresi-Ando nearly a decade and a half to return. The longer he stayed away, the more believable this interpretation became for many Gold Coasters: “He ran away”, they would say¹⁵⁵. But perhaps that interpretation is too simple. Maybe he just got too busy when he arrived in Nigeria. Maybe things looked more hopeful in Nigeria for his on-going Emancipation agenda, compared to the disaster that the Gold Coast had turned into. And it is worth remembering, that when Bresi-Ando had left Nigeria back in 1932 and got busy planting churches and schools and commercial ventures on the Gold Coast, it had taken him a decade to return from there too.

3.2. Bresi-Ando re-ignites his Emancipation program in Nigeria

Patriarch Bresi-Ando arrived in Nigeria in his usual flamboyant style, ready to personally re-proclaim his good news of emancipation, ramp up his church business, and liberate the colony with his AIC—the African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church. He immediately started to explain his ordination as an autocephalous Patriarch which had occurred during his absence from

¹⁵¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1853.

¹⁵² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 February 1994, Log 10, p. 552, and 25 April 1994, Log 9, p. 459, and 01 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1538.

¹⁵³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 April 1994, Log 9, p. 459.

¹⁵⁴ The GOVERNOR of the Gold Coast. Letter to the Governor of Nigeria, 15 July 1943, Ibadan Archives File CSO.192/41394, African Universal Church and Ebibirpim Ltd., in Max ASSIMENG, “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 61 & 77 footnote 6.

¹⁵⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1858.

Nigeria. As soon as 30 May 1942 the *Nigerian Eastern Mail* newspaper ran an article reporting on a lecture given by the “Primate” Bresi-Ando in which he “accused the Roman Catholic Church of breaking away ‘from the Mother Church at Antioch in the year A.D. 105’”¹⁵⁶. Obviously he was explaining to the public his new ecclesiastical Non-Chalcedonian Jacobite stance. (Hopefully the date was a printer’s typo and not his own error.) Researcher Assimeng noted that in Nigeria in the 1940’s Bresi-Ando “was always in the papers, especially in Aba”¹⁵⁷. He said that he learned a lot about Bresi-Ando from reading the old Nigerian newspapers from the ‘30s and ‘40s¹⁵⁸. Bresi-Ando’s church in Aba was called St. Ignatius Church where he would celebrate Pontifical High Mass on occasion¹⁵⁹. A local police report indicates that by 1943 the transplanted Patriarch did not have very many parishioners attending his church in Aba; those who came were mainly rich, illiterate traders¹⁶⁰. According to his Nigerian wife, Bresi-Ando had about 5 full parishes and several missions in Nigeria—some located in Aba, but more among the Ibibio people¹⁶¹. Curious to know who this noisy, colorful, ambitious proclaimer of African emancipation was, the British in Nigeria quietly investigated the Patriarch by contacting the Governor of the Gold Coast for an explanation and by using the local police to check up on Bresi-Ando in Aba. The Gold Coast Governor offered his “to escape his creditors” rationale, while the Nigerian police looked in on the Prince-Patriarch. They found a churchman with a big title operating a small “cathedral” connected to his house, who could speak “very good English, with no outstanding peculiarities. Goes in for a quantity of gold ornaments, watch chains, cuff links, etc. Nearly always smoking a cigar and carries a walking stick.”¹⁶² Bresi-Ando might have been enjoying his new life in Nigeria, but he was too smart and too slippery to be caught by the authorities doing anything illegal. He continued

¹⁵⁶ BRESI-ANDO. *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, 30 May 1942, in Max ASSIMENG, *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 243 and 271 footnote 31.

¹⁵⁷ FFN, Prof. Dr. Max ASSIMENG. Univ. of Ghana, Legon, GAR, GH, 09 May 1994, Log 9, p. 479.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1584; Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 72.

¹⁶⁰ Police Report. Senior Assistant Superintendent of Police, Aba, to Commissioner of Police, Lagos, Nigeria, 23 July 1943, Ibadan Archives File CSO.192/41394, African Universal Church and Ebibirpim Ltd., in Max ASSIMENG, “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 68 & 77 footnote 15.

¹⁶¹ FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1587.

¹⁶² Police Report. Senior Assistant Superintendent of Police, Aba, to Commissioner of Police, Lagos, Nigeria, 23 July 1943, Ibadan Archives File CSO.192/41394, African Universal Church and Ebibirpim Ltd., in Max ASSIMENG, “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 62, 68 & 77 footnotes 8 & 15.

his long practice of writing them official resolutions and sending them verbally profuse telegrams to remind them that he was in no way a traitor to the Crown¹⁶³.

3.3. Leaves his Gold Coast wives behind, marries for the last time

By June 1942, soon after his arrival, Bresi-Ando re-connected with Joana Cookey, an old friend in Aba, Nigeria (born November 1912—exact day she forgot)¹⁶⁴. He courted her and married her in the African traditional manner that same year¹⁶⁵. Their church wedding was held the next year on 15 March 1943 at St. Michael's Anglican Church in Aba¹⁶⁶. She was Anglican at the time but switched to her husband's denomination upon marrying him¹⁶⁷. He had re-assured her that he was single—that he had divorced his white British wife—Evelyn—before he left England in 1935, since his people would not bless his marriage to a white woman¹⁶⁸. From interviews, it appears that he neglected to tell the much younger Joana about the *five* other wives that he had previously married and had left behind along the road of life: 1) the daughter of Rev. Frank Pinanko, in the Colony of the Gold Coast prior to his first sojourn in Nigeria in the 1920's¹⁶⁹, or, 2) his first Gold Coast wife in Nigeria in the late '20s¹⁷⁰, 3) his “uncle's” daughter in the Gold Coast in the early '30s¹⁷¹, 4) “Matriarch” Wilhelmina in Accra in the late '30s¹⁷², 5) or her rival the high school teacher at Cape Coast in 1941¹⁷³. This marital faithlessness reflected Bresi-Ando's liberal stance on marriage. It was seen by Rev. Edonu to be a serious moral flaw. Rev. Edonu felt it was a “capital error” and “divinely wrong” of his uncle Bresi-Ando “to change women [*as often*] as the Queen of England changes her Sunday dresses”¹⁷⁴. He found it “religiously cruel” of him to marry

¹⁶³ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 67; For sample of such a telegram, see: Most Revd. Dr. K. N. BRESI-ANDO. Telegram to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, 06 February 1956, in Rev. K. A. EYITEY, General Secretary. Bobikuma Synod Minutes, The Catholic Apostolic Church, Catholicate of the South, (African), commonly called The Orthodox Catholic Church, 3rd to 6th February, 1956, p. 2, File GR1.47.

¹⁶⁴ FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 17, p. 1052. When they married in church in 1943, Bresi-Ando was just two weeks away from his 59th birthday. Joana, who had never been married before, was 30 years old. She was 28 years and 8 months younger than him. They were married for 27 ½ years.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1052-1055.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1053.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1055.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 71

¹⁷⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 February 1994, Log 10, p. 552.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 553. None of this information was revealed to (the now-departed) Joana during the interview process.

¹⁷⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 February 1994, Log 11, p. 607, and 21 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1704.

so many wives and just leave them behind carelessly with no regard¹⁷⁵. The ever-loyal subordinate Edonu was brutally honest when he admitted that his uncle “Bresi-Ando never valued marriage. He took it as a joke.”¹⁷⁶ Rev. Edonu was on solid Scriptural ground in this harsh criticism of his uncle (to whom he was so loyal in all other regards), as St. Paul wrote to St. Timothy: “But if anyone does not provide for his own, and especially for those of his household, he has denied the faith and is worse than an unbeliever” (1 Timothy 5:8 NKJV). The sad truth is that Bresi-Ando did lose the respect of many of his family members back in Ghana due to his neglect of his family and relatives—indeed, he had much to repent of¹⁷⁷. However, to his nephew’s approval, with the younger Joana Cookey at his side, Bresi-Ando finally repented and stayed monogamous and faithful to one wife for the rest of his life. Rev. Edonu surmised that this action—of keeping one lawfully wedded wife for nearly three decades—demonstrated that his uncle had changed his mind about divorce and plural marriages¹⁷⁸.

3.4. Re-organizes and runs his Nigerian business until it too was shut down

Soon after he arrived in Nigeria in 1942, trouble and misunderstanding erupted between Bresi-Ando and Abradu which resulted in a permanent rupture between the two¹⁷⁹. Feeling that he had been “maltreated”¹⁸⁰, Rev. Abradu gave Bresi-Ando his resignation and attempted to form his own church in Nigeria, the “African Catholic Church”¹⁸¹. Bresi-Ando replied by suspending then dismissing and even excommunicating his former representative, Rev. Abradu Amoah¹⁸². This

¹⁷⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1704.

¹⁷⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 February 1994, Log 10, p. 552.

¹⁷⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1704.

¹⁷⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 February 1994, Log 10, p. 553. The research probe did not delve into the finer details of Bresi-Ando’s intimate personal life, such as actively seeking to know if, how, or when he might have reconciled and/or apologized to his previous wives, or if he took care of their children, or even if there had been any children at all by his previous African wives. No mention of there being any biological children with these wives was ever voluntarily offered. It was mentioned by both Rev. Edonu and Joana that Bresi-Ando had had a set of twins by the English wife in London, but they died young. Bresi-Ando and Joana did not have any of their own children, but they did have adopted children in Nigeria, some of whom they brought back with them to Ghana in 1970.

¹⁷⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 954-955, and 20 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1640.

¹⁸⁰ Rev. K. ABRADU AMOAH. Quoted in the Minutes of the Minor Synod of the African Universal (O.C.) Church, Gomua Formina [*sic.*], 13 May 1950, p. 5, File GR1.43.

¹⁸¹ Church Log Book, Diocese of St. Ignatius, Ghana, 24 June 1970 entry, p. 13, File GR4; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1867; Joseph ABRADU AMOAH and Solomon Otu ABRADU. Accra, GAR, GH, 18 June 1994, Abradu file, p. 1, File GR20, and FFN, Log 29, p. 1866 and 1868.

¹⁸² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1465; Church Log Book [...], 24 June 1970 entry, p. 13, File GR4.

led to a long and sad rupture that was only healed four decades later, when on his deathbed in 1985 a dying Abradu contacted Edonu asking to be received into the canonical Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria along with Rev. Edonu and his followers¹⁸³. While Rev. Abradu died before that event could take place, his family along with his two remaining clergymen and their flocks were eventually canonically received into the Archdiocese of Accra in 1987¹⁸⁴.

With Abradu out of the picture, Bresi-Ando was in sole command of his Ebibirpim Limited business enterprise in Nigeria. He quickly became known as “Bishop Starch” in and around Aba in southeastern Nigeria during World War II¹⁸⁵. For a brief time he simultaneously ran two business ventures—cassava starch export (in the Aba area) and piassava export (in the Imo River area, where palms abound)¹⁸⁶. These only lasted two years—until about 1944—when the Nigerian colonial government ordered Bresi-Ando to stop cassava preparation, and, his piassava warehouse burned down, consuming his capital¹⁸⁷. Both these businesses ended about the same time¹⁸⁸. Some speculated that Bresi-Ando’s “enemies” had burned the warehouse, but the government investigation officially labelled it “spontaneous combustion”¹⁸⁹. One wonders if the Nigerian colonial authorities, in enquiring of the Gold Coast Governor about Bresi-Ando, had decided to follow suit and shut down his cassava starch export business as had been done in the Gold Coast Colony. Bresi-Ando was investigated by the Nigerian Police in mid-1943, one year after he had arrived, and his businesses were shut down the following year¹⁹⁰. The alternative view is that Bresi-Ando was simply caught and put out of business by an untimely fire and by an Imperial war time policy that did not want too much food to be shipped out of the colonies and thereby induce

¹⁸³ Joseph ABRADU AMOAH and Solomon Otu ABRADU. Accra, GAR, GH, 18 June 1994, Abradu file, p. 2, File GR20; FFN, Rev. Gregory Labi ODENG. Larteh, ER, GH, 11 April 1994, Log 8, p. 416; FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1182.

¹⁸⁴ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1124 and Log 19, p. 1181-1183.

¹⁸⁵ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 70.

¹⁸⁶ FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 17, p. 1062-1063, 1075, and 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1584-1585. Piassava is fiber from the stalks of palm leaves which makes very sturdy broom bristles.

¹⁸⁷ FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1584-1585.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ Police Report. Senior Assistant Superintendent of Police, Aba, to Commissioner of Police, Lagos, Nigeria, 23 July 1943, Ibadan Archives File CSO.192/41394, African Universal Church and Ebibirpim Ltd., in Max ASSIMENG, “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 62, 68 & 77 footnotes 8 & 15. See also: Police C.I.D. Report, 02 August 1943, located in Ibadan Archives File CSO.192/41394.

local famine during the hardship of the world war. Such was the official British government explanation for its actions within the colonial Gold Coast in 1941¹⁹¹.

Never easily defeated, Bresi-Ando started yet another business venture. Mrs. Joana Bresi-Ando said that her husband opened a dispensary and worked with the import and sale of medicines¹⁹². He registered this for-profit enterprise with the government and used to send his drugs to the hospital for testing¹⁹³. Government inspectors visited and demanded that Bresi-Ando hire a more qualified pharmacist, which he dutifully did¹⁹⁴. However, this business venture closed down when the pharmacist moved away¹⁹⁵. It is not known why the bishop/entrepreneur did not secure a replacement.

3.5. Enters Nigerian politics

Now completely barred from the commercial arena, the unstoppable Bresi-Ando continued to follow his emancipationist vision by becoming the president of the “politically conscious” Aba Community League¹⁹⁶, combining such civic activities with his ecclesiastical life in a way which was rather uncommon for its time and place. The door finally opened for him to legally expand his emancipationist aspirations into the political arena. Getting very heavily into Nigerian politics, he became a “founding member” of Azikiwe’s NCNC (National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons) political party, which was formed in 1944 from groups such as Bresi-Ando’s community association¹⁹⁷. The political activist Azikiwe was a foreign-educated Pan-Africanist who became a huge champion of “national unity” and Nigerian “self government” in pre-independent Nigeria, uniting into “one solid block” a wide variety of membership organizations—“labor unions, social groups, political clubs, professional associations, and more than 100 ethnic organizations”—thereby forging Nigeria’s “first political party to have nationwide appeal”¹⁹⁸.

¹⁹¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 952.

¹⁹² FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1585.

¹⁹³ FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1093, and 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1586.

¹⁹⁴ FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1586.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 66.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*; Paul E. LOVEJOY. “Historical Setting,” *Nigeria: A Country Study*, 5th ed., Coll. “Area Handbook Series,” Helen Chapin Metz (Ed.), Washington, Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1992, p. 41.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

With the backing of his huge NCNC, Azikiwe went on to become the first President of the Nigeria when it became a republic in 1963¹⁹⁹, but by that time Bresi-Ando had switched loyalties in favor of the political opposition, the “Action Group” led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo²⁰⁰. According to his wife Joana, Bresi-Ando helped Awolowo’s famous political party expand from the west and get established in eastern Nigeria²⁰¹. Indeed, Bresi-Ando grew deep into politics over the next two decades after his cassava export business in Nigeria was shut down by the colonial establishment. However, all the particulars of his political adventures in Nigeria (1944-1970) are beyond the scope of this limited biography.

Conclusion

This third chapter in the life of Bresi-Ando was written to answer the question: How did Bresi-Ando’s emancipationist dream for the Gold Coast with all its particular concrete manifestations and efforts—churches, schools, business, etc.—come crashing down as the decade of the 1930’s closed and the world went to war? In the same year that Accra had its famous earthquake and the British entered World War II—1939—Bresi-Ando’s AIC was shaken to its very foundations by internal fighting and external pressures. Between 1939 and 1940 there were seven “shocks” which vastly reduced the membership and number of parishes in the Patriarch’s AIC and nearly ended all of his emancipationist programs on the Gold Coast. The 1st quake was the rupture between the two Bresi-Ando brothers which reduced the size of the Asante Diocese and put it in schism from the African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church. The 2nd quake was the ordination of Bishop Jones and resulting loss of control of the northern parishes due to his failure to keep them within Bresi-Ando’s AIC. The 3rd earthquake was the trouble in Bresi-Ando’s Nigerian parishes due to his long absence which was competing for his immediate attention. The 4th severe earthquake was the collapse of the cocoa export of Ebibirpim Limited due to the maneuvering of governmental authorities, hand-in-hand with open obstruction from the European firms. Early in 1940 a 5th shock hit the place right where Bresi-Ando’s emancipationist dream had been initially launched on the Gold Coast, in the town of Apam. The loyal Head Teacher and nephew Fr. Adentwi was suddenly suspended by the Patriarch, resulting in another schism, as Adentwi took the Apam Ebibirpim

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

²⁰⁰ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 66.

²⁰¹ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 66, citing Mrs. Joana Bresi-Ando in a 07 June 1975 interview.

church members and students into his own new AIC, the “Liberal Catholic Church.” The financial death blow to Ebibirpim Limited’s activity within the Gold Coast was the 6th earthquake, when the colonial government ordered the cessation of Bresi-Ando’s cassava starch export business in 1941. The collapse of his commercial emancipationist program doomed his indigenous educational program to failure as well, as there would now be no money to support the impoverished Ebibirpim School system. (The entire Ebibirpim educational program is described in complete detail within Chapter 15, as it has only been touched upon within this biographical chapter. Similarly, the intriguing saga of the rise and fall of Ebibirpim Ltd., which has only been briefly outlined here, is related in complete detail in Chapter 16.)

Between 1932 and 1942 Bresi-Ando had started at least 67 known parishes and at least 22 known schools within the Gold Coast Colony and the Asante, but even before the decade was over, everything had started to fall apart. Bresi-Ando would never speak of nor accept failure, yet his ruined dream for the complete liberation of the Gold Coast in every aspect of life appeared to drive him back to Nigeria in 1942. The departure of their founder, leader, and Patriarch was the *seventh* colossal earthquake to shake the Gold Coast branch of the Ebibirpim/African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church. However, back in Nigeria, the unstoppable Bresi-Ando began ramping up. There he attempted a huge re-invigoration of his multi-tiered emancipation aspirations with a new wife, new businesses, and the introduction of his recently acquired autocephalous Patriarchal status and Non-Chalcedonian ecclesiology which was new to his Nigerian flocks and the public at large. Becoming a local public figure, the bishop was always appearing in the newspapers, especially in the city of Aba. Yet even in Nigeria, ruptures continued to occur, as Rev. Abradu Amoah broke with Bresi-Ando soon after his arrival. Abradu’s departure and subsequent inauguration of his own AIC was just a part of a pattern that continued into the decade of the 1940’s, as clergyman after clergyman quit Bresi-Ando’s dream church to either start their own or to retire. As the years rolled by, Bresi-Ando’s exit from the Gold Coast and his continued long absence began to look like abandonment, and his prolonged stay in Nigeria as voluntary self-exile. In fact, if it had not been for the loyal efforts of two clergymen—nephew Edonu and Labi Odeng—everything would have come to permanent ruin. Their continued interaction with the Patriarch over the rest of his life led to the salvaging of a small portion of Bresi-Ando’s African Universal/Ebibirpim Church community and its eventual canonical reception within the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of

Alexandria four decades later. This theme will be further developed in the fourth biographical chapter on the life of Patriarch Kwamin N. Bresi-Ando.

SECTION TWO: THE LIFE OF REV. KWAMIN N. BRESI-ANDO (1884-1970)

CHAPTER 11 BIOGRAPHY PART D—SURVIVAL OF PIECES OF THE PROGRAM, 1942-1956

Purpose

The purpose of this fourth biographical chapter is to answer this chief question: What happened to the Prince-Patriarch from the time he moved to Nigeria in 1942 until the day he returned triumphantly for a short visit in December of 1955? The chapter will simultaneously answer an important related question: In guiding his Gold Coast community by remote from his position of self-chosen exile in Nigeria, what actions did Bresi-Ando take during this time period to keep his Gold Coast emancipationist dream alive?

Sources

More than the others, this fourth biographical chapter draws heavily upon written primary sources. From Anderson's Ghana Fulbright File GR1—"Oldest Letters and Documents, 1927-1970"—various important church documents and letters were used to stabilize Bresi-Ando's biographical sketch in the years following his departure from the Gold Coast in 1942, such as:

- the "Interdiction" of Bishop Jones by Bresi-Ando in 1943;
- the 1944 letter of Mar Georgius to Mar Kwamin offering mutual inter-communion;
- the Patriarch's 1945 mandate to Rev. Edonu appointing him Deputy Bishop for the Gold Coast parishes;
- the 08 Oct 1946 blank clergy certificates;
- Bresi-Ando's new 1946 "Catholicate of the South" letterhead;
- his 1949 "Catholic Apostolic Church" letterhead;
- his 1949 "Instrument of Inauguration of the Guild of St. Raphael";
- his 1957 enhanced "Catholic Apostolic Church" letterhead

Official church minutes are used (also located in File GR1):

- the Minutes of the Ad Hoc Clerical Synod of the African Universal (O.C.) Church in Accra, 27-28 April 1950;
- the Minutes of the Minor Synod of the African Universal (O.C.) Church in Gomua Formina (*Fomena*), 13-14 May 1950;
- the Minutes of the Catholic Apostolic Church, Catholicate of the South, in Bobikuma, 3-6 February 1956

Official communiques with governmental officials (located in File GR1):

Bresi-Ando's 06 February 1956 telegram to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of the Gold Coast

Church certificates were consulted (located in File GR1):

Certificate of Baptism, Orthodox Catholic Church;
Certificate of Recognition, Guild of St. Raphael, Orthodox Catholic Church, Diocese of St. Ignatius, Ghana, West Africa

Church publications were consulted (in File GR2 "Oldest Documents, continued"):

Programme, Third Anniversary of the Spiritual Healing Revival at the Shrine of the Guild of St. Raphael, Gomoa Fomena, 7th to 10th January 1960;
Programme, Fourth Anniversary of the Spiritual Healing Revival at the Shrine of the Guild of St. Raphael, Gomoa Fomena, 13th to 15th January 1961

Much precise information was gathered from Rev. Edonu's personal diaries and his church log books of the 1950's, 1960's, and '1970's which filled in missing details and/or corroborated the written primary sources. These are located in Anderson's Ghana Fulbright File GR3—"Older Diaries (1950's and 1960's)," and Anderson's Ghana Fulbright File GR4—"Log Books and Later Diaries (1970's and 1980's)."

Additionally, to provide information for the context of each document and to bridge the gap between documents, a large portion of primary raw data used for this chapter came from the testimony of three key eye-witnesses: Deputy Bishop Kyriakos K. Edonu (Bresi-Ando's nephew), Mrs. Joana Bresi-Ando (wife), Rev. John Sarkodie-Aidoo (last remaining priest in the Ashanti Region). Additional details were provided by Rev. Gregory Labi Odeng, Mr. Emmanuel A. N. Adentwi (Ando-Brew's nephew), Mr. E. K. Johnson (Ando-Brew's nephew), Earnest Ando-Brew (Ando-Brew's son), and Rev. Samuel Adjei-Kumi, among others.

Very few secondary sources were used, only as needed. Church historian Peter F. Anson in his exhaustive work, *Bishops at Large* (2006), provides critically important information on the *episcopi vagantes* Mar Georgius and Mar Abdullah III and their new "Catholic Apostolic Church," while Ghanaian political historian Kofi N. Awoonor in his *Ghana: A Political History* (1990) gives information surrounding Ghana's independence.

Structure

Because the analytical theme of this present dissertation—Section Three—will focus on Bresi-Ando's emancipationist endeavors throughout the Gold Coast Colony during the 1930's (up to 1942) in search of evidence of a Pan-African determination, three out of five biographical chapters have covered that decade. As much material as could be obtained from that era was included in order to put flesh and clothing onto the Patriarch's life story, making him as real and understandable a historical figure as possible. However, the information presented in this fourth biographical chapter—recounting Bresi-Ando's life in Nigeria from 1942 until his brief return to the Gold Coast over the Christmas holidays of 1955—is quite diminished for several reasons. First, the focus of this research is the 1930's. Second, less biographical information about Bresi-Ando's life post-1942 is available since the 1994 field research time in southeastern Nigeria was limited to one weekend, compared to over two years on the field in Ghana. Third, all of Bresi-Ando's personal files in Nigeria were lost during the Biafran War.

In order to continue the biography of Bresi-Ando into his second extended stay in Nigeria, as much information as possible has been provided that relates to his life story—both directly and indirectly. The reader will undoubtedly see that this biographical sketch gets very thin after the 1940's. The limit of this research is that I was not able to visit the Ibadan Archives in Nigeria in order to search the files for old newspaper articles about Bresi-Ando, as Professor Max Assimeng had already done. Additionally, it is tragic that the Biafran War (1967-1969) not only scattered Bresi-Ando's Nigerian church members but also utterly destroyed his personal and church files. Therefore, there is the very real possibility that outside this present research and the contents of the Ibadan Archives, very little more can be known about Bresi-Ando. Almost all of the senior interviewees from the early 1990's who knew Bresi-Ando personally have themselves now passed away. Their interview recordings contain plentiful facts about the lives of these former Ebibirpim clergymen—Ando-Brew, Jones, Edonu, Labi-Odeng, Adentwi, Abradu, etc.—enough to fill a second volume. However, since this present chapter focuses on Bresi-Ando's life, a book dedicated to the lives of such men will have to wait. This thesis has only drawn from the lives of these men enough facts in order to successfully complete Bresi-Ando's biography. Through archival materials (letters the Patriarch sent from Nigeria to his clergy in Ghana) and interviews (of his family and senior clergy)

it will be demonstrated how Bresi-Ando continued to live and interact with his Gold Coast community from a distance.

The facts of Bresi-Ando's life, as presented here, are in chronological order. However, between 1942 (when he moved back to Nigeria) and 1970 (when he returned to Ghana to die), the biography of the bishop is sketchy in places, possessing some gaps. In order to find clues as to what happened to Bresi-Ando during his second stay in Nigeria (1942-1955), his Nigerian wife Joana was interviewed in Apam, and her stories were compared with the facts that Professor Assimeng thought were important enough to put into his article, which includes evidence that he had found in the Ibadan archives. Then, from the archives of the Orthodox Church of Ghana, and from Rev. Edonu's personal office in Afransi, letters and documents were gathered which Patriarch Bresi-Ando had posted to Rev. Edonu from Nigeria over the years. These primary source documents provide a glimpse into Bresi-Ando's ongoing life story and thought processes. Finally, in Rev. Edonu's diaries and church log books various dated entries were identified which support the contents of these documents.

The method used in this chapter is to relate this period of Bresi-Ando's life primarily by utilizing the correspondence that he posted back to his church organization in the Gold Coast/Ghana. However, this approach also requires that we use information gathered from interviews and diaries to build enough background context in which to place each document and make sense of it, bridging the gaps between each letter. This effort gives shape and structure to the chapter. The important writings are: Bresi-Ando's 1943 Interdiction of Bishop Jones, his 1945 mandate certifying Rev. Edonu as his new Deputy Bishop, his 1946 new "Catholicate of the South" letterhead, his 1949 "Catholic Apostolic Church" letterhead, his 1949 "Instrument of Inauguration of the Guild of St. Raphael," his 1954 "Instrument of Ejectment" against Ando-Brew, Jones, and Abradu, and his 1956 telegram to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, his old friend now high in the government as Prime Minister of the Gold Coast (and soon to become President of Ghana). By including sufficient history surrounding each document, the reader is enabled to easily follow the flow of events which motivated Bresi-Ando to pen these letters. In this oblique manner, as we look at how the Prince-Patriarch tried to shepherd his Gold Coast/Ghanaian flock remotely, the reader can discern more about the ongoing life story of Bresi-Ando, discovering him to be a believable, historical figure.

This *fourth* biographical chapter is divided into *four* parts, covering the years 1942-1956:

- 1) Era of Schism and Time of Troubles (1942-1945)
- 2) Third Era of Reformation (1945-1949 onwards)
- 3) Era of Reunion (1949-1955)
- 4) Bresi-Ando's Grand Return to the Gold Coast (Dec 1955 - Feb 1956)

The chapter picks up where the previous one ended, with the disintegration of Bresi-Ando's AIC on the Gold Coast. Although the tragic tale of the "Era of Schism and Time of Troubles" (1942-1945), part one of the chapter, is well-documented in the archives with abundant primary source materials, the retelling of that sad saga has been kept to a reasonable minimum. Thankfully, this division was later healed when the remains of Bresi-Ando's AIC entered canonical Orthodoxy.

During Bresi-Ando and Edonu's joint "Third Era of Reformation" (1945-1949 onwards into the 1950's), interesting twists in the plot are introduced in this second part of the chapter, but time and focus does not allow much development. In the late 1940's Bresi-Ando entered into communion with a group of British *episcopi vagantes* who repudiated Monophysitism and the Jacobites, while claiming themselves to be the apostolic continuation of the Patriarchate of Antioch, under the name of "The Catholic Apostolic Church." On the heels of this huge theological turn of events, Bresi-Ando approved Rev. Edonu's desire to embrace the charismatic approach to spirituality with their new "Guild of St. Raphael" prayer group. There is so much to say, so little space to write it all. Because the focus of this present research (Section Three) is to analyze the decade of the 1930's during which Bresi-Ando openly and loudly proclaimed his preference for things "Jacobite" and "Monophysite", these surprising anti-Monophysite and pro-charismatic theological twists which manifested later in his life story can only be acknowledged here in his biography (Section Two), but not analyzed in Section Three.

Additionally, vastly reduced and summarized is the recounting of Rev. Edonu's role in the "Third Era of Reformation" (1945-1949 onwards) in which he—under Bresi-Ando's authorization—reshaped their indigenous church into a more African, more "spiritual", charismatic, "Zionist"/"prophet-healing" Second Wave AIC. The 1992-1994 Fulbright research data is full of interviews and oral histories of inspirational accounts of miracles and wonders wrought by Prophet

Ankuma, Junior Prophet Kumi Andoh, Rev. Labi Odeng, and Rev. Edonu. This is an area for future expansion of this project, by completing and publishing these transcriptions.

The third part of the chapter, the “Era of Reunion” (1949-1955), details the attempts by the various parties to reunite their broken AIC and put all the pieces—clergy and parishes—back together. The crushing failure to accomplish this task is supported in precise detail by entries in Rev. Edonu’s diaries and church logs. The resulting permanent schism is related, followed by a summary which documents the demise of the remaining Asante Diocese down to a tiny remnant.

The fourth and last part of this chapter describes Bresi-Ando’s long awaited “Grand Return” to the Gold Coast—which lasted only two months, from Christmas of 1955 to the end of February 1956. Dragged home by his clergy, Bresi-Ando’s return vindicated the loyalty of faithful clergymen Edonu and Labi Odeng. Rev. Edonu’s diaries and interviews speak of the “hero’s welcome” that the Prince-Patriarch received as he toured his parishes and visited his clergy, family and friends. His visit to his estranged brother Ando-Brew will be described, as well as his visits to famous political friends, such as Dr. Danquah, who at the moment was locked in Ghana’s intense pre-Independence political quarrel with Bresi-Ando’s other old friend, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. Issuing a word of strong warning to the would-be-new President, the Patriarch once again fled from his homeland, choosing the Nigerian political arena over the Ghanaian. His February 1956 telegram to Prime Minister Nkrumah will be studied for clues to shed light on Bresi-Ando’s political choices and a possible reason for starting his third extended stay in Nigeria.

1. Era of Schisms and Time of Troubles (1942-1945)

With Bresi-Ando's absence from Gold Coast in 1942, *almost* everything remaining of his organization there crumbled to pieces. Some of his priests retired, while others broke away into schism. Bresi-Ando had initiated his own independent African church. This opened the way for others to imitate him and do the same¹.

¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1121.

1.1. Schisms occur in Gold Coast due to Bresi-Ando's absence

With his brother's departure from the country, Rev. Ando-Brew, openly calling himself a "bishop"², was quite free to re-organize his remaining loyal Asante parishes unchallenged by his absent younger sibling, yet he always limited his actions to the Asante lands³. Bishop Jones—while still officially part of the Bresi-Ando franchise—began to openly cooperate with Rev. Ando-Brew instead. He was often seen coming out of the bush to visit his "brother" Ando-Brew in Kumasi whom he stood loyally beside⁴. In the Asante Kingdom the two were together⁵. The Asantes had gotten upset over the cocoa failure, and they blamed Ando-Brew and Jones, who in turn both blamed Bresi-Ando down in Accra, since the whole cocoa fiasco had been Bresi-Ando's brain-child anyway. As a result, Jones began to pull closer to Ando-Brew, jointly working together against the man who had spoiled them both⁶. After all, Bresi-Ando was absent now, so therefore, why not reject him and form their own organization?⁷ For a while, Ando-Brew's break-away diocese was called "Christ's Kingdom Church" (it had several name changes)⁸. Interestingly, in 1942 Bishop Jones left his post in the Asante village of Akrokyere and returned to his wife's town of Kankan, in the Akyem district of the Eastern Region, to settle there⁹.

Seeing the schismatic actions of the senior clergy, a worried group of Bresi-Ando loyalists gathered in the southern Fante coastal town of Apam in February of 1943 to protect themselves from the secessionists' actions¹⁰. Bishop Jones was invited but did not respond¹¹. The horizon looked bleak for Bresi-Ando's few senior clergy. "Priest Superior" Ando-Brew was gone. Headmaster Fr. Adentwi was gone. Personal representative Fr. Abradu was gone. Seminary rector Fr. Kyerematen was gone. Bishop Mar Brebi was gone. Most senior priest J. A. C. Anaman was

² FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1267.

³ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20 p. 1264.

⁴ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20 p. 1266-1267; FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON and Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1680-1681, 1686.

⁵ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW and Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20 p. 1266-1267.

⁶ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1686-1687.

⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 78, and 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 956-957.

⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 78, and 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 957.

⁹ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1147.

¹⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1468.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

long gone. And now, the famous Bishop Jones was strangely silent and absent. In response, at Apam, the two remaining senior Ebibirpim clergymen—Deputy Bishop K. N. Rogers Osamdadzi and General Secretary K. A. Eyitey—together with young Priest Edonu and younger Subdeacon Labi Odeng took a firm decision to stand for the Ebibirpim Church and keep the Patriarch's Orthodox Catholic banner flying on the Gold Coast¹². In this regard, even Deputy-Bishop Osamdadzi did not remain strong, but would soon quit Bresi-Ando, leaving the Patriarch's diminishing staff leaderless¹³. However, Edonu and Labi Odeng put the matter to prayer, asking God to show them if they were right in choosing to be faithful to Bresi-Ando. Rev. Edonu remembered that the answer to this request convinced them that they were doing right in staying loyal to their Patriarch¹⁴. Thus, they held their ground in the face of what felt like an “insurrection”¹⁵.

1.2. Jones resigns and gets interdicted by Bresi-Ando

Letters describing Rev. Abradu's break with Patriarch Bresi-Ando in Nigeria quickly reached the Gold Coast¹⁶. In 1943 Abradu started sending letters to various Gold Coast parishes inviting them to leave Bresi-Ando and join with him¹⁷. The news of Abradu's departure from their Patriarch's authority and the formation of his own copy-cat AIC (the “African Catholic Church”) inspired others back in the Cold Coast to do the same¹⁸. Suddenly Bishop Jones became bold to publicly make his break with Bresi-Ando once and for all too¹⁹. According to Bishop Jones, Bresi-Ando “had asked him to support letters he had sent to the Gold Coast and Nigerian Governments”²⁰. Jones, however, was very concerned over the implications of signing letters officially in his office as a bishop whose content “he knew [...] would lead to trouble” with the colonial authorities²¹. Therefore, instead, Bishop Jones sent his official letter of resignation to Bresi-Ando in Aba in

¹² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1469-1470.

¹³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 24 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1482.

¹⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 13 May 1994, Log 9, p. 491-492.

¹⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 955.

¹⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1867.

¹⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 955, and 20 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1465-1467.

¹⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 955.

¹⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1872.

²⁰ Bishop C. H. JONES. Quoted in the Minutes of the Minor Synod of the African Universal (O.C.) Church, Gomua Formina [*sic.*], 13 May 1950, p. 5, File GR1.43.

²¹ *Ibid.*

1943²². The response of the Prince-Patriarch came back formal and harsh and immediate. Jones was summarily issued an official “Letter of Interdiction” by Bresi-Ando, in which “all his ecclesiastical licenses are invalidated” until such times when Jones could appear for a church trial before the Patriarch’s “Special Committee” to be acquitted²³. Such was the manner in which Bresi-Ando felt he had to deal with the very man who had helped him plant so many parishes on the Gold Coast for a decade. Jones, on his part, disappointed as he may have been, was unmoved by Bresi-Ando’s rebuke. His response was to found his own little church, consisting mainly of his former circuit of Asante and Eastern Region parishes, under the banner of the “African Christian Church,” though the names of his church changed several times over the years²⁴.

Bishop Jones was not thwarted by the Patriarch’s pen, but continued the development of his own AIC. To block his efforts as well as that of Rev. Abradu, whose solicitation letters from Nigeria were reaching various parishes where he had previously been stationed (such as Larteh and Nkawkaw)²⁵, the loyalist priests led by Rev. Osamdadzi held a Synod in Larteh in early January of 1944²⁶. It was decided that the Fante priest Edonu would be transferred from Larteh to the Kwahu District of the Eastern Region in order to ward off Bishop Jones’ advance into the parishes of that area, while the local Labi Odeng was given charge of the parish of St. Peter in his native town of Larteh in order to keep it loyal to Bresi-Ando²⁷. From January to Easter of 1944 Rev. Edonu prepared Subdeacon Labi Odeng to take the post where he was to remain for the rest of his life²⁸. After Easter (09 April 1944), Rev. Edonu moved farther north to Abetifi, in the Kwahu District²⁹.

Cut off from Bresi-Ando, and blocked by Edonu from entering Kwahu, Bishop Jones began to nurture the hope that all the parishes in the Central Region of Fante-land that he had helped co-

²² *Ibid.*; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1471.

²³ Document of the Interdiction of Bishop Carey H. Jones by Supreme Pontiff Prince-Patriarch Bresi-Ando, The African Universal Church (Orthodox Catholic), 1943, File GR1.34; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1471.

²⁴ Document of the Interdiction of Bishop Carey H. Jones [...], File GR1.34; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 04 February 1993, Log 17, p. 1047, and 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 85.

²⁵ FFN, Rev. Gregory Labi ODENG. Larteh, ER, GH, 15 October 1992, Log 21, p. 1318, and 12 January 1993, Log 21, p. 1332; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1711.

²⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1714.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

found in the early 1930's might want to switch their loyalties over to him, as "he assumed he was the 'next man'"³⁰. After all, Bresi-Ando had left the country, and the Fantes were dissatisfied with their current pastor and "Deputy Bishop", Fr. Osamdadzi, who had lost interest in his work³¹. Therefore, in 1944 Jones began sending letters, pressing the Central Region District parishes down in the south to join with him too³². This invitation, however, was not received well among the Fante southerners because the "American missionary" Jones had grown unpopular among them since "nothing came from him"—he "brought no money" (i.e. his Afro-American industrial missionary repatriates had never arrived to boost the villagers' economies, nor had the cocoa export business plan gathered the expected funds)³³. In reply, the Fante parishes in the Gomoa and Agona tribal areas refused Jones' offer of leadership³⁴. In a move that revealed deep commitment to the emancipationist program inaugurated in their region by Bresi-Ando, Chief Adams of Fomena and the lay leaders on the Ebibirpim Council instead called for the presence of a loyal Fante clergyman, Rev. K. Edonu, who in late 1944 accepted their call for help³⁵. Priest Edonu agreed to transfer into the Fante area from the Kwahu District, which he had been shepherding, arriving in Afransi after Easter of 1945³⁶. In this way, Rev. Edonu moved into the familiar circuit of Agona and Gomoa Fante communities—Afransi, Abodom, Fomena, Odina-Ogua, Akropong, and more—where he was to continue to serve as pastor, priest, counselor, guide, father and friend for the next half century.

1.3. Abradu returns to the Gold Coast and joins Jones

Bishop Jones was now "spiritually orphaned"—cut off from his leader and brother-by-adoption Bresi-Ando. In search of stronger permanent ecclesiastical ties with a denomination outside of the country, in 1945 Jones traveled all the way home to the United States in order to contact representatives of McGuire's "African Orthodox Church," whose African Province was led by

³⁰ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Tape 5B, Log 2, p. 79.

³¹ *Ibid.*; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1475, and 22 July 1994, Log 30, p. 1881.

³² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 962, and 30 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1502.

³³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1471, and, 24 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1483.

³⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 962.

³⁵ *Ibid.*; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1470.

³⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 12 May 1994, Log 9, p. 482, and 20 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1465.

South African Archbishop Daniel William Alexander³⁷. In the States Jones met with Archbishop Robertson, the AOC Patriarch who had succeeded McGuire. This meeting proved fruitful, as Robertson put Jones in touch with Archbishop Alexander³⁸. Jones later affiliated himself with the AOC in 1955, staying with them until his death in 1975³⁹. But by 1945 Africa was Jones' real, adopted home. His wife, children and parishioners were all Africans. As Laura Kofey's only successful repatriate, he returned to his family and parishes in the West Africa that same year. Stopping in Nigeria he found Rev. Abradu, who apparently had not been very successful in planting his "African Catholic Church" in that foreign colony and therefore was now ready to link up with Bishop Jones and go home⁴⁰. Together in 1945 they returned to the Gold Coast to begin a life-long collaboration, with Jones as the bishop and Abradu as his priest⁴¹. By 1950 their joint AIC was named "Orthodox Christian Church"⁴².

1.4. More parishes and schools are closed—but a new leader emerges

The relocation of loyalist Rev. Edonu to the south was met with disaster farther northeast. During 1945, Rev. Edonu's replacement in Kwahu (senior priest Rev. Buaben) decided to quit the crumbling Ebibirpim organization, and the entire Kwahu District in the Eastern Region collapsed as a result—9 parishes and 7 schools were lost⁴³. (Not to Jones, but disintegrated right into non-existence.) Over to the west, the two parishes in the Denkyere area (Dunkwa-Kyekyewere, Dunkwa-Adwumamu) and the Kyekyewere school died when senior catechist Asafu Brebo quit somewhere between 1945-1946⁴⁴. The very energetic ex-Methodist senior catechist Kwabu was old and out of action by 1945⁴⁵. Even Deacon Brebi (Roland Bennett Jr.), who was like a son to

³⁷ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 140; Richard NEWMAN. "Archbishop Daniel William Alexander and the African Orthodox Church," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 16, n° 4, 1983, p. 627.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1168; Rev. Edonu was of the opinion that Rev. Abradu returned home alone from Nigeria somewhere in the second half of 1944, FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1465.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1168-1169; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 July 1994, Log 30, p. 1887.

⁴² Minutes of the Ad Hoc Clerical Synod of the African Universal (O.C.) Church held at Accra, 27-28 April 1950, p. 3, File GR1.43.

⁴³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1488, and 03 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1546, and 22 July 1994, Log 30, p. 1898.

⁴⁴ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1173.

⁴⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 03 October 1992, Log 3, p. 155.

Bresi-Ando, had left to join the new Musama Disco Christo Church (MDCC) by 1945⁴⁶. Bres-Ando's tracks along the Gold Coast were being erased by time and lack of commitment and leadership.

In 1945 it did not look like Bres-Ando was going to return to the Gold Coast anytime soon, and the ministry of Deputy-Bishop Osamdadzi was failing fast⁴⁷. To fill the leadership vacuum, the Patriarch in Nigeria had to make a critical decision. He needed to select another suitable successor to represent him within the Gold Coast, lest all his work there come completely to ruin. In this important decision, the Prince-Patriarch decided against "anointing" his last remaining senior clergyman, Gen. Secretary Eyitey, to be the next "Deputy Bishop," but instead passed over him to select his energetic and loyal nephew, the Priest Edonu, age 47⁴⁸. Ecclesiologically mirroring the traditional Ghanaian synergy between a chief and his elders, the Ebibirpim Council had notified Bres-Ando of their action of bringing young priest Edonu down to Fante land to be their pastor, and Bres-Ando had loved that idea⁴⁹. Through the mail, in a letter of certification dated 01 Feb 1945, Bres-Ando appointed Rev. Kweku Kurafi Edonu to be his new "Deputy Bishop" for the whole Gold Coast, removing that burden from Rev. Osamdadzi⁵⁰. There was no ordination. Father Edonu was simply given by the Prince-Patriarch the mandate: "as our deputy to function as Bishop with authority to confirm baptized members of the Church without powers to ordain ministers"⁵¹. This creative arrangement by the absentee Patriarch was to "remain valid until bearer's consecration upon election by his constituency as Bishop when these presents shall be withdrawn and a proper Licence testifying to the Holy Act issued to him"⁵². That episcopal consecration never came. The un-consecrated "Deputy Bishop" was to carry this letter as his official mandate for the next four decades. This lack of episcopal consecration was to have far-reaching effects for the

⁴⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 24 February 1994, Log 10, p. 520.

⁴⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1475.

⁴⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 94, and 21 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1475.

⁴⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 94, and 21 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1475.

⁵⁰ The Most Revd. Dr. K. N. BRESI-ANDO. Appointment letter authorizing Revd. Fr. Kweku Kurefi [*sic.*] Edonu to act as his "Deputy Bishop", 01 February 1945, File GR1.36.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

Bresi-Ando AIC in the future, as a church cannot survive without the ability to ordain the next generation.

2. Third Era of Reformation (1945-1949 onwards)

In appointing Rev. Edonu to be the next Deputy Bishop, Bresi-Ando launched a *third period of reformation and transition* within his Gold Coast AIC—one that saved its life. (The first transition had been the adoption of the Garvey-inspired Kofey repatriation program, and the second had been the embracing of the Vilatte “Old Catholic” movement.) The Patriarch’s forward-sightedness—guided by his Ebibirpim Council—had made the right choice in personnel. The older priest Eyitey gradually became more and more inactive until his death in 1969, when by that time he was no longer involved in Bresi-Ando’s church⁵³. However, the selection of Edonu proved to be most fruitful, from the vantage point of decades of historical hindsight. With the forever-faithful Rev. Labi Odeng right at his side, Deputy Bishop Edonu firmly kept his promise to keep his uncle’s “Orthodox Catholic” banner flying on the Gold Coast⁵⁴. Edonu was most fit for this position because as a loyal nephew he greatly admired his uncle and was more committed to the work than were the other senior priests⁵⁵. Being younger, he outlived all of them and presented his uncle’s church to the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Africa for canonical reception in 1982⁵⁶. As for the senior priest Osamdadzi, he finally had enough and called it quits. Abruptly departing Cape Coast later in 1945, in a move similar to that of Bresi-Ando, he left the country to begin a new life in the Republic of Liberia⁵⁷. The report came back to Rev. Edonu that Rev. Osamdadzi later married President King’s daughter and started a church and school in the name of the African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church there before he died⁵⁸. What became of it is unknown.

⁵³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 April 1994, Log 9, p. 460.

⁵⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1469-1470.

⁵⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 12 May 1994, Log 9, p. 483.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 April 1994, Log 9, p. 460, and 21 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1475, and 24 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1482.

⁵⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 94, and 21 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1474; Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary of Rev. K. K. Edonu: February 1951-May 1957, p. 1, File GR3. (Marginal note in diary shows Fr. K. N. Rogers Osamdadzi’s new Liberian mailing address: African Universal (OC) Church, P.O. Box 189, Monrovia, Liberia.)

However, as a result of Osamdadzi's departure from the Colony, the Cape Coast Ebibirpim church and school that had been under his pastoral care died a sudden death⁵⁹.

2.1. The switch to the shorter name: The Orthodox Catholic Church – and the abandonment of Monophysitism and the Jacobites forever

Shortly after Bresi-Ando sent Rev. Edonu his letter of appointment, the Patriarch creatively empowered the new Deputy Bishop to select and elevate candidates to various holy offices in the church, without ordination. To do this, the Patriarch designed, pre-signed and officially stamped a set of blank appointment letters on church letterhead, all dated 08 October 1946, which he forwarded to Rev. Edonu to use whenever he selected someone for a church role. These blank mandates were to be temporary, until such time as Bresi-Ando could make the trip back to the Gold Coast and confirm the appointment by Holy Ordination⁶⁰. Obviously Bresi-Ando was not planning to return home soon and thus set up this procedure to enable his Deputy Bishop to select subdeacons and deacons. Although in theory his AIC was hierarchical, this procedure of appointment letters made Bresi-Ando's "Orthodox Catholic" organization *de facto* more Protestant in practice.

2.1.1. The new name appears on Bresi-Ando's new letterhead

What is interesting to note is the change of name on Bresi-Ando's new 1946 church letterhead⁶¹. While the old name "African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church" was still present on the document, in the seal and stamp, the new letterhead gave a new name:

Catholicate of the South
(Africa)
The Orthodox-Catholic Church
(in full Communion with the Catholicates of the East & West)

The sidebar of the heading informs the reader the names of the leaders of these other two "Catholicates" with which Patriarch Bresi-Ando was now claiming union: His Holiness Patriarch

⁵⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 April 1994, Log 9, p. 460.

⁶⁰ Mar KWAMIN I PP. Blank clergy certificate of appointment, Catholicate of the South, (Africa), The Orthodox Catholic Church, 08 October 1946, File GR1.4.

⁶¹ Example of new 1946 letterhead: Mar KWAMIN I PP. Blank clergy certificate of appointment, Catholicate of the South, (Africa), The Orthodox Catholic Church, 08 October 1946, File GR1.4.

Basilius Abdullah III, Catholicate of the East, and His Holiness, Mar Georgius, Catholicate of the West. With the printing of this new 1946 letterhead, Bresi-Ando began to announce himself not only as the “Prince-Patriarch of the Order of Antioch, Mar Kwamin I,” but also as an equal “Catholicos” of “the South”, who could be addressed by either “His Beatitude” or “His Holiness”⁶². His Pan-African desire for full equality in leadership with all men of the world was being realized to a greater degree. This was also displayed on the sidebar, which notified the recipient that the sender had an M.A., Ph.D., and D.D. from the “International Orthodox-Catholic University (Academic Section)”, honors from The Keltic University, as well as membership in several Orders: The Order of Antioch, The Order of the Crown of Thorns, The Order of the Piast, The Order of the Spiritual Christian Nation, and The Order of St. Gregory and St. Sarkis⁶³.

Over the new few years, Bresi-Ando’s letterhead grew more grand, with another name change. The old name, African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church, with its seal was now completely eliminated. The new and improved 1949 version read⁶⁴:

The Catholic Apostolic Church
(Catholicate of the South)
--Africa--
commonly called
The Orthodox Catholic Church

Yet an even grander letterhead appeared in 1957, with more fine print and further embellished with a papal-style cross and shield emblem that took up 1/3 of the long legal-size paper⁶⁵. The new name, “The Catholic Apostolic Church,” held great implications for the future of Bresi-Ando’s remaining faithful congregations in the newly-independent nation of Ghana. The 1957 version looked like this:

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.* These and similar “Orders” were used by the famous *episcopus vagans* of the 1940’s—Mar Georgius. (See Anson, *Bishops at Large*, p. 468.) Rev. Edonu said Bresi-Ando informed him that Archbishop Sibley gave him the “Order of Antioch,” of which he was particularly proud (FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1538).

⁶⁴ Example of new 1949 letterhead: Mar KWAMIN I Prince-Patriarch. Instrument of Inauguration, The Guild of St. Raphael in the Order of Fishers of Men, [handwritten charter], 07 August 1949, File GR1.40.

⁶⁵ Example of new 1957 letterhead: K. Ntsetse BRESI-ANDU. Letter to His Excellency, The Governor-General, Independent Sovereign State of Ghana, 03 April 1957, File GR1.51.

In the United Hierarchy of the Ancient Catholic Church and sister Churches, upholding: Apostolic Faith, Apostolic Tradition, Apostolic Rite, Apostolic Form, Apostolic Teaching, Apostolic Unity & Succession

The Catholic Apostolic Church

Southern Catholicate

(Africa)

Commonly Called

The Orthodox Catholic Church

(Canonically erected as an autocephalous unit of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church in History, by virtue of the Legal Powers and Prerogatives conferred by the Rules of the Catholicate of the West as incorporated in India under Act XXI of 1860.)

2.1.2. Some Vilatte *episcopi vagantes* abandon their Jacobite past

This church name change, as reflected on his new letterhead, was extremely significant because with it Bresi-Ando was keeping in step with his ecclesiastical world of *episcopi vagantes*, using their latest nomenclature and staying in “communion” with them. Various “autocephalous” hierarchs “claiming succession through Vilatte” had been “shocked” by the official notice issued on 10 December 1938 by the Syriac Patriarch Mar Ignatius Ephrem I in which he had denounced them, denying any communion or connection or validity to them whatsoever⁶⁶. In response, the leadership of the various factions of the *episcopi vagantes* “Old Catholic/Orthodox Catholic” world gathered in 17 October 1943 for their “Council of London” and “deposed” the Syriac Patriarch in *absentia* because of his “mendacious document”⁶⁷. Considering themselves the *true* Apostolic *continuation* of the Syrian Orthodox Patriarchate, they felt Ephrem I had betrayed them, and, by cutting off “valid” Western “extensions of his patriarchate” he rather had cut himself off and had vacated his ancient Eastern see⁶⁸. Therefore, in response, the Council of London then “elected” the Englishman Dr. William Bernard Crow to be the new Patriarch of Antioch with the name “His Holiness Mohoran Basilius Abdullah III,” and title, “Sovereign Prince Patriarch of the God-protected City of Antioch and of all the Domain of the Apostolic Throne, both in the East and the West”⁶⁹. This act established a new—competing—“Patriarchate”, located not in Antioch or Damascus or Homs, but in England⁷⁰.

Then, in order to distinguish their “true” congregants from those “misguided” ones still following Ephrem I over in Syria, the “Council of London” took several more important decisions. No more

⁶⁶ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 239, 241.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 240, 447-448.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 236, 241, 450.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 448.

would they use terms “Syrian Orthodox” or “Jacobite Church” nor the name “Ignatius” for their hierarchs!⁷¹ (This explains why after WWII Bresi-Ando and his followers in the colonial Gold Coast lost the term “Jacobite” soon after he moved back to Nigeria in 1942!) Making a clean theological cut from their Jacobite past, they formally “repudiated the heresies of Monophysitism and Jansenism and all other heresies,” and embraced all seven (7) Ecumenical Councils and “the Holy Apostolic Traditions”⁷². Finally, they devised a new name for their church: “The Ancient Orthodox Catholic Church”⁷³.

In the words of *episcopus vagans* Mar Georgius, their group viewed it in this manner:

In 1943 a division took place among the Jacobites, those who adhered to Monophysitism continuing as the Syrian Orthodox Church under the Patriarch Ignatius Ephrem I, whilst another section at the Council of London repudiated Monophysitism and Jansenism and elected as Patriarch H. H. Basilius Abdullah III and adopted the title “The Ancient Orthodox Catholic Church”.⁷⁴

A “division took place among the Jacobites”—separating “those who adhered to Monophysitism” (i.e. the Syriacs in Syria and India) from those who “repudiated Monophysitism” (i.e. certain *episcopi vagantes* in London led by Dr. Crow and Mar Georgius). Additionally, this “division” was especially evident in England among those *episcopi vagantes* who followed Dr. Crow (“Abdullah III”) in repudiating Monophysitism and those *episcopi vagantes* who did not. It is worthy to note that Archbishop Harrington, whom Patriarch Bresi-Ando had consecrated in London in 1935, associated with Dr. Crow prior to his death in 1942⁷⁵.

2.1.3. The establishment of a rival Antiochene Patriarchate in England

In effect, by leaving the Jacobites and Monophysitism and by embracing the *Seven* Ecumenical Councils (note: the Monophysites and all Non-Chalcedonians recognize only the first *three* Ecumenical Councils), Dr. Crow’s group of *episcopi vagantes* were actually aligning themselves theologically with the Chalcedonian camp—the Eastern Orthodox! Therefore, by this move these

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 240-241.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 240.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 236. Archbishop Harrington died on 17 January 1942, having never visited the Gold Coast.

uncanonical “bishops” established a new rival “Antiochene Patriarchate [...] in England”⁷⁶. It was rival to both that of Syriac Patriarch Ephrem I and to the Eastern (Greek) Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch, whose followers are commonly today using the name “Antiochian.” This move—which no global church body recognized⁷⁷—was significant because it foreshadowed the future move of Bresi-Ando’s own “Orthodox-Catholic” AIC into the Eastern (Greek) Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa.

2.1.4. Mar Georgius and his “Catholicos of the West”

The following year, on 23 March 1944, four denominations within Abdullah III’s jurisdiction—with his blessing—joined together to form the “Catholicate of the West,” also known as “The Western Orthodox Catholic Church,” located in England⁷⁸. Then on 10 April 1944 Mar Abdullah III consecrated Hugh George de Willmott Newman to be “Mar Georgius” of Glastonbury, the first autocephalous “Catholicos” of this new “Catholicate of the West,” which claimed to oversee “the British Isles, Western & Central Europe”⁷⁹. In July of 1945 Mar Abdullah of the Catholicate of the East agreed that Mar Georgius was now fully his equal and that his Western “Catholicate” was also fully autocephalous⁸⁰. Supposedly with this act Mar Georgius henceforth “could regard himself as having equal status to that of all the historic Eastern Patriarchs” as well as the Pope of Rome!⁸¹ Abdullah III (Dr. Crow) continued to head his “Catholicate of the East,” which he claimed included “Syria, Arabia, The Holy Land, Territories in the Middle and Far Eastern Countries”⁸². However, just to make sure that that the “apostolic succession” within his own autocephalous church was unquestionably valid and “placed beyond all shadow of dispute,” Mar Georgius then went ahead and got himself re-consecrated *ten times* by various *episcopi vagantes* hierarchs⁸³. Despite Georgius’ best efforts, church historian Anson notes that no one—Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Monophysite, Nestorian, nor even Anglican—recognized the validity of

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 448.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 242, 451.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 242, 448; MAR GEORGIUS. Letter to Patriarch Bresi-Ando, 11 November 1944, File GR1.35.

⁷⁹ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 243, 450; See new 1946 letterhead: Mar KWAMIN I PP. Blank clergy certificate of appointment, Catholicate of the South, (Africa), The Orthodox Catholic Church, 08 October 1946, File GR1.4.

⁸⁰ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 455.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 455-456.

⁸² New 1946 letterhead: Mar KWAMIN I PP. Blank clergy certificate of appointment, Catholicate of the South, (Africa), The Orthodox Catholic Church, 08 October 1946, File GR1.4.

⁸³ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 452.

Georgius and his “Catholicate of the West”⁸⁴. But Bresi-Ando did, and he boldly announced this on his new letterhead.

Mar Georgius envisioned a global communion consisting of twelve autocephalous “Apostolic Primates [...] representing the twelve tribes of the Spiritual Israel,” in which the “*charismata*” and “[n]ine spiritual gifts of the Holy Spirit were recognized” and permitted within his church⁸⁵. Mar Georgius was constantly searching to unite with any *episcopus vagans* that he could locate⁸⁶. Therefore, it was not surprising that on 11 November 1944, Mar Georgius wrote Bresi-Ando offering to establish mutual ecclesiastical recognition between their respective autocephalous churches:

Most Reverend Lord & Dear Brother in Christ, I have the happiness of announcing to Your Beatitude the formation of the WESTERN ORTHODOX CATHOLIC CHURCH [...] over which I preside as Supreme Hierarch. [...] if this meets with your approval and you will let me know, I will issue formal Letters of Communion recognizing Your Beatitude as the Orthodox Catholic ecclesiastical authority for Africa in Communion with, but of course entirely independent of us, and perhaps you might on your part issue a similar document as regards our position in Europe.⁸⁷

To help Bresi-Ando make an informed decision, Mar Georgius enclosed in his letter papers providing Bresi-Ando the “full particulars of the Apostolic Succession and Historical Notes”⁸⁸. Such information would have explained how Mar Abdullah (Dr. Crow) and Mar Georgius formed their global communion of anti-Jacobite *episcopi vagantes*. The Prince-Patriarch Mar Kwamin I (Bresi-Ando) must have replied favorably because he put Mar Georgius and Mar Abdullah III on his new 1946 letterhead, making all the other noted changes, and stating that his “Catholicate of the South” was “in full Communion with the Catholicates of the East & West”⁸⁹. This was Rev. Edonu’s assumption, since his uncle’s letterhead was changed to espouse “full Communion” with these other hierarchs whose names now appeared in print next to that of Mar Kwamin I⁹⁰. Bresi-Ando would have certainly done anything to preserve his beloved “apostolic succession,”

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 242, 451.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 460, 463.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 451-452.

⁸⁷ MAR GEORGIUS. Letter to Patriarch Bresi-Ando, 11 November 1944, File GR1.35.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ New 1946 letterhead: Mar KWAMIN I PP. Blank clergy certificate of appointment, Catholicate of the South, (Africa), The Orthodox Catholic Church, 08 October 1946, File GR1.4.

⁹⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 03 March 1994, Log 10, p. 518.

especially after the devastating notice of non-recognition publicized by Syriac Patriarch Mar Ignatius Ephrem I in 1938. Anson carefully researched and found that of the proposed twelve autocephalous “Apostolic Primates,” there were in reality “only three of whom existed in human form”⁹¹. From Bresi-Ando’s letterhead we learn the very names of those three: Mar Abdullah for the East, Mar Georgius for the West, and Mar Kwamin Ntsetse Bresi-Ando for the South⁹². Putting the pieces together, it becomes very clear that Bresi-Ando definitely joined Dr. Crow’s group of *episcopi vagantes* who had abandoned their past Jacobite/Monophysite association.

Thus, Mar Georgius and Mar Kwamin began their years of ecclesiastical sojourn together as autocephalous units of the same larger church body, “in Communion with” each other, but “entirely independent” from each other⁹³. When Mar Georgius adopted the name “The Catholic Apostolic Church” for his “Western Catholicate” circa 1947⁹⁴, Bresi-Ando’s new 1949 letterhead was upgraded to say the exact same thing⁹⁵. This was significant. Bresi-Ando had in fact now changed the name of his AIC once again, staying in league with Mar Georgius. Proof of this was found in Rev. Edonu’s church archives in Afransi. The minutes of the clergy Synod which gathered together with Catholicos Bresi-Ando in Bobikuma (in the Gold Coast’s Central Region) in February 1956 were typed *not* in the old name of the “African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church,” but rather in the *new name* of “The Catholic Apostolic Church, Catholicate of the South, (African), commonly called The Orthodox Catholic Church”⁹⁶. A second clear proof of the ecclesiastical union of Bresi-Ando and Georgius is the fact that when the latter incorporated “The Catholic Apostolic Church” in far-off India on 20 February 1950 “under Act XXI of 1860”⁹⁷, Bresi-Ando carefully revised his “Catholic Apostolic Church” 1950’s-era letterhead to include these very *same* words in the heading in fine print:

Canonically erected as an autocephalous unit of the One, Holy, Catholic and
Apostolic Church in History, by virtue of the Legal Powers and Prerogatives

⁹¹ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 463.

⁹² New 1946 letterhead: Mar KWAMIN I PP. Blank clergy certificate of appointment, Catholicate of the South, (Africa), The Orthodox Catholic Church, 08 October 1946, File GR1.4.

⁹³ MAR GEORGIUS. Letter to Patriarch Bresi-Ando, 11 November 1944, File GR1.35.

⁹⁴ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 460 & footnote 1.

⁹⁵ New 1949 letterhead: Mar KWAMIN I Prince-Patriarch. Instrument of Inauguration, The Guild of St. Raphael in the Order of Fishers of Men, [handwritten charter], 07 August 1949, File GR1.40.

⁹⁶ Rev. K. A. EYITEY, General Secretary. Bobikuma Synod Minutes, The Catholic Apostolic Church, Catholicate of the South, (African), commonly called The Orthodox Catholic Church, 3rd to 6th February, 1956, File GR1.47.

⁹⁷ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 472.

conferred by the Rules of the Catholicate of the West as incorporated in India under Act XXI of 1860.⁹⁸

Bresi-Ando's act—of accepting communion with Georgius and Abdullah and the title “Catholicos”—was not a departure from his guiding emancipationist vision, but rather was an advancement and improvement on it. He had sacrificed his 1930's Jacobite rhetoric for an upgrade in emancipated status. Now Bresī-Ando could display himself as being a very high Patriarch, a “Catholicos”, *equal* to two other important Catholicoses, in that he was now recognized as being in charge of an entire “Catholicate” consisting of the whole continent of Africa—“the South”—just as they were similarly responsible for the “East” and for the “West”. He truly thought he was the “Catholicos” of all Africa, a real “Pan-African” Patriarch, and as such, in a 1956 telegram to Kwame Nkrumah, he described himself as “Prince-Patriarch and Catholicos Bresī-Ando”⁹⁹. Obviously no longer viewing himself as being in communion with the Ethiopians and Coptic “Monophysite” churches of Africa, and ignoring the very shrunken Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria (whose primary focus at-the-time was on white expatriates), this explains how Bresī-Ando could present himself as *the Patriarch* for all of Africa and for all Africans.

2.1.5. Bresī-Ando's new *non-Jacobite* “Catholicate of the South”

In summary, as WWII came to a close, Bresī-Ando had followed the theological and ecclesiastical direction of a particular portion of the global *episcopi vagantes* community. They had left behind Monophysitism and the term “Jacobite” while embracing all seven Ecumenical Councils, and having as their “first among equals” a new “true” Patriarchate of Antioch which was located not in the Middle East but in England. This was a *huge theological* and ideological shift. Bresī-Ando had been invited to be a part of it and he was all too eager to accept. His new grandiose letterhead with its papal-style cross and shield emblem which took up 1/3 of the page, bore witness to that effect. He was not really a “Monophysite” at heart anyway, as we shall discover in Chapter 14,

⁹⁸ New 1957 letterhead: K. Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Letter to His Excellency, The Governor-General, Independent Sovereign State of Ghana, 03 April 1957, File GR1.51.

⁹⁹ Most Revd. Dr. K. N. BRESI-ANDO. Telegram to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, 06 February 1956, in Rev. K. A. EYITEY, General Secretary. Bobikuma Synod Minutes, The Catholic Apostolic Church, Catholicate of the South, (African), commonly called The Orthodox Catholic Church, 3rd to 6th February, 1956, p. 2, File GR1.47.

“Bresi-Ando’s *Religious* Emancipation.” This move—which no global church body even noticed—was important because it worked to set the course for Bresi-Ando’s own Ghanaian community and its future reception into the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria. No more did Rev. Edonu hear his uncle espousing the terms “Jacobite” or “Monophysite”—but instead the term “Orthodox Catholic.” This explains why the concept “Jacobite” was always such a mystery to Rev. Edonu, who decades later still did not really know what it meant, but instead adamantly held onto the concept of “Orthodox Catholic”¹⁰⁰. Edonu and his followers quite innocently always considered themselves to be “Orthodox Catholics,” up to the day they finally met some canonical Eastern Orthodox clergy in 1974. The term “Jacobite” had been left behind long ago, as they did not understand it nor identify with it. Rev. Edonu did possess some copies of his uncle’s 1930’s-era booklet, *The Apostolic Succession of the African Universal Church (Orthodox-Catholic)*, but he admitted that he had no clue what his uncle was saying in it concerning the “Jacobites” until the 1980’s when a Greek Orthodox theologian read the booklet and explained it¹⁰¹. Rev. Edonu confessed that he and the other Bresi-Ando clergymen simply “used it as a guide, yet never studied it deeply. We just followed blindly”¹⁰². Thus, the argument is made here that Bresi-Ando, by joining with Mar Georgius and by associating with his anti-Monophysite pro-Chalcedonian group of *episcopi vagantes*, and by dropping all promotion of Jacobite theology and rhetoric from his later publications and letters, pointed his followers down a theological path that shaped their self-identity as simply being “Orthodox Catholics”—no longer as “Jacobites”—a path that providentially and ultimately led to their future union with the Chalcedonian Orthodox communion in Africa after his death.

This move away from the Jacobites did not reduce Bresi-Ando’s global emancipationist vision in any way. It rather enhanced it. On his post-WWII official documents he displayed his ever-present vision. The reach of his omophorion was still “sans frontiers”—without borders. He wrote that he was the “Patriarch” for “*every part of Africa and of all Africans both in the homeland and in dispersion in other parts of the world*,” as seen in the “Instrument of Inauguration” which he penned for the Charter for the Guild of St. Raphael on 07 August 1949¹⁰³. At least Bresi-Ando’s

¹⁰⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1510.

¹⁰¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1510.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Charter, the Guild of Saint Raphael in the Order of Fishers of Men, Instrument of Inauguration, in the Programme, Fourth Anniversary of the Spiritual Healing Revival at the Shrine of the Guild of St. Raphael, Gomoa

Pan-African vision stayed consistent throughout all of his ecclesiastical decisions and maneuvers, though most people would never recognize him as Africa's true and "canonical" Orthodox Catholic Patriarch.

KWAMIN I

Servant of Jesus Christ by the grace of God Prince-Patriarch of Apam and of all the domain of the Southern Catholicate of the Apostolic Throne of the God protected City of Antioch *in every part of Africa and of all Africans both in the homeland and in dispersion in other parts of the world.*¹⁰⁴ (Charter, the Guild of Saint Raphael, Instrument of Inauguration, 1949)

How did Bresi-Ando's move away from his old "African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic)" nomenclature affect his loyal troops back home in the colonial Gold Coast? Rev. Edonu said that they had read Mar Gregorius' 1944 letter and had seen how he had referred to their kind of Christians as being the "Orthodox Catholics"¹⁰⁵. They had seen Bresi-Ando's new letterheads. In 1946 the new "Catholicos" Bresi-Ando had dropped the long clumsy "African Universal Orthodox Catholic Church" title from print but was including the phrase, "commonly called The Orthodox Catholic Church"¹⁰⁶. Later, Edonu saw Bresi-Ando's super-enhanced letterhead of 1949 expand to include Mar Georgius' "The Catholic Apostolic Church" listed on top of everything else. While Bresi-Ando's titles grew longer and fancier, Edonu and Labi Odeng in the Gold Coast Diocese wished to *simplify* their church name¹⁰⁷. Therefore, Deputy Bishop Edonu with a local Synod gathering of his clergy in Larteh (circa 1949) took their own independent decision to shorten their name to the "Orthodox Catholic Church" in order to be like the other Orthodox Catholic churches "in Great Britain, Antioch, and other countries"¹⁰⁸. Basically ignoring Bresi-Ando's newer "Apostolic Catholic" nomenclature, it was the name "Orthodox Catholic Church" that Deputy Bishop Edonu used on his own letterhead and on his various church publications in Ghana throughout the '50s, '60s and '70s¹⁰⁹. Deputy Bishop Edonu said they wrote his uncle notifying

Fomena, Orthodox Catholic Church, Diocese of Saint Ignatius of Antioch, Ghana, 13th to 15th January 1961, p. 5, File GR2.93—italics added.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*—italics added.

¹⁰⁵ MAR GEORGIUS. Letter to Patriarch Bresi-Ando, 11 November 1944, File GR1.35; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 03 March 1994, Log 10, p. 517, and 04 February 1993, Log 17, p. 1049.

¹⁰⁶ New 1946 letterhead: Mar KWAMIN I PP. Blank clergy certificate of appointment, Catholicate of the South, (Africa), The Orthodox Catholic Church, 08 October 1946, File GR1.4.

¹⁰⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 July 1994, Log 30, p. 1910.

¹⁰⁸ V. Rev. K. EDONU. Letter to Hans Debrunner, 15 August 1958, File GR1.58.

¹⁰⁹ See examples of name "Orthodox Catholic Church": On letterhead, V. Rev. K. EDONU. Letter to Hans Debrunner, 15 August 1958, File GR1.58; Programme, Third Anniversary of the Spiritual Healing Revival at the

him that they were adopting the shortened name, being confident that he would be agreeable¹¹⁰. Bresi-Ando never wrote back with any instructions or prohibitions concerning the name change, so they kept it¹¹¹. They noticed that while Bresi-Ando had changed his own Patriarchal letterhead, he never wrote to his Ghanaian flock instructing them to change their name to “The Catholic Apostolic Church”¹¹².

2.2. Bresi-Ando’s reduced number of loyal Gold Coast parishes

Although Bresi-Ando’s titles and letterhead grew ever longer and larger, his church organization was shrinking fast. The War Years had been the Time of Troubles—difficulty, heartache and struggle—for all parties of Bresi-Ando’s fractured AIC and its former leadership—Ando-Brew, Jones, Edonu, Labi Odeng, Eyitey, Abradu, Adentwi, and Osamdadzi.¹¹³ The schisms, disagreements and struggles for control of various parishes was a sad saga as Edonu and Labi Odeng refused to join with the others in their stand against their former Patriarch¹¹⁴. The “Church of the Thousands of Africa” (Ebibirpim) had lost much of its former Pan-African unity. It was an unfortunate chapter in their church’s history, a rupture which was only healed decades later when all remaining parishes and parishioners finally found permanent union within the Patriarchate of Alexandria.

By 1946, after all this contention, Bresi-Ando’s former Ebibirpim Church (once having 67 parishes spread across two dioceses within the Gold Coast and the Asante) was reduced to a small group of loyal Central and Eastern Region parishes—a shape which to become very familiar over the next decades—eleven communities: Agona Abodom, Agona Bobikuma, Ajumako Essaman, Gomoa Afransi, Gomoa Akropong, Gomoa Fomena, Larteh, Adeisu Domeabra, Akyem Adosena, Akim Breman, and Akuapem Asuokyene¹¹⁵. With the closure of the parishes in Cape Coast (’45),

Shrine of the Guild of St. Raphael, Gomoa Fomena, Orthodox Catholic Church, Diocese of Saint Ignatius of Antioch, 7th to 10th January 1960, cover page, File GR2.92; Certificate of Baptism, Orthodox Catholic Church, File GR1.3; Certificate of Recognition, Guild of St. Raphael, Orthodox Catholic Church, Diocec [*sic.*] of St. Ignatius, Ghana, West Africa, File GR2.100.

¹¹⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 July 1994, Log 30, p. 1910.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 July 1994, Log 30, p. 1901.

¹¹⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1466, and 22 July 1994, Log 30, p. 1902.

¹¹⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 July 1994, Log 30, p. 1899.

Gomoa Aboso ('46), and Apam ('46), plus the dwindling death of Ekumfi Gyirankuma, all Bresi-Ando's coastal mission stations were gone¹¹⁶. The remainder were in the hands of the "insurrectionists" or had collapsed. Over in the Eastern Region, matters did not look good. The entire Kwahu District had died, except for the Nkawkaw community, which had switched over to Abradu's jurisdiction¹¹⁷. The entire Akyem (Akim) District was dead, except for Kankan which was loyal to Jones¹¹⁸. The Akyem Kotoku District was reduced to a single parish, Akyem Adonsena¹¹⁹. The Akuapem District was reduced to three: Larteh, Domeabra, and Asuokyene¹²⁰. What was left of the former Asante Diocese was loyal to Ando-Brew and Jones. At this same time, Bresi-Ando's loyal clergy were few: Deputy Bishop Edonu, General Secretary Eyitey, Deacon Bortey, Subdeacon Beedu, and Subdeacon Labi Odeng¹²¹. Fr. Eyitey remained as the lone senior clergyman. All the other older clergymen had either quit, retired, travelled, or gone into schism.

2.3. Rev. Edonu's Time of Reorganizing and Reformation (1945-1949 onwards)

Beginning in 1945, throughout the post-war years, and continuing into the next decade, Rev. Edonu as the new Deputy Bishop instituted a Time of Reformation. He tried to teach his flock the Catholic-style practices found in the Liberal Catholic Service Book which Bresi-Ando had failed in effectively teaching to his Ghanaian church¹²². Fante translations of liturgical services were prepared¹²³. To musically inspire and unite his African flock, a few years into his reforms (in 1952) Edonu took the risk and introduced some light drumming to accompany extra-liturgical singing after the Mass was concluded—but not during¹²⁴. In this, he was among the earlier Gold Coast AICs to use African rhythm via drumming (other early examples being MDCC and African

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1900.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1899.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ Historical note concerning an important person: Bresi-Ando made Labi Odeng a Subdeacon at the Cape Coast Synod in January 1942. A later clergy Synod held at Bobikuma (without Bresi-Ando) only "conferred deacon-status" on Labi Odeng. Later he was ordained Deacon and Priest by Bresi-Ando in Aba, Nigeria, in 1949. See FFN, Rev. Gregory Labi ODENG. Larteh, ER, GH, 11 April 1994, Log 8, p. 410.

¹²² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 04 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1548.

¹²³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1498.

¹²⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 October 1992, Log 3, p. 108-110, and 22 September 1994, Log 30, p. 1908.

Faith Tabernacle)¹²⁵. To assist with the dissemination of his teachings, Rev. Edonu resurrected Bresi-Ando's old Camp Meeting idea and used it on a regular basis to unite and teach his flock¹²⁶. Parishioners from all the various parishes would descend upon a particular town for a day or several days of prayer, teaching, socializing and liturgical worship. This proved to be a very fruitful exercise in helping to keep the remainder of the Bresi-Ando flock together. Edonu also reactivated Bresi-Ando's "Order of Fishers of Men" evangelistic organization to assist the spread of the church¹²⁷. Yet Rev. Edonu knew that for his illiterates, liturgies and hymnals, camp meetings and evangelical crusades alone were not enough to keep the people together as a church—they needed to see the reality of God and the Divine side (to which the liturgies pointed)¹²⁸. They needed a demonstrated spiritual life—an experience of the Divine which proved the words of his sermons¹²⁹. As he explained, "You can't give illiterates a theology book to read; rather, you *show* them." Thus, he himself was learning how to pray with faith for healing¹³⁰. Therefore, Rev. Edonu, having had some positive experience in praying for the healing of his own children at home, began to expand on this by organizing prayer meetings on Wednesdays and Fridays at his parish in Afransi in 1946¹³¹. This spiritual emphasis would soon develop and manifest in a greater way across his diocese with the arrival of some additional clergy.

Meanwhile in the north at this time (1946-1947) Bishop Jones and Bishop Ando-Brew were still seen co-operating in the Asante Kingdom, but not as closely as before. To some observers, Jones seemed to be "doing his own thing," so their nephews termed it a "break", though it was not¹³². Jones was operating more independently and was not remunerating Ando-Brew at the head office in Kumasi with the church collections as he had done previously¹³³. As Ando-Brew was not paying Jones a salary, so Jones did not give an accounting to him¹³⁴. Nephew E. K. Johnson noticed that

¹²⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 October 1992, Log 3, p. 108-110.

¹²⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1486.

¹²⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 13 May 1994, Log 9, p. 490-499, and 14 May 1994, Log 9, p. 500-503.

¹²⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 July 1994, Log 30, p. 1912.

¹²⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 03 October 1992, Log 3, p.164-165, and July 1994, Log 30, p. 1912.

¹³⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 July 1994, Log 30, p. 1914.

¹³¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 14 May 1994, Log 9, p. 500, and 11 August 1994, Log 27, p. 1732.

¹³² FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1681.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 1680.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1681.

this lack of communication in money matters brought some misunderstanding between the two¹³⁵. Yet Jones would often come out of the “bush” (where he lived) to visit his “brother” Ando-Brew in Kumasi¹³⁶. The American was not happy with the way everything had fallen apart. He wanted reunion and wished to reunite all the splinters of Bresi-Ando’s broken organization across the Gold Coast, with himself as the supreme head¹³⁷.

A pre-mature step towards that goal was attempted in 1947 when Ando-Brew and Jones met with Edonu in Bobikuma in the Central Region to discuss reunion on *their* terms—a union in schism¹³⁸. They urged Edonu to reject Bresi-Ando and join them, but Edonu could not accept this, saying, “He has taught you and us how to run a church and an organization. He ordained you as a priest, and you cannot come to tell me that he is mad and that I should follow you”¹³⁹. Ando-Brew and Jones left Bobikuma with their mission unaccomplished, but they nurtured the hope that everything could be put back together again. They would have another try at it soon.

2.4. Introducing a thaumaturgical element: divine healing

Instead of receiving Jones and Ando-Brew, the next year (1948) Rev. Edonu welcomed Chief Prophet Michael Ankuma along with Chief Pastor Botwe into the much-reduced African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church after trouble in their own Musama Disco Christo Church (MDCC)—a Pentecostal-style AIC—had compelled them to switch loyalties¹⁴⁰. According to those who remembered him, “Prophet” Ankuma had amazing gifts of prophecy and healing that were converting pagans to Christ and he desired a physical place to practice his healing ministry within Edonu’s “Orthodox-Catholic” church—as a sort of healing center¹⁴¹. The Deputy Bishop realized that the arrival of Prophet Ankuma would help “show” his illiterates—by concrete experience—

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, Log 23, p. 1525.

¹³⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 77.

¹³⁹ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Tape 5B, Log 2, p. 77-78.

¹⁴⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 July 1994, Log 30, p. 1916-1920, and 11 August 1994, Log 27, p. 1732-1739; Charter, the Guild of Saint Raphael [...], p. 3, File GR2.93.

¹⁴¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 02 October 1992, Log 3, p. 122-123, and 03 October 1992, Log 3, p. 163, and 23 July 1994, Log 30, p. 1918, and 11 August 1994, Log 27, p. 1734-1735; FFN, Rev. Gregory Labi ODENG. Larteh, ER, GH, 13 January 1993, Log 21, p. 1350-1353; FFN, Mama Sarah ANKUMA and Richard AMISSAH. Gomoa Fomena, CR, GH, 25 December 1992, Log 21, p. 1299-1315; FFN, Rev. Samuel ADJEI-KUMI. Larteh, ER, GH, 13 January 1993, Log 22, p. 1377-1385.

the reality of the living almighty God¹⁴². The idea of a permanent national Healing Shrine in honor of Archangel Raphael the Healer was born as Edonu and Labi Odeng expanded upon Ankuma's original idea, enlarging it to become the "Guild of St. Raphael"¹⁴³. Located at Fomena, Prophet Ankuma would be the national staff member—as the chief healer—for the healing Shrine¹⁴⁴. In addition, Rev. Edonu's concept was that this location would be a place of annual spiritual pilgrimage, useful for bringing the scattered members of his various parishes physically together once a year for spiritual renewal¹⁴⁵. The ever-loyal Chief Adams of Fomena helped bring this dream into reality by offering land (abandoned by the MDCC) for the new Shrine of St. Raphael in his village of Fomena¹⁴⁶. His gift ensured that his quiet little village off the beaten path would—for the rest of the century—be the "spiritual center" and "New Jerusalem" of Rev. Edonu's enduring branch of Bresi-Ando's AIC¹⁴⁷. It was the physical place that would spiritually hold their little church together—as they gathered together to concretely experience God's Divine Power¹⁴⁸.

Yet, in the 1930's and 1940's Bresi-Ando's largely "Ethiopianist" AIC had not been known to be a "Divine Church", a Second Wave AIC that focused on the Africanization of worship with *charismata*, such as healing and prophecy. Rev. Edonu felt that such a diverse change in liturgical practice required the blessing of the absent Patriarch. Would he even approve of such a radical departure from the "normal" structure and practices of his church? They had received Prophet Ankuma in 1948 with welcome arms, but without the authority of their hierarch¹⁴⁹. Rev. Edonu was concerned how he could defend himself "when the time came that people would ask, 'By whose authority did you organize such a thing?'"¹⁵⁰. Thus, he wanted to have his leader's mandate for such a large spiritual undertaking and as such would have to travel in person to Nigeria to get

¹⁴² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 03 October 1992, Log 3, p. 163-165, and 23 July 1994, Log 30, p. 1912,1918.

¹⁴³ FFN, Rev. Gregory Labi ODENG. Larteh, ER, GH, 13 January 1993, Log 21, p. 1352-1353; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 03 March 1994, Log 10, p. 556, and 23 July 1994, Log 30, p. 1918.

¹⁴⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 March 1994, Log 11, p. 627, and 23 July 1994, Log 30, p. 1918-1922.

¹⁴⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 July 1994, Log 30, p. 1918, 1922.

¹⁴⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, Log 23, p. 1519, and 23 July 1994, Log 30, p. 1920, 1922.

¹⁴⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 03 October 1992, Log 3, p. 163-165, and 23 July 1994, Log 30, p. 1918.

¹⁴⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 July 1994, Log 30, p. 1918.

¹⁴⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 03 March 1994, Log 10, p. 556.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 557.

it¹⁵¹. This Prayer Guild was a reformation—another transformation—of Bresi-Ando’s AIC. This further move towards “Africanization” and “African spiritualization” was more in line with the “Second Wave” of AICs, and a precursor of the coming “Third Wave” of Pentecostal/Charismatic AICs. Rev. Edonu was in step with his times, perhaps a little ahead of the crowd. It was critically important that the “spiritual” component be included into his very formal, liturgical, Western-styled, Roman Catholic-appearing church. When Ghana would experience its new era of political independence in next decade, there would be a huge rush of African converts riding the wave of “African independence,” running out of paganism and out of the European-style missions and into every new kind of African AIC¹⁵². Rev. Edonu’s efforts with the prayer Guild of St. Raphael would help save Bresi-Ando’s church from collapse in the late 1950’s, by positioning it as “more African” and more “spiritual” than the overly intellectually-focused European missions which lacked the “curative” component that Africans respected and desired¹⁵³. Under Rev. Edonu’s guidance with “Prophet” Ankuma’s prayer power, Bresi-Ando’s AIC would practice and experience Divine Healing, as Rev. Edonu once explained to researcher Hans W. Debrunner¹⁵⁴. Over time, even Rev. Edonu became known as a respected healer, who “Administered Healing to many, including children”¹⁵⁵.

Rev. Edonu recalled how he himself had seen his own personal faith grow in the thaumaturgical area of divine healings and interventions. Praying in faith for divine miraculous intervention was a lesson that young Edonu had learned from his uncle and never forgot¹⁵⁶. Back in the ‘30s, Bresi-Ando had taught him “the divine side” of God, “bringing divine help when we are in need,” though not in the arena of physical healing¹⁵⁷. On several occasions of urgent need they had prayed together for God’s help to descend. “We were taught to know the existence of the power of the angels by experience”¹⁵⁸. Edonu had witnessed results, like the time in 1939 when Bresi-Ando’s cash flow was short and he could not pay his rent for the church facilities and was therefore being

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 556-557.

¹⁵² FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1268.

¹⁵³ Mr. SAM, Wellingborough, Northamptonshire, England. Letter to Andrew Anderson, 19 July 1994, GR16.462.

¹⁵⁴ V. Rev. K. EDONU. Letter to Hans Debrunner, 15 August 1958, File GR1.58.

¹⁵⁵ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary of Rev. K. K. Edonu: February 1951-May 1957, 01 February 1953 entry, File GR3; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 14 May 1994, Log 9, p. 500.

¹⁵⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 13 May 1994, Log 9, p. 492.

¹⁵⁷ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 13 May 1994, Tape 85, Log 9, p. 490.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

threatened with eviction. The Patriarch gathered Edonu and several others into the chapel, served the Liturgy, after which each man in turn prayed fervently, begging the Lord to provide a solution. Later that day news came offering immediate relief to the crisis. The landlord had died suddenly and they were spared eviction¹⁵⁹.

These spiritual lessons were not wasted on young priest Edonu who began to see first-hand “that God can be called upon [at] any time for help”¹⁶⁰. He said that many times throughout his life God had answered his personal desires¹⁶¹. Gradually Rev. Edonu began to be courageous enough to pray for the healing of others by first putting his own faith into action with his own children. He recounted how he had prayed expectantly in faith at times when they were ill and he had seen dramatic results. Many times they recovered, and sometimes “even instantaneously,” he recalled¹⁶². At times he used olive oil or holy water along with his prayers, but sometimes just words and faith alone¹⁶³. It became such that Rev. Edonu did not have to send his children to the hospital any longer, he claimed¹⁶⁴. He then started to receive outside people, members of his parishes, non-members, even the “heathen”, who were healed, some instantaneously¹⁶⁵. A certain physician, Dr. Beenim Aishun, came to respect the display of God’s healing power as evidenced through the ministry of Rev. Edonu. If he had a case that was too difficult, he would send the patient to Rev. Edonu for divine prayers¹⁶⁶. Thus, in a natural, organic way, Rev. Edonu’s personal prayer life matured to the point that he even started holding weekly prayer meetings in his local parish in Afransi¹⁶⁷.

2.5. Begging the Patriarch to return: a quick trip to Nigeria in 1949

Rev. Edonu was well aware of the fact that the miraculous component would help retain Bresiano’s members from running out the door of his AIC to join the newer, more African, “spiritual” churches. Yet he questioned himself if he had the mandate to organize this on a larger scale. To

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 490-491.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 491.

¹⁶¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 14 May 1994, Log 9, p. 500.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.* During an interview in Afransi with Fr. Kyriakos Edonu, I witnessed a believer enter the house, briefly interrupt our interview, and offer him humble thanks, claiming her child had been healed through his prayers—AJA.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 502.

¹⁶⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 11 August 1994, Log 27, p. 1732.

run his little parish prayer group in Afransi was one thing, but to launch this bold step of forming the Pentecostal-style prayer “Guild of St. Raphael” and opening a national Shrine hosting a “Prophet”, Rev. Edonu knew that he needed his Patriarch’s approval, lest his opponents challenge him, or Bresi-Ando himself reprimand him for doing something independent of headquarters¹⁶⁸. However, getting the Patriarch’s blessing for the Guild of St. Raphael was not the only pressing matter. Increasingly people were calling Bresi-Ando a “run-away” and Bresi-Ando’s loyal clergy could not stand it anymore¹⁶⁹. Bresi-Ando looked like a deserter and Edonu and Labi Odeng looked like liars¹⁷⁰. The delinquent Patriarch had stayed away for seven and a half long, difficult years and his men really needed him¹⁷¹. “We were then in a helpless state,” remembered Deputy Bishop Edonu¹⁷². So many clergy and parishioners had left; so many parishes and schools had closed; so many churches had been “stolen” by dissident clergy¹⁷³. On top of all this, there were political troubles in the country now¹⁷⁴. The “political quarrel”—striving for national independence from the British Empire—was “on” by this time, and the famous politician Dr. Danquah (an old friend of the Patriarch) and some lesser political minds were asking Rev. Edonu about Bresi-Ando¹⁷⁵: “Where is Bresi-Ando who has preached emancipation, the freedom of Ghana, and where is he? It is now time for him to act.”¹⁷⁶ Members of the Apam Improvement Association were informally asking Rev. Edonu to send word to Bresi-Ando that he should return home and take the political seat of Kojo Botsio in representing their local precinct¹⁷⁷. Therefore, pressed by many needs, in July of 1949 Rev. Edonu and Subdeacon Labi Odeng made a brave trip all the way to Aba, Nigeria, to visit Patriarch Bresi-Ando for a month, to report to him everything that had transpired in his absence, and more importantly, to beg him to come back to them¹⁷⁸. As if he did not have enough of broken relationships during his “Time of Troubles,” in June, just prior

¹⁶⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 03 March 1994, Log 10, p. 556-557; FFN, Rev. Gregory Labi ODENG. Larteh, ER, GH, 13 January 1993, Log 21, p. 1351.

¹⁶⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 994.

¹⁷⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 July 1994, Log 31, p. 1959, and 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 995.

¹⁷¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 95.

¹⁷² RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Tape 7, Log 2, p. 95.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 95.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Tape 7, Log 2, p. 95.

¹⁷⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 995.

¹⁷⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 94-95, and 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 964.

to traveling, Rev. Edonu's first marriage broke under the pressure¹⁷⁹. His wife, tired of the poverty they experienced in the life-style of an over-worked, underpaid, very dedicated Deputy Bishop, could not take it any longer. Rev. Edonu went to Nigeria with a heavy heart, having personally paid a very high price for his loyalty to God and to his uncle, the Patriarch.

2.6. Bresi-Ando's Charter for the Guild of St. Raphael: charismatic reformation of his Gold Coast AIC.

In Aba, Nigeria, Bresi-Ando received his stalwart clergymen warmly. He willingly wrote the charter—the “Instrument of Inauguration”—for “The Guild of St. Raphael” on his new 1949 letterhead, laying the groundwork for further “Africanization” within their church, and opening the door for Rev. Edonu to embrace Pentecostal-style healing and prophetic ministries¹⁸⁰. With his signature placed on the new Charter on the 7th of August 1949, Bresi-Ando officially blessed the formation of the Guild, situating it within his existing evangelistic arm of the church—the “Order of Fishers of Men”¹⁸¹. The hierarch wrote that his “Catholic Apostolic Church (Catholicate of the South) commonly called The Orthodox Catholic Church recognizes the existence and permits the exercise of the Charismatic Gifts of the Holy Ghost,” stating that “there is nothing ‘un-catholic’ about them, neither is there anything un-orthodox in permitting them”¹⁸². Being open to the Charismatic Gifts of the Holy Spirit as a part of his AIC, Bresi-Ando proclaimed that “it is wrong for Christians to exercise Charismata apart from the guidance of the hierarchy; but it is equally wrong for the hierarchy to decline to investigate alleged gifts of the Spirit and to permit their exercise where proven to be genuine”¹⁸³. His view was to receive the truly gifted charismatics—i.e. Prophet Ankuma—into “the bosom of Orthodoxy” where they belonged, lest they drift into “unhealthy and heretical cults” “simply because they find no outlet for their gifts in what one might call the ‘conventional’ churches”¹⁸⁴.

¹⁷⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1466.

¹⁸⁰ Charter, the Guild of Saint Raphael in the Order of Fishers of Men, Instrument of Inauguration, in the Programme, Fourth Anniversary of the Spiritual Healing Revival at the Shrine of the Guild of St. Raphael, Gomoa Fomena, Orthodox Catholic Church, Diocese of Saint Ignatius of Antioch, Ghana, 13th to 15th January 1961, p. 3-5, File GR2.93; FFN, Rev. Gregory Labi ODENG. Larteh, ER, GH, 15 October 1992, Log 21, p. 1316; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 964.

¹⁸¹ Charter, the Guild of Saint Raphael [...], p. 5, File GR2.93.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

The remedy is not to abuse, shun, or fear true Charismatics and Mystics, but rather to recover them from the clutches of unhealthy and heretical cults, with their accompanying hysteria [...] and to restore them to the bosom of Orthodoxy, that there they may be enabled to exercise their gifts for the edification of the faithful. (Bresi-Ando, from the “Charter” of the Guild of Saint Raphael, 1949)¹⁸⁵

The Catholicos Patriarch in his Charter loudly announced that his “Orthodox Catholic Church warmly welcomes to its fellowship all true Christian Charismatics and mystics” as long as they are “willing to exercise their gifts under the jurisdiction of the divinely instituted hierarchy, and conform to the principles of Apostolic Catholicism and Church Order”.¹⁸⁶

It is worth noting that Bresi-Ando’s acceptance of *charismata* and the exercise of the Gifts of the Holy Spirit was in keeping with the similar teachings of his new colleague, Mar Georgius and his Catholic Apostolic Church¹⁸⁷. Anson describes how Mar Georgius himself was very interested in “Divine Healing” along the lines of 1940’s Anglican faith-healer Miss Dorothy Kerin¹⁸⁸. He presided at the initial “Congress of Healing” in London in 1948—“the first of its kind ever to be held in Britain”—in which “remarkable cures” were claimed to have been reported¹⁸⁹. Mar Georgius, as Bresi-Ando after him in 1949, wanted to make sure that charismatic gifts, such as healing, were done in an “apostolic” manner, “according to the ancient customs and traditions of the Church,” so he designed a healing “Guild” named after the ancient “Guild of the Parabolani”, a group of male nurses working in the Church in Egypt in the days of St. Cyril of Alexandria¹⁹⁰. Mar Georgius may be the source from which his colleague Bresi-Ando not only drew inspiration and direction in the founding of his own healing “Guild of St. Raphael,” but could very well also be the source of the unusual name for Bresi-Ando’s charismatic prayer group: “the Guild”. However, Rev. Edonu claimed that he had selected the name, since his understanding was that “a guild is a society of people who have come together”—“united”—only in this case, “united on spiritual matters”¹⁹¹.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 460.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 468, 469 and footnote 1: citing Mar GEORGIUS. *Divine Healing*, Information Bulletin, No. 11, 1948.

¹⁸⁹ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 468.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 468-469; C. Wilfrid GRIGGS. *Early Egyptian Christianity: From Its Origins to 451 C.E.*, Coll. “Brill’s Scholars’ List,” Leiden, Brill Academic Publishers, 2000, p. 204.

¹⁹¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 03 March 1994, Log 10, p. 555, and Log 11, p. 616.

The new Guild Charter was *not* everything Edonu wanted. He desperately needed another fellow priest to assist him and he *needed* Bresi-Ando to come home. Therefore, Bresi-Ando ordained Subdeacon Labi Odeng to the diaconate and to the priesthood before the two priests travelled back to the Gold Coast¹⁹². The two priests begged their Patriarch to return to his home country. Rev. Edonu told Bresi-Ando: “The people consider you useless and have mounted a scandal around your name—that you have ‘bolted’.”¹⁹³ His uncle’s response was: “Oh, why do they consider me useless? I can never be useless! I will come one day.”¹⁹⁴ Even his Nigerian wife Joana recalled that Bresi-Ando had promised his men that he would follow them shortly, but then did not go¹⁹⁵. For some unknown reason, Bresi-Ando *again* failed to keep his promise to come home, but remained in Nigeria for another *six years*!

3. Era of Reunion (1949-1955)

Back on the Gold Coast, Bishop Jones was still trying to bring the divided church family back together after his failed attempt in Bobikuma in 1947¹⁹⁶.

3.1. Attempts, failures, and fear of Bresi-Ando

In 1949 Bishop Jones tried a second time to gather the old crew together in a more straightforward manner, and therefore he and Ando-Brew traveled to Fomena for negotiations with Edonu and Labi Odeng¹⁹⁷. However, this second reunion attempt failed when “a few days later Bishop Brew changed his mind” about uniting with the Bresi-Ando loyalists and went out seeking to be a part of a foreign group which he simply referred to as “the American Orthodox Church”¹⁹⁸. This maneuver brought a temporary rupture between he and Jones, but the later really wanted unity and would not give up his quest¹⁹⁹. In April of 1950 Bishop Jones with Rev. Abradu (representing

¹⁹² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 95; *Rev. Labi Odeng ordination, Aba, Nigeria*, 1949 [Newly-ordained priest Rev. Labi Odeng (left), Patriarch Bresi-Ando (center), with wife Mrs. Joana Bresi-Ando, and Rev. K. K. Edonu (right)], Montreal, Private Collection: “A. J. Anderson Ghana Fulbright Research,” File GR26BOX.Album 6, 1 photograph, black and white, 9 cm x 14 cm.

¹⁹³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 July 1994, Log 30, p. 1928.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 17, p. 1058.

¹⁹⁶ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 01 June 1951 entry, File GR3.

¹⁹⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 04 February 1993, Tape 56, Log 17, p. 1048.

¹⁹⁸ Minutes of the Ad Hoc Clerical Synod of the African Universal (O.C.) Church held at Accra, 27-28 April 1950, p. 1, File GR1.43; Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 01 June 1951 entry, File GR3.

¹⁹⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 04 February 1993, Log 17, p. 1048.

their united “Orthodox Christian Church”) and Rev. Adentwi (representing his Liberal Catholic Church) met in Accra with the African Universal Orthodox-Catholic Church clergy in an “Ad Hoc Clerical Synod” to air out their grievances²⁰⁰. Edonu’s group of Bresi-Ando loyalists numbered 13 parishes with an approximate membership of 1,000 while Adentwi had only 22 members in his Apam community which he could hope to rally to the cause²⁰¹. With the absence of Ando-Brew, the Jones/Abradu organization only officially listed the parishes of Ankyease, Mamfe/Pinanko, and a small Larteh group, with a total of 284 members, and only one other clergyman, the Catechist E. T. Appiah²⁰². None of the Asante parishes (nor Jones’ regular Asante pastoral circuit—the Districts of Kumawu and Nsuta, along with the village of Akrokyere) were recorded in the minutes of the Synod Meeting because “on paper” they still belonged to Ando-Brew’s diocese²⁰³. However, eye-witness Rev. John Sarkodie-Aidoo firmly maintained that Bishop Jones never stopped pastorally serving his beloved Akrokyere nor his regular Asante pastoral circuit²⁰⁴.

The kind words these former “warring factions” shared during the Accra Synod was heart-warming. Bishop Jones said “that his yearning heart urged him” to seek “unification—whether it can be possible”²⁰⁵. His desire was “that members who might harbor any past ill feelings should let by-gones be by-gones”²⁰⁶. Rev. Edonu, the Chairman of the meeting, “replied that we had ate and slept together wherever we went or met since we separated and that he avers that there is no taint of blemishness [*sic.*] in our feelings for him”²⁰⁷. This good will led immediately to the meeting of a “Minor Synod of the African Universal (O. C.) Church at Gomua Formina [*sic.*]” on 13-14 May 1950 in which all parties, except the absent Ando-Brew, agreed by a unanimous formal resolution to reunite under their former Patriarch, with Bishop Jones as their leading bishop in the Gold Coast diocese, pending Bresi-Ando’s approval²⁰⁸. Temporarily using their former name—“African Universal Orthodox Catholic Church”—they resolved to petition Bresi-Ando to officially shorten it to the “Orthodox Catholic Church” and to restore Bishop Jones, Rev. Abradu-Amoah

²⁰⁰ Minutes of the Ad Hoc Clerical Synod [...], p. 1-3.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²⁰² *Ibid.*; FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1175.

²⁰³ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1175.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁵ Minutes of the Ad Hoc Clerical Synod [...], p. 1.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ Minutes of the Minor Synod of the African Universal (O.C.) Church, Gomua Formina [*sic.*], 13-14 May 1950, p. 4-6, File GR1.43.

and Rev. Nyaako-Adentwi to “their former offices”²⁰⁹. The only one missing was Ando-Brew, who was still out seeking what he thought was a better chance with a certain “American Orthodox Church.”

Bresi-Ando was duly informed of the Synod’s decision, desires, resolution, and requests, but took four years to respond. During this long delay, the reunited group on their own simply began to function as if approval had been granted. Deputy Bishop Edonu in May of 1951 issued Bishop Jones a letter of mandate allowing him to be the leader, pending the “confirmation or repudiation of His Beatitude Mar Kwamin I”²¹⁰. Bishop Jones, however, fearing a coming rejection by Bres-Ando, was anxious about the last part in the letter which stated that this mandate needed “confirmation”. Jones argued saying that “the Patriarch won’t agree—ever—so why should he?”²¹¹

Meanwhile, in June of 1951 Ando-Brew joined the Reunion, serving as “Resident Bishop” in the Asante, while Bishop Jones took the title “Missionary Bishop”²¹². With the past players now back in place, on 16 January 1952, all the reunited former Ebibirpim clergy met in Larteh for a full “Bishop’s Council”²¹³. For a couple years they proceeded to live out their church life as one, hoping that their “Catholicos”, Mar Kwamin, would see it in the same way and eventually send his approval. Relieved from years of clerical tension, on the 26th of April 1952, Rev. Edonu was happy to be joined by Bishop Jones in Holy Matrimony to his new wife, Mary, who would stay faithfully by his side into old age²¹⁴.

By 1953 there was still no word back from Bres-Ando. Certainly fearful that the Prince-Patriarch would refuse to reinstate them, and perhaps impatient over the long delay, Bishops Ando-Brew and Jones began to plan privately how they could assume full control of the whole AIC (outside of Nigeria): they would eject “Deputy Bishop” Edonu and remove Bres-Ando’s name from the program altogether, by changing the name of the church²¹⁵. Thus, the Reunion started to crack.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5-6; Kweku K. EDONU. Letter to Right Rev. Carey Harry Jones, 03 May 1951 (Mandate of Re-Appointment to Office of Bishop, subject to Patriarchal confirmation), File GR1.44.

²¹⁰ Kweku K. EDONU. Letter to Right Rev. Carey Harry Jones [...], File GR1.44.

²¹¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 04 February 1993, Log 17, p. 1046.

²¹² Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 08 June 1951 entry, File GR3.

²¹³ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 16 January 1952 entry, File GR3.

²¹⁴ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 26 April 1952 entry, File GR3.

²¹⁵ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 15-17 January 1953 entries, File GR3.

Ever-loyal Edonu confronted his two uncles—Ando-Brew and Jones—and restored a temporary peace²¹⁶, but a suspicious uncle Bresi-Ando in Nigeria demanded that copies of their Synod minutes describing such matters be sent to him to read²¹⁷.

3.2. Bresi-Ando's "instrument of ejectment" against his former clergymen

Finally, on 21 May 1954 the official word arrived back from Nigeria via the mail. Patriarch Bresi-Ando belatedly issued his response—of extreme disapproval—in the form of an “instrument of ejectment” against Revs. Jones, Ando-Brew, and Abradu²¹⁸. It was not an easy message to receive. Rather, it was déjà vu. Edonu and Labi Odeng stayed obedient and loyal to Bresi-Ando, while the other clergy (a blood brother, an adopted brother, a nephew, and a former trusted representative) slowly left, licking their wounds, reluctant to admit guilt and give a “written apology to the Church for the Patriarch”²¹⁹. Gradually, the Reunion dismantled. In the fall, Bishop Jones, Bishop Ando-Brew and Rev. Abradu with their constituents met at Nkawkaw in the Eastern Region to discuss what would be their response to Bresi-Ando's strong letter²²⁰. Uncle Ando-Brew wrote his nephew Edonu saying that he was afraid that it “may lead to separation”²²¹. They had said that they knew Bresi-Ando to be a hard man, and that he would send them away if they tried to reunite²²². And so he had. Abradu said that he was afraid of Bresi-Ando and therefore he urged Jones and Ando-Brew to not return any more to the Patriarch²²³. He had seen how the Patriarch had acted in Nigeria—he was “not a man to be taken cheap with any inferior intentions outside his program [...] You can't go to Bresi-Ando and tell him anything more than what he has said”.²²⁴ Thus, Rev. Edonu, being fair in his interviews, revealed the blame to be due—not only to the schismatic tendencies of his clergymen—but also to the unyielding nature of Bresi-Ando. So, says Rev. Edonu, simply “we stopped”²²⁵. The reunion attempt was over. A seemingly complete failure, in the short run.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

²¹⁷ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 26 Oct 1953 entry, File GR3.

²¹⁸ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 21 May 1954 entry, File GR3.

²¹⁹ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 25 May 1954 entry, File GR3.

²²⁰ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 13 September 1954 entry, File GR3.

²²¹ *Ibid.*

²²² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 87.

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Tape 6, Log 2, p. 87.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*

3.3. The after-effects of Bresi-Ando's ejection letter

The cord of African clerical unity that Bresi-Ando had braided in the 1930's in the Gold Coast Colony and Asante Kingdom had frayed in schism during the war years, but it had been woven back together in a real desire for unity on the part of his clergy in the early 1950's. But when Bresi-Ando issued his 1954 document, he cut the cord and destroyed part of his own organization. His "instrument of ejection" ripped apart the reunited diocese. It further dismantled his 1930's efforts, nearly erasing all traces of his 1930's efforts in the Asante lands. While Jones and Abradu looked for another foreign mission to take them under their wing, some entire parishes in early 1955 (specifically, Nkawkaw in the Eastern Region, and Bekwai in the Ashanti Region) opted to move on, leaving *everybody* behind: Jones, Abradu, Ando-Brew, and Edonu²²⁶. Some clergymen quit or retired (such as veteran Asante clergyman Rev. E. Atta Hammond, and even Bishop Ando-Brew himself)²²⁷. Members scattered and mission stations dissolved.

3.3.1. Jones leaves and joins the African Orthodox Church in 1955

On the 1st of April 1955, Bishop Jones informed Bresi-Ando's loyalists that he had resigned and had joined the African Orthodox Church with regional headquarters in South Africa (McGuire's church)²²⁸. He was officially received by Archbishop Daniel William Alexander of South Africa into the African Province of the AOC (this occurred through the mail, as they never met in person)²²⁹. Unable to convince Edonu and Labi Odeng to abandon Bresi-Ando, join his African Orthodox Church and change their name, on 26 July 1955 a defeated Bishop Jones finally "handed over" the control of the Gold Coast diocese back to Deputy Bishop Edonu²³⁰. Three days later the Afro-American missionary left Fante land (and town of Bobikuma) to establish the headquarters of his own new African Orthodox Church back at his home in Kankan, in the northern part of the Eastern Region²³¹. His connection to the "outside world" of so-called "Orthodox" ecclesiastics attracted the attention of his colleagues. In September of that year the first "Synod" of his new

²²⁶ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 03 March 1955 entry, File GR3.

²²⁷ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 26 September 1955 entry, File GR3.

²²⁸ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 04 April 1955 entry, File GR3, (news from 01 April 1955 Quarterly Meeting).

²²⁹ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 140; Richard NEWMAN. "Archbishop Daniel William Alexander and the African Orthodox Church," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 16, n° 4, 1983, p. 627-628.

²³⁰ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 19 July 1955, 26 July 1955, and 29 July 1955 entries, File GR3.

²³¹ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 29 July 1955 entry, File GR3.

Ghanaian branch of the McGuire-Alexander “African Orthodox Church” was held in Kankan, with Abradu and Ando-Brew joining Jones in this venture²³². Ando-Brew also received a certificate authorizing him to be a “bishop” too, and head of the new group (after all, he was Jones’ older “brother” and had always been “senior” to Jones)²³³. He wrote Edonu saying how “they all have organized themselves better”²³⁴. He kindly invited his nephew “to come under them and leave Bresi-Ando who had run away to Nigeria, never to return again”²³⁵. Edonu refused, writing back to reject the offer²³⁶. In his diary Rev. Edonu penned that he quite frankly had “no objection” to what his former (dismissed) colleagues were now doing with this AOC; but as for himself, he “would never be a partner and ever will remain on my ground”—as his Patriarch’s forever-loyal Deputy Bishop²³⁷. After refusing Uncle Ando-Brew’s offer, there was no more communication or attempts at reunion²³⁸. Rev. Edonu hoped that time would smile upon and vindicate his (and Labi Odeng’s) efforts to be loyal to their Prince-Patriarch²³⁹. Rev. Edonu said: “Since then they all decided to depart, to separate themselves [...] All what we said was, ‘Let us hold what we have, maintain it, keep it alive, that’s all, and leave them alone and see who would be successful.’”²⁴⁰ He explained more: “We never believed them that they could succeed and be successful because it was wrong for a student to be more than a teacher.”²⁴¹

Since then they all decided to depart, to separate themselves, we had no interest in them to know what they are about. All what we said was, ‘Let us hold what we have—maintain it—keep it alive—that’s all, and leave them alone and see who would be successful.’ And then we kept our own. We had nothing to do with them—whatever they say, whatever we hear about them—we never believed them that they could succeed and be successful because it was wrong for a student to be more than a teacher.²⁴²

²³² Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 26 September 1955 entry, File GR3.

²³³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1496; FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1165.

²³⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1640.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

²³⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1496.

²³⁷ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 26 September 1955 entry, File GR3.

²³⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1496.

²³⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Tape 6, Log 2, p. 86.

²⁴⁰ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Tape 6, Log 2, p. 86.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

²⁴² *Ibid.*

3.3.2. The end of the Bresi-Ando family work among the Asante: Ando-Brew retires and his breakaway diocese is dead

Very quickly, the new AOC union lost its grip on the aging Ando-Brew. Before the end of 1955 Bishop Ainu Ando-Brew was seen staying at home, no longer wearing the collar²⁴³. (His Kumasi parish had closed long before, in 1943, following the 1942 collapse of his Kumasi school²⁴⁴. However, he had kept busy nursing his nearby outlying stations.) However in 1955 the aged Bishop Ando-Brew was done with clerical ministry. He did not effectively take part in the newly-established Ghanaian branch of the African Orthodox Church (of Jones and Abradu), nor was he seen moving with Bishop Jones any longer²⁴⁵. In reality he never took an active role in this African Orthodox Church venture²⁴⁶. Thus, a real break with Jones had finally occurred²⁴⁷. Jones did not visit his African brother in Kumasi anymore, while the older Ando-Brew finally retired from church life all together in 1955²⁴⁸, losing his last faithful followers to the newer, “exciting”, “spiritual” AICs which were arriving on the scene in the 1950’s—indigenous churches offering drumming, dancing, divine healing, prophets and prophecies²⁴⁹. In the context of this new religious competition, Ando-Brew’s few remaining mission stations and parishes in the outskirts of Kumasi—Senfi, Ejisu, and Sewua—dissolved as his pastoral care ceased²⁵⁰, but his parish at Onwe lasted until his death²⁵¹. His nephew, E. K. Johnson, also explained that his uncle’s remaining clergy were no longer being paid by him at this time nor giving any accounting to him. Thus, they easily took their local parishes to themselves or quit²⁵². Due to this clergy shortage, a certain loyal church elder named Dwufoo had been trying on his own to keep the Asante Kumawu District functional, but when he retired and returned to his home in Bekwai in the 1950’s, the four parishes—Kumawu, Besoro, Amanfrom and Wonno—closed²⁵³. Moreover, the mission stations

²⁴³ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1681-1682.

²⁴⁴ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1685-1686.

²⁴⁵ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1681-1682.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1689; FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW and Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1268-1269.

²⁵⁰ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1688-1689.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

²⁵² *Ibid.*

²⁵³ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1163, 1171.

in Dunkwa-Kyekyewere, Dunkwa-Adwumamu, Nsuta-Chebi, plus those far to the north—Navrongo and Bawku—had been lost long ago²⁵⁴.

When Bishop Ando-Brew finally expired in Kumasi on 17 July 1958²⁵⁵, Bishop Jones—as the next highest-ranking clergyman in their group—officially assumed the role of full supremacy over the remaining Asante parishes²⁵⁶. In 1960 he was appointed by the leadership of the McGuire organization to be the “Archbishop” of their newly-minted AOC “Province of West Africa,” which meant that he was no longer under Archbishop Alexander in South Africa²⁵⁷. There were only a few residual Asante parishes from his former huge pastoral circuit: the parish of Akrokyere (Sekyere District), and Anwanya, Atwea, Kuruwi (in the Nsuta District)²⁵⁸. Jones’ other parishes outside of the Asante Kingdom included Kankan (Eastern Region), Ankyease (ER), Larteh (ER), and Wamaso (ER), and Peki (Volta Region)²⁵⁹. In the decade and a half following Ando-Brew’s death, Bishop Jones kept going around visiting his parishes to bring them Holy Communion, trying to keep them alive, despite the severe clergy shortage²⁶⁰. However, he could not be everywhere at the same time, and with the lack of day-to-day pastoral care, members scattered²⁶¹. It is not clear why he did not train and ordain more clergy or catechists. When old Bishop Jones was doing some new missionary work far to the east in Peki, in the Volta Region, he called for Rev. Abradu to go to the Kumawu and Nsuta parishes to renew them, but Abradu did not go²⁶². He was not a traveler like Jones, and the two had difficulty agreeing at times. Due to this internal discord, no catechist or deacon was sent to replace Dwufoo and thus the collapsed Kumawu parishes were gone forever²⁶³. Except for the parish in the village of Akrokyere (which always had a dedicated

²⁵⁴ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1163, 1173. The two Dunkwa parishes died when catechist Brebo left somewhere between 1945-1946.

²⁵⁵ FFN, Examination and reading of the Last Will of Rev. Ainoo ANDO-BREW, which gave his Date of Death: 17 July 1958 at Kumasi, AR, GH. The Will was provided by his son Earnest ANDO-BREW and read out-loud by Andrew J. ANDERSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Tape 82, Log 20, p. 1251.

²⁵⁶ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1165.

²⁵⁷ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 140; Richard NEWMAN. “Archbishop Daniel William Alexander [...]” p. 627-628.

²⁵⁸ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1153, and Log 19, p. 1163; FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1688. Johnson differs with Sarkodie-Aidoo and held that only Onwe and Akrokyere were alive when his uncle died in 1958.

²⁵⁹ Minutes of the Ad Hoc Clerical Synod [...], p. 3; Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 15 January 1952 entry, File GR3; FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1153.

²⁶⁰ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1153.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1152-1153.

²⁶² FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO, Accra, GAR, GH, 15 October 1994, Log 19, p. 1172.

²⁶³ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1171.

catechist stationed there), due to pastoral neglect and lack of clergy the Nsuta District (Kuruwi, Anwanya, Atwea) also decreased²⁶⁴. By the time of Jones' death in 1975, they too had expired, according to Fr. John Sarkodie-Aidoo²⁶⁵. However, these three stations actually might have died already back in the 1950's. Bishop Jones reported to researcher Richard Newman in a personal interview in Accra in 1971 that only *six* parishes followed him into the African Orthodox Church jurisdiction in 1955²⁶⁶. Just the same, there may be another explanation for this number (see footnote)²⁶⁷.

Styling himself as the next “bishop”—but not ordained as such—Abradu inherited what was left of Jones' circuit²⁶⁸. Until his death in 1985²⁶⁹, Rev. Abradu oversaw the solitary remaining Asante parish of Akrokyere, plus his five non-Asante parishes (Kankan, Ankyease, Kwaboanta, Peki, and his own small Larteh group), eventually “ordaining” priests for each location²⁷⁰. To his credit, this act helped preserve these six parishes for a better day. The parishioners of Akrokyere, Ankyease, and Kwaboanta, along with the remnants of his Kankan and Larteh parishes, were received into the Patriarchate of Alexandria in 1987, five years after the canonical reception of Edonu and Labi Odeng's loyalist group²⁷¹.

Thus, the work of the two Bresi-Ando brothers (Ebenezer and Earnest) in the Asante Kingdom came to an end, failing to stand the test of time—except for the parish of Akrokyere and its ever-faithful pastor, Fr. John Sarkodie-Aidoo. This was all that remained of Bresi-Ando's former far-

²⁶⁴ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO, Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1163.

²⁶⁵ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO, Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1152-1153, and Log 19, p. 1163, and 15 October 1994, Log 19, p. 1172, 1179.

²⁶⁶ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 140, 145 footnote 26. Personal interview by Richard Newman with the Most. Rev. Carey Harold Jones, in Accra, Ghana, 01 July 1971.

²⁶⁷ Unless verified by documents from the “African Orthodox Church” dating from 1955, there is an alternative view explaining why Jones might have said that only “six” mission stations followed him into the AOC. In 1971, during the time of his interview by Newman, the other older parishes, such as the three in Nsuta and any residuals around Kumasi, were dead, although they might not have all been dead in 1955. Jones might have said “six” to Newman, because those were the only ones *still active* in 1971. Unless 1955 documentation is unearthed to prove otherwise, we have placed Jones' word against Fr. John Sarkodie-Aidoo's best recollection.

²⁶⁸ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO, Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1164-1165.

²⁶⁹ Joseph ABRADU AMOAH and Solomon Otu ABRADU, Accra, GAR, GH, 18 June 1994, Abradu file, p. 2, File GR20. Rev. Michael Abradu Amoah died on 19 November 1985, instructing his followers to join the canonical Eastern Orthodox Church, as Rev. Edonu and Rev. Labi Odeng had done.

²⁷⁰ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO, Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1179.

²⁷¹ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO, Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1124, and Log 19, p. 1183.

flung Asante diocese—the Diocese of St. Peter III of Antioch²⁷². Only this single Asante parish and this solitary Asante priest continued active until the 1980's, and were received into the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria along with Edonu's parishes and remnants of the Jones/Abradu African Orthodox Church organization. Reasons for the decline of membership in the African Universal Orthodox Catholic Church's former Asante diocese can be summarized owing to *four* causes:

- 1) The cocoa collapse: the negative financial impact of the 1939 failure of Ebibirpim Limited was the first major reason for decline in Bresi-Ando's Asante parishes²⁷³.
- 2) Schism: the rupture between the two Bresi-Ando brothers; clergymen started each to do his own thing, bringing confusion, disunity and disorder, resulting in a loss in membership²⁷⁴.
- 3) Lack of pastoral care: parishes and mission stations evaporated when the pastors failed to visit them²⁷⁵.
- 4) The rise of the "spiritual" churches in Ghana: the "spiritual side" of Ando-Brew's church defected to join these new Pentecostal/Charismatic-style AICs (i.e. the spiritually-minded ones, the miracle-seekers, and the women who wanted to dance in church) left the liturgical church of Ando-Brew and Jones²⁷⁶.

²⁷² Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 243.

²⁷³ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1159.

²⁷⁴ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1689.

²⁷⁵ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1152.

²⁷⁶ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1689. Earnest Ando-Brew (Jr.) and nephew Elijah K. Johnson felt that Ando-Brew in the Asante should have transformed his AIC into a "spiritual church" as Rev. Edonu had done down south with his Guild of St. Raphael in order to keep members. They saw the growth of the "spiritual" AICs which exploded in the 1950's in Ghana, as church members seeking a tangible "power experience" of miracles from God "ran out" of the older more conventional European-styled liturgical churches (which in Ghana are misleadingly labelled "orthodox") to join these new "spiritual" churches whose pastors could "do for you" (i.e. heal you when you needed healing). Thus, the "spiritual side" of Ando-Brew's churches "ran out" to join the MDCC and a local Ghanaian group of Pentecostals known as "the Apostolics." Also, these newer indigenous churches allowed African-style singing and dancing in their worship—while they rejected liturgies, candles, altar tables, and various forms of "imported" formal worship. Since the women in Ghana love to dance, these churches had greater appeal, according to Ando-Brew's son Earnest. Rev. Edonu's success lay not only in his loyalty to his uncle's "Orthodox Catholic" church, but also in his ability to transform his AIC into both a "spiritual" church and a "liturgical" church at the same time, bridging a strange divide that came to be established in Ghanaian Christianity. (FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW and Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1268-1269)

4. Bresi-Ando's Grand Return to the Gold Coast (Dec. 1955 – Feb. 1956)

Back in 1955—the year that Bishop Ando-Brew finally retired from ministry, and the year that Bishop Jones got himself linked up with the “African Orthodox Church” of Archbishops Alexander and McGuire—Rev. Edonu and Rev. Labi Odeng felt déjà vu. All alone once again, without Uncle Ando-Brew, without “Uncle” Jones, without cousin Adentwi, nor even cousin Abradu, again as before Rev. Edonu and Rev. Labi Odeng agreed to hold the fort and to be ever faithful to their Catholicos Prince-Patriarch Bresi-Ando and his Orthodox Catholic Church, even if all the others had left. Years later, in hindsight Rev. Edonu admitted that Bresi-Ando's absence and his failed emancipationist aspirations, especially the crushed economic dream, were largely responsible for the departure of his former clergy. He explained that it was not easy to keep a church organization going without active leadership and appropriate funding:

Whatever that has happened in my life [...] could have made me resign. That is why everybody went away. They could not go [*forward*], because there was no helper, no teacher, no money.²⁷⁷

4.1. Dragged home

Theirs was not an easy task, carrying Bresi-Ando's banner alone, without a helper, or teacher, or money. On top of this challenge, priests Edonu and Labi Odeng were always defending their absent hierarch all by themselves while people continued to mock Bresi-Ando, saying he ran away. Four times they had gone to arbitration in Larteh to defend Bresi-Ando's AIC—in 1943, in 1944, in 1945, and again in 1955²⁷⁸. Jones and Abradu had gone to the chief of Larteh in the fall of 1955 with their complaint, claiming that Edonu and Labi Odeng had driven Bishop Jones out of the church²⁷⁹. In his defense, Rev. Edonu made it clear to the chief “that Jones and Abradu resigned by themselves”²⁸⁰, having refused to send Bresi-Ando a written apology²⁸¹. Just the same, the

²⁷⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 02 October 1992, Log 15, p. 919.

²⁷⁸ Isaac Vincent ADJAKWA. Affidavit of Isaac Vincent Adjakwa of the African Catholic Church to the Pastor in Charge and Elders of the Afri. Uni. (OC) Church, Kubease Larteh, Accra, 27 February 1946, File GR1.38; Father Kweku Kurefi [*sic.*] EDONU. Affidavit by the Reverend Father Kweku Kurefi [*sic.*] Edonu in reply to Isaac Vincent Adjakwa's Affidavit – 27.2.46, Agona Swedru, 12 March 1946, File GR1.39; Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 23 September 1955 and 9-11 October 1955 entries, File GR3; FFN, Rev. Gregory Labi ODENG. Larteh, ER, GH, 11 April 1994, Log 8, p. 414; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1711-1713, and 21 July 1994, Log 30, p. 1878.

²⁷⁹ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 09 October 1955 entry, File GR3.

²⁸⁰ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 29 July 1955 and 09 October 1955 entries, File GR3.

²⁸¹ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 25 May 1954 entry, File GR3.

chief wanted to know why the name “Africa Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church” had been shortened to “Orthodox Catholic,” basically wondering if Bresi-Ando was still in charge or was this a new organization²⁸². This 09 October 1955 court case was the last straw. Alone, the ever-faithful duo finally *had enough!* The very next day Edonu and Labi Odeng decided that their delinquent Patriarch would have to *make good* on his promise and return home *immediately* or else they too would *quit!*²⁸³ Therefore, on 24 November 1955 Rev. Labi Odeng flew alone to Nigeria to bring Patriarch Bresi-Ando down to Gold Coast *by force* “before Christmas” to “face the music”—whatever will come—be it court or prison or fines or shame²⁸⁴. In Nigeria, Rev. Labi Odeng gave Bresi-Ando their ultimatum: come now or else his last faithful men (Edonu, Labi Odeng) would leave him too²⁸⁵.

4.2. A “Hero’s welcome”

The emotional pressure worked. Just before Christmas, on 21 December 1955, the extremely tardy Patriarch Bresi-Ando—after nearly *14 years* of absence—returned to the Gold Coast along with Rev. Labi Odeng for a *two-month* long arch-pastoral visit in full hierarchical style, displaying all of his usual charm and class²⁸⁶. As if he had only been away for a short while, the Catholicos Patriarch proudly toured all of his few remaining faithful parish stations and was received with joy and song²⁸⁷. There was a parade in Bobikuma with a marching band and lots of photo opportunities, as well as an official church Synod meeting²⁸⁸. On the 29th of December the Prince-Patriarch Catholicos visited Fomena and his old colleague Chief Adams (see photos, p. 798, App. D) and blessed the grounds for the new Shrine of St. Raphael, breathing renewed life into its stalled construction project, and as a result it finally got built in 1956²⁸⁹. At Afransi he preached “for two

²⁸² Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 09 October 1955 entry, File GR3.

²⁸³ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 10 October 1955 entry, File GR3; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 995, and 23 July 1994, Log 31, p. 1959.

²⁸⁴ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 23 November 1955 entry (giving news of Labi Odeng’s departure on the 24th) and 06 December 1955 entry, File GR3; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 July 1994, Log 31, p. 1959.

²⁸⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 July 1994, Log 31, p. 1959.

²⁸⁶ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 21 December 1955 entry, File GR3.

²⁸⁷ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 21 December 1955 to 24 February 1956 entries, File GR3.

²⁸⁸ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 13 January 1956 entry, File GR3. General Secretary Rev. K. A. EYITEY. Minutes of the Synod held at Bobikuma, The Catholic Apostolic Church, Catholicate of the South, (African), commonly called The Orthodox Catholic Church, 3-6 February 1956, GR1.47.

²⁸⁹ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 29 December 1955 entry, File GR3; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 03 March 1994, Log 10, p. 558-559, and 30 July 1955, Log 31, p. 1960.

hours”²⁹⁰. At Larteh, the Prince-Patriarch “made a declaration in the Church about the dismissed Priests: Ando-Brew, C. H. Jones, and K. A. Abradu,” personally confirming their dismissal which had been conveyed by mail in his 1954 “instrument of ejectment”²⁹¹. Bresi-Ando’s physical presence confirmed to the chief in Larteh that indeed he—the Prince-Patriarch-Catholicos—was still very much in charge of his Gold Coast diocese. This ended all further dispute in the chief’s court over who was in charge of the Larteh parish²⁹². Rev. Labi Odeng (pastor of Larteh) and Rev. Edonu (Bishop’s Deputy) now looked like real heroes—the loyal soldiers of a triumphant general. However, to solve the critical need for reinforcements (i.e. more clergy), Revs. Bortey, Beedu, Botwe and Ankuma were ordained to the priesthood²⁹³. The Patriarch also made sure to visit his family members both in Apam and in the Asante²⁹⁴. He had a very loving personal reunion with his elder brother Ando-Brew in Kumasi, embracing him and exchanging the Ghanaian childhood greeting of love: “*A-tu!*”²⁹⁵ Eye-witness Rev. Edonu remembers being “really inspired” seeing the way Ando-Brew greeted his younger brother Bresi-Ando: “as if he had seen an angel”²⁹⁶. As they embraced, Edonu remembers marveling: “Look at these people who call themselves ‘enemies’ quarrelling in papers! Amazing!”²⁹⁷ However, Edonu noted that Bresi-Ando received Ando-Brew warmly as a brother, not officially as a priest²⁹⁸.

4.3. Edonu and Labi Odeng’s loyalty is vindicated

Bresi-Ando’s triumphant visit stopped the mouths of many who were calling him a “run-away” and vindicated Revs. Edonu and Labi Odeng who, for almost 14 years, had been loyally struggling to keep Bresi-Ando’s organization alive since early 1942²⁹⁹. There was no court case concerning overdue cocoa payments, no jail, no fines, no embarrassments. This was a great relief to Edonu and Labi Odeng and the rest of his faithful.

²⁹⁰ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 15 January 1956 entry, File GR3.

²⁹¹ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 04 January 1956 entry, File GR3.

²⁹² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 July 1994, Log 31, p. 1961.

²⁹³ General Secretary Rev. K. A. EYITEY. Minutes of the Synod held at Bobikuma [...], p. 1, GR1.47; Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 05 February 1956 entry, File GR3.

²⁹⁴ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 22 January 1956 and 27-28 January 1956 entries, File GR3.

²⁹⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 960.

²⁹⁶ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 35, Log 16, p. 960.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 960.

²⁹⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 July 1994, Log 27, p.1726.

4.4. Political visits during the dawn of Ghana's nationhood

As the election year of 1956 was the dawn before Ghana's coming 1957 Independence Year, Bresi-Ando (accompanied by eye-witness Edonu) visited his old political friends, Dr. Danquah³⁰⁰, Lawyer Kobina Sekyi³⁰¹, and Mr. Kojo Botsio, who joked with Bresi-Ando saying, "Oh, big man! You have come! There goes my seat [*in Parliament*]!"³⁰² Dr. Danquah, the "dean of Ghanaian nationalist politicians" and current head of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) political party, was the leading opponent against his younger archrival, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, who had broken from the UGCC to start the Convention People's Party (CPP)³⁰³. Dr. Danquah inquired of Bresi-Ando, who during the 1930's had moved freely among these politicians preaching emancipation: "So, Bishop, where have you been? The Self-Government has come now. These young boys don't listen to advice and where are you?"³⁰⁴ And exactly who were these "young boys" that the "dean of politicians" was referring to? "Nkrumah and his gang," Rev. Edonu clarified³⁰⁵. Dr. Danquah then personally "requested P.P. [*Prince-Patriarch Bresi-Ando*] to endeavor to see Dr. Nkrumah (Prime Minister) before he goes away" to Nigeria³⁰⁶. Edonu did not know exactly what Dr. Danquah had in mind that Bresi-Ando should convey to Nkrumah, but as the Patriarch had some influence with these "big men", he concluded that Bresi-Ando was being asked to "express his mind towards Self-Government"³⁰⁷. Bresi-Ando's wife Joana claimed that her husband—being friends of both Danquah and Nkrumah, the two main political contenders in the upcoming 1956 Independence election—had helped broker some sort of peace in the political dispute between the two just prior to Ghana's Independence³⁰⁸. This is an interesting family story but hard to prove, as Edonu insisted that Bresi-Ando left the Gold Coast in February of 1956

³⁰⁰ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 15 February 1956 entry, File GR3.

³⁰¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 998, and 11 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1600.

³⁰² Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 03 February 1956 entry, File GR3; RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 37, Log 16, p. 996-998; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1098-1106.

³⁰³ The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica. "J.B. Danquah," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 09 April 2018, (page consulted on 09 November 2018), <https://www.britannica.com/biography/J-B-Danquah>, par. 1 and 3.

³⁰⁴ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Tape 59, Log 18, p. 1099-1101.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1101.

³⁰⁶ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 15 February 1956 entry, File GR3.

³⁰⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 July 1994, Log 31, p. 1966.

³⁰⁸ FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 17, p. 1058, and 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1288.

without ever visiting or talking to the Prime Minister Nkrumah, as his time was short and it took too long to get the official appointment before leaving for Nigeria³⁰⁹. Rev. Edonu traveled with Bresi-Ando everywhere he went during his two-month visit to the Gold Coast and said that he never saw the bishop speak with Dr. Nkrumah, although Bresi-Ando had sent a telegram to the Prime Minister requesting an appointment to see him³¹⁰. In fact, Bresi-Ando himself had desired to meet with Nkrumah and had already sent the telegram ten days before Danquah made his request³¹¹.

4.5. Bresi-Ando's political word of warning to Nkrumah

Although the 1956 visit with Kwame Nkrumah never happened, but Bresi-Ando did send a communication to his old pen-pal friend before flying home to Nigeria. In pure Bresi-Ando style, an extremely wordy official telegram was sent from the “Prince-Patriarch and Catholicos Bresi Ando” to the “Prime Minister and government” offering Nkrumah “hearty congratulations” upon the upcoming national Independence, promising due loyalty, and seeking an audience³¹². He pledged “closest cooperation in greater tasks lying beyond” while “praying for Divine guidance and sense responsibility stemming from higher patriotism whereby government will within limits [of] sound democracy peacefully land fatherland safely on shore [of] self rule not self ruin”³¹³. From the text of the telegram—urging “*self rule not self ruin*”—one wonders if Bresi-Ando could smell the brewing of the coming political trouble? Did he see the emerging dictatorial tendencies of Kwame Nkrumah—a one party system in which all who disagreed with him were deemed his “enemies”?³¹⁴

³⁰⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1098, and 30 July 1994, Log 31, p. 1966.

³¹⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 July 1994, Log 31, p. 1967; Most Revd. Dr. K. N. BRESI-ANDO. Telegram to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, [...], GR1.47.

³¹¹ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary of Rev. K. K. Edonu: February 1951-May 1957, 15 February 1956 entry, File GR3; Most Revd. Dr. K. N. BRESI-ANDO. Telegram to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, [...], 06 February 1956, GR1.47.

³¹² Most Revd. Dr. K. N. BRESI-ANDO. Telegram to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, 06 February 1956, in Rev. K. A. EYITEY, General Secretary. Bobikuma Synod Minutes, The Catholic Apostolic Church, Catholicate of the South, (African), commonly called The Orthodox Catholic Church, 3rd to 6th February, 1956, p. 2, File GR1.47.

³¹³ *Ibid.*

³¹⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 July 1994, Log 31, p. 1966.

“*Self rule not self ruin*” are strong words of warning to an old friend, begging for caution “within [the] limits” of “sound democracy.” These are not simply empty tokens of congratulations. Due to their previous intimate friendship, one wonders if Bresi-Ando could foresee how President Nkrumah within a decade would bankrupt the new Ghana, selfishly grab all power to himself in a one-party state as he crushed the very democracy of the “*self rule*” that he had helped birth, while bringing the new country to the verge of “*self ruin*” prior to the political coup that ousted him in 1966³¹⁵? Was this new Ghana going to be too unstable for Bresi-Ando who perhaps sensed something dangerous in the Eastern Block socialist/communist leanings of the new President—the same man who would later put his arch-opponent Dr. Danquah into jail (along with others!) and leave him there as an enemy to die³¹⁶? Was it going to be too uncomfortable—and unsafe—for the well-known, respected and out-spoken Bresi-Ando to stay in this new Ghana, due to his former close political acquaintances? Perhaps it was so. Such would explain the fact that after his triumphant two-month whirlwind tour of the Gold Coast, the Prince-Patriarch—whom some folks thought was planning on staying—left the country on 24 February 1956 and flew back to Nigeria where he stayed put for *another 14 years*, until he finally returned home for good in 1970.³¹⁷ Some questions may never be answered definitively. Even though Bresi-Ando referred to himself in the telegram as a “nationalist”, to which nation was he most attached³¹⁸? Yet even if Bresi-Ando did not foresee the disaster that the new President was to become, Nkrumah’s “Preventive Detention Act” of 1958 (allowing him the right to detain anyone for up to five years without a trial and which he began to use to imprison his ideological opponents) would have been reason enough to keep Bresi-Ando comfortably situated in faraway Nigeria for a long, long time³¹⁹. Bresi-Ando avoided returning home to Ghana during President Nkrumah’s entire decade in power (1957-1966), but then the Patriarch found himself stuck in Nigeria for the duration of the Nigerian Civil War (the Biafran War) from 1967 to 1970³²⁰.

³¹⁵ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 181-183, 191, 193, 194, 201-203, 205, 208.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 182, 192, 196, 201; LaVerle BERRY (Ed.). “Nkrumah, Ghana, and Africa,” *Ghana: A Country Study*, Coll. “Area Handbook Series,” Washington, D.C., Federal Research Division, U.S. Library of Congress, 1994, put online 1994, (page consulted on 27 August 2015), <http://countrystudies.us/ghana/15.htm>, par. 1-3.

³¹⁷ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 24 February 1956 entry, File GR3.

³¹⁸ Most Revd. Dr. K. N. BRESI-ANDO. Telegram to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, [...], GR1.47.

³¹⁹ LaVerle BERRY (Ed.). “Nkrumah, Ghana, and Africa,” par. 2.; Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 192.

³²⁰ Paul E. LOVEJOY. “Historical Setting,” *Nigeria: A Country Study*, 5th ed., Coll. “Area Handbook Series,” Helen Chapin Metz (Ed.), Washington, Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1992, p. 50, 60.

4.6. Asked to be the Apam MP in Parliament

Before he travelled, loving admirers asked Bresi-Ando to represent them in Parliament. The Gomoa Fante youth from Apam and the Central Region who were working and living in the port town of Takoradi (located to the west of Cape Coast) were excited in 1956 to once again see their beloved Fante leader and bishop³²¹. Offering him a traditional bottle of rum, the Secretary and Chairman of the Apam movement of dock workers asked Bresi-Ando to stay permanently and represent their Gomoa State in the Self-Government of Ghana, taking the seat from their current local representative, Mr. Kojo Botsio³²². Bresi-Ando told the Apam dock workers that he would go settle a few matters in Nigeria and then return home to Apam for good³²³. People really thought that Bresi-Ando was going to move back to Ghana to stay³²⁴. His cousin in Apam, J. B. Hinson, in full expectation that Bresi-Ando would return and get into Ghanaian politics, offered his spacious home in Apam for the Patriarch to live in, since a Member of Parliament would need a grand home in his local constituency³²⁵. He even painted it and removed the tenants in preparation for Bresi-Ando to take up residency. Word was sent to Bresi-Ando that the Apam house was now ready for his occupancy, but “he never came”³²⁶. Similarly, Bresi-Ando had promised the Apam dock workers that he would come “and he never came”³²⁷. Bresi-Ando in 1956 had even told Dr. Danquah that he “was going to come,” but did not keep that promise³²⁸. It looked like Bresi-Ando was decidedly exiling himself in Nigeria *once again*, using empty promises as his form of “good-bye”.

4.7. Bresi-Ando chooses Nigerian politics over Ghanaian

From years of hind-sight, Rev. Edonu was able to put pieces together and conclude that his uncle had preferred Nigerian politics over Ghanaian³²⁹. Rev. Edonu said his uncle was involved in politics in his part of Nigeria and therefore did not want to spend too much time in the Gold

³²¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 997-998, and 10 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1104-1105.

³²² *Ibid.*

³²³ *Ibid.*, Log 18, p. 1103.

³²⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 960.

³²⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1105.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1103.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1101.

³²⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 24 February 1994, Log, 20, p. 1289-1290.

Coast³³⁰. He remembered how Bresi-Ando was always telling him and the other Ghanaian clergy how he “leads the people in Nigeria”³³¹. This is true in a certain limited sense, because Prof. Assimeng was impressed to state in his research that Bresi-Ando was a “founding member” of Azikiwe’s NCNC party, which started in 1944³³². Nephew Edonu’s opinion was that his uncle was so “tight” with his circle of Nigerian admirers who loved him—who “circled him”—that he could not get free to return to his home land.³³³ Even though he had been asked to return to Ghana and was offered votes for a seat in the new independent Parliament by some dockworkers from Apam, Bresi-Ando led his nephew to believe that he considered the political prospects in Nigeria to be much more promising³³⁴. (In 1956 he obviously *did not see* the future Biafran/Civil War looming.) When Rev. Edonu pestered his uncle for a reason for his political preference, he learned that Bresi-Ando feared that his presence in the new Ghana would only get in the way and be a nuisance to the serious power players—like Nkrumah—of whom he now had a negative political opinion³³⁵. He feared that once Nkrumah held the reins of government, he would not easily relinquish them³³⁶. So, Bresi-Ando got away by saying “I’m coming” when in reality he was “going” with no intention of returning home soon³³⁷. (Ghanaians often use the expression “I’m coming” or “I’m going to come” when they leave.) Once he was back in Nigeria Bresi-Ando reported to his wife that the Ghanaians had been asking for his return—a request that he chose to ignore³³⁸.

However, before Bresi-Ando returned to his chosen land of “safe” exile in 1956, the Prince-Patriarch looked at the young son of Fr. Labi Odeng and prophesied that in the future he would succeed him as the church’s “leader”³³⁹. Although this younger “Kwame” Ayete Labi did not grow up to become a bishop, he did grow up to serve a very critically important leading role as the “pioneer” who attended St. Vladimir’s Orthodox Theological Seminary in America in the late 1970’s and was the first to bring home the teachings and practices of canonical Eastern Orthodoxy to Ghana in 1982, in preparation for the reception of Bresi-Ando’s AIC into the Patriarchate of

³³⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 July 1994, Log 31, p. 1966.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1967.

³³² Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 66; Paul E. LOVEJOY. “Historical Setting,” p. 41.

³³³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 July 1994, Log 27, p. 1730.

³³⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 24 February 1994, Log, 20, p. 1289-1290.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1290.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1289.

³³⁸ FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1292.

³³⁹ FFN, Mrs. Gertrude LABI. Accra, GAR, GH, 11 May 1994, Log 9, p. 467.

Alexandria later that same year. He then for many years served as the 1st Secretary-General of the Ghanaian Orthodox community, helping transition the group into the beliefs and liturgical practices of canonical Orthodoxy.

Conclusion

The war years of the early 1940's proved very difficult for Bresi-Ando and his loyalists, as senior clergymen went into schism and ripped his Gold Coast AIC into shreds due to his absence. Bishop Jones resigned and started his own copy-cat AIC, only to get interdicted by Bresi-Ando via the mail. Rev. Abradu, who had quit Bresi-Ando in Nigeria, returned to the Gold Coast to join Jones in a collaboration that lasted their lifetime. There ensued a struggle for control of Bresi-Ando's Gold Coast and Asante parishes. As more and more of Bresi-Ando's parishes and schools closed during this Time of Troubles, a new leader emerged in the person of young priest Kweku K. Edonu, who salvaged the Central Region circuit of parishes and kept them faithfully for Bresi-Ando until death. The Prince-Patriarch never ordained Edonu a "bishop", but did mail him a mandate to act as his "Deputy Bishop" on his behalf.

During the latter 1940's Bresi-Ando's shrunken Gold Coast AIC entered its Third Era of Reformation, during which its name was shortened to "The Orthodox Catholic Church" while its theology abandoned "Monophysitism" and the "Jacobites" forever. Bresi-Ando joined communion with some of the Vilatte *episcopi vagantes* who had forsaken their Jacobite past and "established" a rival "Antiochene" Patriarchate in England in which a certain Mar Georgius was named the "Catholicos of the West." Bresi-Ando accepted his invitation to become their new *non-Jacobite* "Catholicos" of Africa—"the South". Bresi-Ando boldly announced his new status on his grand, new letterhead: "The Catholic Apostolic Church – Catholicate of the South."

Wearied by their lonely defense of the absent Patriarch-turned-Catholicos, Rev. Edonu and Labi Odeng braved a long trip to Nigeria in 1949 to beg their leader to come home. Bresi-Ando wrote for them his "Instrument of Inauguration," a Charter for the Guild of St. Raphael prayer group through which his Gold Coast AIC would experience a charismatic spiritual reformation and transform into a Second Wave AIC. Promising a soon return, the Prince-Patriarch chose to delay in Nigeria for another six years.

The early 1950's was the "Era of Reunion" during which the entirety of Bresi-Ando's Gold Coast Diocese and Asante Diocese—all remaining clergy and parishes—attempted to turn back the clock of time and reunite under their former Prince-Patriarch with the name: the Orthodox Catholic Church. However, Bresi-Ando posted his 1954 "instrument of ejectment" against his former clergymen—Ando-Brew, Jones, and Abradu—confirming their worst fears. The after-effects of Bresi-Ando's letter destroyed much of his own work. Bishop Jones and Fr. Abradu left to join McGuire's "African Orthodox Church" in 1955, while Bishop Ando-Brew went into retirement. Thus, the missionary work of the Bresi-Ando family among the Asante diminished down to a single parish—Akrokyere. The breakaway northern diocese was dead.

By Christmas of 1955, Bresi-Ando had been away from home for nearly 14 years. Extremely frustrated, nephew Edonu sent Rev. Labi Odeng a second time to Nigeria, this time to drag the Prince-Patriarch "home" to "face the music" of his accusers who still called him "a run-away". Instead of returning in shame, Bresi-Ando's two-month whirlwind tour of his remaining Gold Coast organization turned into a grand "hero's welcome," during which he was received warmly by faithful, family, and politicians. No charges of financial mismanagement of the 1939 cocoa money were made and the stubborn loyalty of Revs. Edonu and Labi Odeng was vindicated. The words of warning from the Patriarch to power-hungry Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah, his old pen-pal, offer a clue of his possible fear of the coming political calamity in Ghana, and perhaps are a reason for Bresi-Ando's unwillingness to live in the newly independent Ghana, where very shortly thereafter Nkrumah began to put his political opposition, such as Dr. Danquah, into prison. Bresi-Ando had always been so very careful to stay out of British jails as he preached emancipation; he certainly would not have wanted to enter a Ghanaian jail alongside his friend, Dr. Danquah, during Ghana's Independence. However, remaining in Nigeria itself was to become a gulag experience for Bresi-Ando as the new country entered its famous Biafran Civil War. The next and final biographical chapter will outline the conclusion to Bresi-Ando's career and life, relating the affairs of his Ghanaian AIC during his next 14 years of pastoral abandonment (1956-1970), his ramping up of activities within Nigerian politics, his sufferings during the Biafran War, and his final return home to Ghana to die in 1970.

SECTION TWO: THE LIFE OF REV. KWAMIN N. BRESI-ANDO (1884-1970)

CHAPTER 12 BIOGRAPHY PART E—ABANDONMENT AND DEATH, 1956-1970

Purpose

The purpose of this fifth and final biographical chapter of Section Two is to conclude the story of Bresi-Ando's life, answering the main question, and related inquiries: What happened to the Prince-Patriarch from the time he returned to Nigeria in 1956 until his death in 1970? How did he keep his Ghanaian AIC alive and operational during this, his final extended stay in Nigeria? What involvement did he have with the politics in Nigeria? How did the turmoil of the Nigerian Civil War (Biafran War, 1967-1970) affect Bresi-Ando's churches in that country as well as his oversight of his Ghanaian flock? How did he survive, and then return to his homeland, and then die?

Sources

Rev. Edonu's interviews, personal diaries, and church logs fully document the efforts made by him and Rev. Gregory Labi Odeng to keep Bresi-Ando's ministry and AIC alive in Ghana during his renewed absence from Ghana, from 1956 to 1970. They leaned heavily upon the spiritual, charismatic element of their mission. The archives of the Orthodox Church in Ghana produced samples of programs used by Rev. Edonu and Rev. Labi Odeng for their AIC's annual spiritual revival gathering: the Anniversary of the Spiritual Healing Revival at the Shrine of the Guild of St. Raphael, Gomoa Fomena. (Copies are located in Anderson's Ghana Fulbright File GR2.)

Programme, Third Anniversary of the Spiritual Healing Revival at the Shrine of the Guild of St. Raphael, Gomoa Fomena, 7th to 10th January 1960;
 Programme, Fourth Anniversary of the Spiritual Healing Revival at the Shrine of the Guild of St. Raphael, Gomoa Fomena, 13th to 15th January 1961;
 Programme, Fifth Anniversary of the Divine Healing Revival at the Shrine of the Guild of St. Raphael, Gomoa Fomena, 18th to 21st January 1962;
 Programme, Sixth Anniversary of the Divine Healing Revival at the Shrine of the Guild of St. Raphael, Gomoa Fomena, 17th to 20th January 1963
 Programme, Annual Spiritual Revival of the Orthodox Church, Ghana, 26th to 30th January 1987

Certain important letters sent by Bresi-Ando to his old friend, Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah, 1957 reveal Bresi-Ando's deepest concerns for the future of his homeland as it embarked upon its own new status as an independent state.

Bresi-Ando's "Programme of Events, Gold Coast Community in Aba,
Celebration of Ghana Independence Day, Wednesday, March 6, 1957";
his 27 March 1957 letter to the Ghanaian Minister of External Affairs,
Dr. Kwame Nkrumah;
his 03 April 1957 letter to new Prime Minister of the newly independent
Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

The 1960's is the thinnest time period in the Patriarch's biography, with no letters from Bresi-Ando on file. However, a few of his letters dated 1970 were found are in the church archives. An important one is his 24 July 1970 letter to Dr. K. A. Busia, Prime Minister of Ghana. Thus, the research on Bresi-Ando's missing years (1957-1969), detailing his political adventures in Nigeria, depends primarily upon interviews with Mrs. Joana Bresi-Ando, with some help from the preliminary work done by Dr. Max Assimeng. Like myself, the professor too had interviewed Mrs. Joana Bresi-Ando, who relates the dramatic details of their survival during the terrible Civil War in Nigeria. Information also is drawn from interviews of their nephew, Rev. Kyriakos Edonu, who welcomed them back home in 1970 after the 2 ½ year war had ended. Rev. Edonu's diaries and church log entries solidly establish the key dates.

Only a few secondary sources are utilized. Paul E. Lovejoy's chapter, "Historical Setting," in *Nigeria: A Country Study* (1991), edited by Helen C. Metz, offers certain key facts from modern Nigerian history. Of course, this chapter continues to use the article researched by Professor Max Assimeng in 1975: "Methodological Africanism: Bresi-Ando as an Episcopus Vagans," in *CONCH*, vol. VII. However, this entire biographical section (Chapters 8-12) has corrected Dr. Assimeng's storyline in order to show the proper chronological flow of events in the life of Bresi-Ando while also filling in additional missing information.

Structure

This *fifth* biographical chapter is divided into *three* parts, covering the years 1956-1970 :

- 1) Virtual abandonment of his Ghanaian flock (1956 onwards)
- 2) Nigerian political adventures (1957-1967)
- 3) Biafran War and return to Ghana to die (1967-1970)

First, the continuation of the rapid disintegration of his Gold Coast AIC is documented as an integral part of the biographical train of Bresi-Ando's life story which trims down in magnitude to become a simple biographical sketch, showing how he—with the help of a few loyal priests—struggled to keep his emancipationist dream alive in West Africa until his death in 1970. Second, the chapter relates how Bresi-Ando, in post-colonial independent Nigeria, was finally able to play a political role in his over-arching vision and dream of African multi-faceted liberation. The story unfolds how Bresi-Ando interacted with leaders of both sides of the brewing civil war and somehow survived as a federalist in the contested Biafran rebel territory. Third, this sad last chapter of his life describes his own repatriation back to his homeland in 1970, aged, sick and near death.

Finally, while Bresi-Ando's biography technically ends with his death in Ghana in 1970, that is not the end of his amazing and colorful story, which progressed on through the lives of his faithful followers. An entire separate volume can be written on this ensuing story: how Bresi-Ando's orphaned Orthodox Catholic community spent the decade of the 1970's searching for and establishing a firm link with the global, canonical Eastern Orthodox Church. That larger story has been reserved for the future, with only a few paragraphs at this end of this chapter providing hints of the plot. Now, to finish Bresi-Ando's life story.

1. Bresi-Ando goes back to Nigeria (1956), virtually abandoning his Ghanaian flock until death

Bresi-Ando's quick two-month tour of the Gold Coast and Asante ended with his departing flight on 24 February 1956¹. With their Patriarch's return to Nigeria, Revs. Edonu and Labi Odeng

¹ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 24 February 1956 entry, File GR3.

headed out into the game all alone once again, without Bresi-Ando nor any of the other former senior clergy, but God was with them, they reported.

1.1. Edonu and Labi Odeng are all alone—loyal to Bresi-Ando all the way

All alone, Rev. Edonu and Rev. Labi Odeng (with priest/prophet Ankuma) decided not to look over their shoulders to examine the work of their separated colleagues, but committed themselves to their task at hand with their familiar refrain: “Let us hold what we have—maintain it—keep it alive—[...] leave them alone and see who would be successful” in the long run².

Edonu and Labi Odeng then focused on what they could do to keep Bresi-Ando’s dream alive, emphasizing a *spiritual* means to provide solutions to both spiritual and physical problems--including bodily healing. As their country began a new chapter in its history, with Dr. Kwame Nkrumah winning the 1956 election followed by the inauguration of the new modern nation of Ghana on 6 March 1957³, Rev. Edonu also began a new chapter in the life of Bresi-Ando’s AIC. He used the Patriarch’s Shrine charter and Prophet Ankuma to turn their little Ghanaian church into a *defacto* “spiritual church.” Under the name of “Orthodox” they combined their Roman Catholic-style liturgical life with new spiritual “Charismatic/Pentecostal” aspects, prophecies, healings and miracles. The “Guild of St. Raphael” was gradually expanded to become a diocesan prayer group, with chapters, or “Prayer Circles,” in every parish⁴. Living permanently at Fomena, Prophet Ankuma became the church’s national leader for all the Prayer Circles, training the local Prayer Circle leaders who then carried the spiritual phenomena back to the parishes⁵. This worked to save Bresi-Ando’s dream church from extinction as the new “spiritual” AIC churches were getting extremely popular following Independence⁶.

² RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Tape 6, Log 2, p. 86.

³ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 169-170.

⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 July 1994, Log 30, p. 1922, and 07 March 1994, Log 11, p. 627.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Mr. SAM, Wellingborough, Northamptonshire, England. Letter to Andrew Anderson, 19 July 1994, GR16.462.

1.2. 1956 & 1957: Shrine inauguration, miracles, prophecy of future white Bishop

On 23 September 1956 the newly-completed Shrine of St. Raphael was dedicated. Both the Deputy Bishop and Rev. Labi Odeng remember that “supernatural phenomena” were witnessed as they prayed. Among them was an exceedingly bright “flash” of light at the moment when Rev. Edonu was invoking the Archangel Raphael to descend and bless the Shrine with his presence⁷. Rev. Edonu recorded in his diary, “The attendance was beyond expectation and the atmosphere was most mystical”⁸. According to Rev. Edonu, the “prophetic side” came into Bresi-Ando’s AIC during the formal opening of the Shrine⁹. As a result of the launch of the Guild, Prayer Circles begin to spread to all their parishes. Junior Prophet Kumi Solomon Andoh, reportedly very effective in healing through prayer, joined Prophet Ankuma in this ministry¹⁰. The lives of Kumi Andoh, Ankuma, Edonu, and Labi Odeng during this time period are enough to fill a second volume which cannot be described in detail here. Then on 23 September 1957, the 1st Anniversary of the Opening of the Shrine, the new Flagpole (to hold the flag of the new nation) was dedicated¹¹. Rev. Edonu reported that one church member at that event had a vision which prophesied of future involvement of whites in the leadership of the church: in the future, a white bishop would come to take over Bresi-Ando’s church community¹². The late Fr. Samuel Adjei-Kumi remembered how “Prophet” Ankuma had also said the same: “Even he prophesied that ‘it would be [i.e. *there will come*] the time that white people, the white men, will come to Ghana and then take up the church”¹³. Yet at the time the absent “Catholicos” Bresi-Ando was still officially their community’s leader, although operating remotely from Aba, Nigeria. He looked strong and healthy when he had visited recently, and the thought of him dying suddenly and the community needing a replacement was not commonly entertained. Rather, believing and storing deep in his heart the idea of a future white hierarchy—“coming from overseas to come and take over the church,” the Deputy Bishop pressed on in his effort to rally and unite the Bresi-Ando “Orthodox

⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 02 February 1993, p. 1021-1022; FFN, Rev. Gregory Labi ODENG. Larteh, ER, GH, 13 January 1993, Log 21, p. 1354-1355.

⁸ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 23 Sept 1956 entry, File GR3.

⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 13 May 1994, Log 9, p. 497.

¹⁰ FFN, Rev. Samuel ADJEI-KUMI. Larteh, ER, GH, 05 May 1994, Log 9, p. 466.

¹¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 13 May 1994, Log 9, p. 497-498.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 498.

¹³ RI, Rev. Samuel ADJEI-KUMI. Larteh, ER, GH, 13 January 1993, Tape 44, Log 22, p. 1386.

Catholic” faithful¹⁴. In the ensuing years of loneliness, Edonu said that he and Rev. Labi Odeng were not going to sit down passively and wait for someone to come and save them¹⁵. Rather, said Rev. Edonu, “We labored to get the church improved. I always expected some help to come from outside.”¹⁶

We never sat down; we had to labor. We have to continue to serve, continue to change, continue to perform something which will really restore us, till help comes”...“till Moses comes”...“I knew one day things would change”¹⁷.

1.3. Annual Spiritual Revival and Annual Camp Meetings

With this attitude in mind, the two intrepid followers of the indefatigable Bresi-Ando labored on in his vineyard. Rev. Edonu used the annual “Anniversary of the Spiritual Healing Revival at the Shrine of the Guild of St. Raphael, Gomoa Fomena” as the vehicle to gather his parishes together each year for a weekend of refreshing unity, “Spiritual renewal,” “Social fellowship,” “health”, “success and happiness,” via liturgies, preaching, teaching, singing, confession, and prayers for healings¹⁸. This annual event was similar in form to the already long-established Bresi-Ando tradition of the “Camp Meeting,” the major difference being that the Camp Meetings were used to plant a new mission station or bolster a dying one, and were always held in different locations each year, while the Shrine gathering became a regularly scheduled pilgrimage to the village of Fomena for the “Annual Spiritual Revival”¹⁹. Thus, a very familiar pattern developed which steadied this AIC for the remainder of the century, with a Camp Meeting and the Spiritual Revival both being held each year, about six months apart. These two annual events, plus the Guild with its Prayer

¹⁴ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 02 October 1992, Tape 10, Log 15, p. 915-916.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 920.

¹⁶ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 02 October 1992, Tape 10, Log 15, p. 915-916.

¹⁷ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 02 October 1992, Tape 10, Log 15, p. 919-920.

¹⁸ Programme, Third Anniversary of the Spiritual Healing Revival at the Shrine of the Guild of St. Raphael, Gomoa Fomena, Orthodox Catholic Church, Diocese of Saint Ignatius of Antioch, 7th to 10th January 1960, p. 1-2, File GR2.92; Programme, Fourth Anniversary of the Spiritual Healing Revival at the Shrine of the Guild of St. Raphael, Gomoa Fomena, Orthodox Catholic Church, Diocese of Saint Ignatius of Antioch, 13th to 15th January 1961, p. 1-2, File GR2.93; Programme, Fifth Anniversary of the Divine Healing Revival at the Shrine of the Guild of St. Raphael, Gomoa Fomena, Orthodox Catholic Church, Diocese of Saint Ignatius of Antioch, 18th to 21st January 1962, p. 11, File GR2.94; Programme, Sixth Anniversary of the Divine Healing Revival at the Shrine of the Guild of St. Raphael, Gomoa Fomena, Orthodox Catholic Church, Diocese of Saint Ignatius of Antioch, 17th to 20th January 1963, p. 11, File GR2.95.

¹⁹ Programme, Annual Spiritual Revival of the Orthodox Church, Ghana, Under the Auspices of the Guild of St. Raphael (The Prayer Circle), 26th to 30th January 1987, (text of the programme 30 years later), File GR2.96.

Circles, plus the reports of miracles and divine solutions to real life problems served to unite the members of the AIC and keep them within Bresi-Ando's little Ghanaian church community.

1.4. A charismatic approach to Pan-Africanism

The Guild, the Shrine, and the Prayer Circles introduced a manner in which Bresi-Ando's dream of material blessings through his AIC could again be accessed: *via charismatic prayer*. Thus, Bresi-Ando's old Ebibirpim slogan re-appeared, printed each year on the cover of the programme for the Annual Spiritual Revival: "Eternal life for the soul and Bread to eat for the body, Look for them here."²⁰ Although Rev. Edonu's use of the capital letter "B" for "Bread" might have referred to the "Bread of Life," the Holy Eucharist, he did invite everyone "To witness THE ANNUAL HEALING REVIVAL OF THE ORTHODOX CATHOLIC CHURCH [*sic.*] [...] Come and see the Wonders of God. For the age of God's Miracles have not passes [*sic.*] away."²¹ He was referring to both *immaterial* and *material* solutions—both "Spiritual and physical aid"²². Rev. Edonu boldly offered—through prayer—the "supply of human needs" and printed in the 1963 official Revival programme the news that "several thousand names of sick and sad children of our Heavenly Father" had already been brought to St. Raphael's Shrine asking for prayer, "and remarkable results have been achieved"²³. He then listed the situations for which Divine solutions could be reached via prayer at St. Raphael's Shrine: "disagreeable conditions in your life," "need health," "misery and depression," "success in your business," "help for someone in need," "your examination", "childless", "pay your debts"²⁴. Rev. Edonu and Prophet Ankuma were seeking to provide *both* material and immaterial solutions to improve the lives of their parishioners, just as Bresi-Ando had preached years before in Apam: "Eternal life for the soul, bread to eat for the body. Look for them here." Only, now they were going about it using a more spiritual strategy instead of founding a church-run business and trying to challenge the entire European imperial commercial system head-on in an earthly contest of wits as Bresi-Ando had attempted to do. This spiritual approach to material matters kept Edonu and his clergy busy for the next two decades.

²⁰ Programme, Third Anniversary of the Spiritual Healing Revival [...], front cover page, File GR2.92.

²¹ *Ibid.*, back cover page. Emphasis in the original.

²² V. Rev. K. EDONU. Letter to Hans Debrunner, 15 August 1958, File GR1.58; Hans W. DEBRUNNER. *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, p. 332, citing same letter.

²³ Programme, Sixth Anniversary of the Divine Healing Revival [...], p. 10, File GR2.95.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

1.5. Greeks start Archdiocese, start building: Coups and political instability chase most Greek expatriates away

While Catholicos/Patriarch Bresi-Ando busied himself in Nigeria and avoided returning to Ghana, the late 1950's and 1960's saw an increased Eastern Orthodox presence and activity within the new nation of Ghana, in sync with the awakening mid-20th Century renaissance of the Patriarchate of Alexandria. In all this action, Bresi-Ando and his Ghanaian "Orthodox" community were completely out of touch with the sizeable Greek Orthodox expatriate community living and working in Ghana at that time²⁵. Up in Kumasi, after going into schism, Ando-Brew for a while had printed "Greek Orthodox" on his letterhead and had solicited Greek and Syrian expatriates living in the area. The most he gained was some donations, but no members²⁶. But down in the Colony, there was absolutely no mutual contact. The Greeks and the Orthodox Lebanese and Syrians living in Accra never heard of Bresi-Ando's "Orthodox Catholic Church" until the late 1970's, and Edonu's men—when they later started looking for the canonical Orthodox—did not know where to find them²⁷.

During the 1956-57 time period the Greek community tried to organize itself for the construction of an Eastern Orthodox church building in Accra²⁸. Disagreement led them nowhere²⁹, as their business interests overshadowed the planning³⁰. Meanwhile, in 1959 the Alexandrian Patriarchate (Eastern Orthodox) established its "Archdiocese of Accra," but placed its headquarters in Yaoundé, Cameroon³¹. The vast diocese in those days encompassed 20 West African nations, most of which at that time had no Eastern Orthodox parishes nor church buildings nor clergy³². Throughout the 1960's a commuting Greek Orthodox Priest (one Fr. Dimitrios) of the Alexandrian Patriarchate visited Ghana periodically to provide pastoral care (Baptisms, Weddings) to the Orthodox Greeks, Syrians, and Lebanese³³. He even baptized President Kwame Nkrumah's children—his wife was Coptic Orthodox—as there was no Coptic or Ethiopian Orthodox clerics

²⁵ FFN, Andreas KYRIACOU. Accra, GAR, GH, 28 August 1994, Log 31, p. 2023.

²⁶ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1686.

²⁷ FFN, Godfried K. MANTEY. Larteh, ER, GH, 17 May 1993, Log 7, p. 317-321.

²⁸ FFN, Gerasimos PANAYIOTOPOULOS. Accra, GAR, GH, 05 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1553.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ FFN, Andreas KYRIACOU. Accra, GAR, GH, 28 August 1994, Log 31, p. 2023.

³¹ "The Coming of the Orthodox Church in Central-West Africa," *Metropolis of Cameroon* archived website, par. 1-2.

³² *Orthodox Calendar 1990* [...], p. 7.

³³ FFN, Gerasimos PANAYIOTOPOULOS. Accra, GAR, GH, 05 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1553.

in the country to perform the Holy Mysteries³⁴. Undaunted, on his own, in around 1960 Greek Orthodox businessman Gerasimos Panayiotopoulos began construction of St. George's Orthodox Church on his personal property on top of McCarthy Hill on the west end of Accra. It was completed between 1966 and early 1967, but never consecrated³⁵. After Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's over-throw in 1966, with the constant changes in government and its policies, economic hard times, and resulting political instability in the ensuing years, the Greek community in Ghana dwindled down to just a few families and Fr. Dimitrios rarely visited any more³⁶. In 1970 Mr. Panayiotopoulos sold his business and land and church building³⁷. What could have become the logical beginning point of contact between Bresi-Ando, his AIC, and the canonical Greek Orthodox was lost as the Masons acquired the building a couple years later³⁸. The physical point of potential contact between Bresi-Ando's AIC and the Eastern Orthodox in Ghana was thus removed, as was most of the Greek Orthodox community.

2. Bresi-Ando's missing years (1957-1967)—political adventures in Nigeria

Back in Nigeria, nationalist-minded Bresi-Ando was increasingly drawn into politics by the magnet of African independence which he could not resist. In fact, Rev. Edonu remembered that Bresi-Ando's return to Nigeria in February of 1956 was hastened due to a cablegram that called for his return to Aba because he was a political leader there: "he was leading the political argument" in his part of Nigeria³⁹. Mrs. Joana Bresi-Ando recalled how her husband was loved by the Nigerians and was always being invited to speak to any meeting—"any time, any meeting, anything; they called him and he goes"⁴⁰. And at these various meetings, especially the political ones, she saw that her husband Bresi-Ando was always "in the middle of them [...] And he will be the one talking, he will be the one preaching"⁴¹. "He changes their mind and he changes the light. He made them to see better than what they have been seeing before."⁴²

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1553-1554.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1554.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1554.

³⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 July 1994, Log 31, p. 1966.

⁴⁰ RI, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Tape 57, Log 17, p. 1063-1064.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1064.

⁴² *Ibid.*

2.1. Leader of the Aba Community League

With a display of affection and pride, Joana described Bresi-Ando's Pan-African community-mindedness. "As for my husband, he is a hero. The whole town loves him. He is a 'president' of the town; his is a president in the Aba Community League"⁴³. He was chosen for this position, even as a foreigner, because he was so polite and because he "showed" them the light⁴⁴. Joana remembered how Bresi-Ando organized the townsfolk into various unions, group by group, according to their respective hometown of origin, in order to bring them together and help them to get to know themselves⁴⁵. As he was both a preacher and a community leader, individuals and groups would often come to him with their misunderstandings for him to instruct and sort out their problems. They trusted him. And, as the need arose, he would bring their cases before the town council⁴⁶. And once, according to his wife's fond memory of him, when the town council refused his advice and had taken a bribe, Bresi-Ando simply called his unions together, made a public demonstration, wrote the governor and got that council dissolved⁴⁷.

2.2. Leader of the Ghana Community in Aba, Nigeria

In 1957 the Patriarch of Apam played the leading role in forming the "Ghana Union, Aba and Environs" out of "various sections of the then Gold Coast and Togoland communities sojourning in the Eastern Region of Nigeria and domiciled at Aba and environs"⁴⁸. The development and execution of a week of festivities in Aba coinciding with and celebrating Ghana's first Day of Independence on March 6th 1957 was Bresi-Ando's brain-child and he organized a talented group of fellow-countrymen to pull it off⁴⁹. The result was that this group coalesced to become—after the festivities—the union of the "Ghana Community in Aba and Environs," with Bishop K. Ntsetse Bresi-Ando as its President⁵⁰. Nigeria at the time was full of similar politically-minded ethnic

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 1056.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1057.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1056-1058.

⁴⁸ K. Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO, President, Ghana Community in Aba and Environs. Letter to The Minister of External Affairs [Kwame Nkrumah], Accra, Ghana, 27 March 1957, p. 1, File GR1.48.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.1, 4.

unions⁵¹. Bresi-Ando was proud of the fact that in his union *nationalism* had *trumped* the old divisive *tribalism*. They were liberated from their past and now were united in African nationalism. He wrote how they all had “sunk their tribal identities by merging together in one solid unit in favour of a *national* identity – Ghana Union, by which members shall henceforth be known”⁵². Located safely in southeastern Nigeria, faraway from Ghana but extremely excited and hopeful for the future of the new nation, Bresi-Ando then wrote to the new Prime Minister of Ghana (his old friend, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, who was simultaneously at the time Ghana’s Minister of External Affairs) with the humble proposal that he and his Ghana Union be asked to serve as the official representation of the new nation of Ghana in Nigeria, at either a regional or federal level:

I very humbly venture to submit [...] the opportunity which the Community offers being rich with experience in Nigerian matters and affairs, the influence, intellectual abilities and moral probity of its leaders be taken full advantage of, as a cut-and-dried organization in order to use it to serve the purpose of the nucleus of Ghana’s Nigeria Office—to save time and any avoidable expenses.⁵³(Letter of K. Ntsetse Bresi-Ando, President, Ghana Community in Aba and Environs, to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, The Minister of External Affairs, Accra, Ghana, 27 March 1957)

With words of praise for the political “hard work” of the newly-elected Nkrumah which had won him the deserved high calling of governmental leadership, Bresi-Ando pledged “loyalty, support and closest co-operation” to the Prime Minister (who later would become its first President when Ghana became a republic with a new constitution in 1960)⁵⁴. However, the bishop also gently and pastorally reminded Nkrumah that the eyes of previous generations are all looking down from heaven watching (“the centuries are looking down on them”), while all lovers of Ghana abroad—“remembering that ‘righteousness exalteth a nation’”—“are praying fervently to God” for wisdom for the new governmental leadership that “they will *eschew evil* and do nothing that in any way *trail our National Flag*, which has been unfurled and now flutters proudly in the breeze with the

⁵¹ Paul E. LOVEJOY. “Historical Setting,” *Nigeria: A Country Study*, 5th ed., Coll. “Area Handbook Series,” Helen Chapin Metz (Ed.), Washington, Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1992, p. 39, 41.

⁵² K. Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. “Programme of Events, Gold Coast Community in Aba, Celebration of Ghana Independence Day, Wednesday, March 6, 1957,” Point 4, (c), 2, in K. Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Letter to Ghanaian Minister of External Affairs [Dr. Kwame Nkrumah], 27 March 1957, File GR1.48—italics added. (In 1957 K. Nkrumah held several cabinet positions simultaneously in addition to being Prime Minister.)

⁵³ K. Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Letter to Ghanaian Minister of External Affairs [Dr. Kwame Nkrumah], 27 March 1957, p. 3, File GR1.48.

⁵⁴ K. Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Letter to Prime Minister of the newly independent Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, 03 April 1957, File GR1.52; Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 194-195.

eyes of the whole world fixed on it, *in the dust*”⁵⁵. Similar to his 1956 telegram to Dr. Nkrumah, one can again see a loyal nationalist cautiously offering Godly advice and a word of warning to his old pen-pal, Dr. Nkrumah, with the hope that he and his new government would not fail in their task. Not wishing for his friend to be tempted towards evil and injustice in his new high position of nation-leading, the Patriarch concluded his letter: “Thus, and only thus, shall Ghana remain great and even grow greater among the great nations of the world.”⁵⁶ One can argue the case that although Kwame Nkrumah failed to follow this loving, friendly advice and was ousted in a coup after only ten years by a disheartened, disillusioned citizenry, the nation of Ghana—sixty years later—after much toil and sorrow, has become greater and greater as it repents of its former political knavery and seeks to become the “righteous” nation that Bresi-Ando prayed for. Today nearly 70% of Ghanaians are Christians, as Christianity continues to explode and grow within the country⁵⁷.

2.3. Gets deep into Nigerian politics, leading up to Biafran War

While Dr. Nkrumah did not take up Bresi-Ando’s offer and make him a Ghanaian government attaché, throughout the 1950’s and into the 1960’s, the Prince-Patriarch of Apam dug deeper and deeper into Nigerian politics, ramping up his long-awaited political game. Already a ground floor member of Azikiwe’s NCNC since 1944, Bresi-Ando later broke from him to support Chief Obafemi Awolowo’s party, the “Action Group,” which began in 1951⁵⁸. Awolowo advocated not only a strong federal government, but—in imitation of Garvey’s Pan-African dream of a “United States of Africa” and of Casely Hayford’s attempted “National Congress of British West Africa”—Awolowo wanted to create a “West Africa Federation” that united Nigeria with Ghana and Sierra Leone⁵⁹. As Awolowo tried (in vain) to avoid the narrow label of a “Yoruba-only” tribal political machine limited to Western Nigeria⁶⁰, it was the Ghanaian Bresi-Ando who, according to Mrs. Joana Bresi-Ando, was the one “responsible for Awolowo’s first visit to the eastern part of the

⁵⁵ K. Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Letter to Prime Minister of the newly independent Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, 03 April 1957, File GR1.52—italics added.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ “Religions: Ghana,” The World Fact Book, *Central Intelligence Agency*. (Page consulted on 18 October 2018), <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/401.html>.

⁵⁸ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 66; Paul E. LOVEJOY. “Historical Setting,” p. 41-42.

⁵⁹ Paul E. LOVEJOY. “Historical Setting,” p. 47.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

country as a political leader”⁶¹. She held that “it was through the instrumentality of her late husband that the Action Group was planted and gained a footing in eastern Nigeria”⁶². Being a Ghanaian, and a leader of a Ghanaian community within Eastern Nigeria, it was logical that Bresi-Ando would support the “West Africa Federation” platform of Awolowo that was seeking to unite English-speaking Nigerians, Ghanaians and Sierra Leoneans. Thus, the Patriarch of Apam helped Azikiwe’s archrival get his “Action Group” planted in Nigeria’s southeast.

Assimeng notes that Bresi-Ando avoided the Zikist “God of Africa” belief that was linked to the NCNC party when its leader, Azikiwe, became a worshipped folk hero and cult idol⁶³. The professor hypothesizes that this was a reason why Bresi-Ando broke with him to support Awolowo instead: Bresi-Ando would have “regarded the idolation of Azikiwe as the African Christ, as an anathema”⁶⁴. Assimeng points out that Bresi-Ando was no racist, nor was he in favor of preaching a “Black Christ” as Garveyist McGuire was known to do in the U.S.⁶⁵ The popular Azikiwe was made the Governor General when Nigeria became independent in 1960, and then became the country’s first President when it became a republic in 1963, while the opposition leader Awolowo ended up being tried for treason in 1962⁶⁶. When it came to the 1960 independence election in Nigeria, Bresi-Ando had not chosen the winning party. However, later he did pick the winning side by remaining “pro-federal” during the Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970, also known as the Biafran War), even though his home was in rebel territory—in the break-away southeastern part of Nigeria known as “Biafra”⁶⁷.

3. Biafran War, Return Home to Ghana to Die

As the decade of the 1960’s rolled past and Bresi-Ando remained in Nigeria, Deputy Bishop Edonu began to have another clergy shortage which grew to be a crisis. By the late ‘60s (especially after Nkrumah’s overthrow in 1966) Edonu desperately needed Bresi-Ando (who had been gone for over a decade) to return to Ghana and to ordain some catechists to be priests. Rev. Eiyetey was

⁶¹ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 66, citing his interview with Mrs. Joana Bresi-Ando on 07 June 1975.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*; Hans W. DEBRUNNER. *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, p. 331.

⁶⁶ Paul E. LOVEJOY. “Historical Setting,” p. 47-48.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 57-60; Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 72.

inactive and near death, Rev. Prophet Ankuma was also old and limited by illness, Rev. Botwe had died, Rev. Bortey had quit to start his own church, and Rev. Beedu had defected and joined the Pentecostals⁶⁸. Once again, Bresi-Ando's flag in Ghana was being saluted by only two faithful men—Rev. Edonu and Rev. Labi Odeng. But where in the world was the Patriarch and why could he not return as he had in the mid-1950's and ordain more priests? He was stuck in rebel-held southeastern Nigeria since the outbreak of the Biafran War in May 1967⁶⁹.

3.1. Bresi-Ando: a pro-federal peace-maker

When asked what role her husband had played in the Civil War, Mrs. Bresi-Ando spoke of her husband as having tried to be a peace-maker who “wanted the unity of Nigeria”⁷⁰. Bresi-Ando later wrote to Dr. K. A. Busia, the Prime Minister of Ghana, explaining how he (Bresi-Ando) had “got into the bad boots of Ojuku [*sic.*] whom I advised against secession at the incipient stages of the dreadful Biafran war”⁷¹. (Gen. Ojukwu became the rebel leader.⁷²) In the days leading up to the succession of Eastern Nigeria, Joana recalled that her husband had “preached” to leaders of both Eastern and Western Nigeria that “they should leave the quarrelling”⁷³. He had quoted them the African parable: “He said, ‘head cannot tie foot’,” meaning, they should stop their disagreement because, just as a body needs all of its parts to cooperate, so too the country of Nigeria needs all its regions and tribes to cooperate⁷⁴. But, Joana remembered that the political leaders refused the peace-making advice of her husband: “And they refuse. When they refuse, then, they started the war. When it comes to our part—when they started the war—they ask him what part is he playing? [*i.e. what side is he on?*][...] I was there when he is answering them. He says: his passport says ‘Nigeria’, but it doesn’t say ‘Biafra.’ So his passport is what is followed.”⁷⁵ Thus, Bresi-Ando sided with the federal government (Western and Northern Nigeria), even though

⁶⁸ FFN, Story Board Timeline 4, 1958-1973, Log 32, p. 2065.

⁶⁹ Paul E. LOVEJOY. “Historical Setting,” p. 50.

⁷⁰ RI, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Tape 57, Log 17, p. 1066.

⁷¹ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Letter to Dr. K. A. Busia, Prime Minister of Ghana, 24 July 1970, File GR1.64.

⁷² The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica. “Odumegwu Ojukwu,” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 22 November 2018, (page consulted on 16 July 2019), <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Odumegwu-Ojukwu>, par. 1.

⁷³ RI, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Tape 57, Log 17, p. 1065.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

he was living at 204 Tenant Road, in downtown Aba, right in the middle of the rebellious Eastern Region (“Biafra”)⁷⁶.

3.2. Biafran War strands Bresi-Ando and family in Nigeria

Assimeng aptly points out that being politically “pro-federal” at that time and place would have been “a difficult posture” for Bresi-Ando “that must have made his continued stay in that part of Nigeria very delicate” after the hostilities broke out⁷⁷. Indeed this was true. The Patriarch and his wife and family remained stranded in rebel-held Eastern Nigeria for the entire duration of the terrible Biafran War, which was famous for its famine and devastation⁷⁸. Several major battles took place in nearby Owerri, only 41 miles away from their home in Aba⁷⁹. Bresi-Ando refused to flee, reassuring his wife that “they are not coming to kill him”⁸⁰. She stuck by his side at their home while the citizens were fleeing before the advancing troops. According to what Joana could see, they were the *only ones left* in town⁸¹.

Their family drama reached a climax which tested her personal faith while simultaneously revealing the strong faith of her husband. Joana Bresi-Ando retold this harrowing story of near-death and ardent faith.

We were praying. Oh, I pray as [a] person can pray. And also too, we read portions of Bible, and so forth and so on, until the war comes in—until the people [i.e. *the soldiers*] comes in! I am the first person who the bullet reach—that is at the kitchen. So I ran to the room and told him [i.e. *Bresi-Ando*] that, ‘Ah, the people has come!’ So, we had to go in and close the door [...] These people came in [i.e. *into the yard*] and marched, come in and march. I say, “I told you.” I said, “The people has come into the yard.”⁸²

Hiding behind closed doors with her husband and children, Joana feared for their lives. The bad soldiers were just outside the door. She was certain that they would be killed, but Bresi-Ando

⁷⁶ K. Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Letter Revd. Fr. K. K. Edonu, 05 April 1957, GR1.53.

⁷⁷ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 72.

⁷⁸ Paul E. LOVEJOY. “Historical Setting,” p. 60-61.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 59-60.

⁸⁰ RI, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Tape 57, Log 17, p. 1066.

⁸¹ FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 17, p. 1070.

⁸² RI, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Tape 57, Log 17, p. 1066-1067.

refused to despair. Instead, he comforted his wife, urging her to have faith that God would save them. She cried to her husband that their lives were over—“finished”.

“[We *are*] finished!” I told him. He said, “Oh, no, they are in war time. You wait and see what God will do.” [...] Imagine. He told me that. When I was saying this, “People has come!” He said, “Oh, you wait, you wait.” And I wait.⁸³

We keep quiet, until one of the bad soldiers told the others, say: “This room! There is some people there.” The others told him, “No, let’s go, let’s go.” But still, we were there.⁸⁴

As the bad one now, he has to shoot [*his*] gun at the room. Then it [i.e. *the bullet*] passes through the [*door*] to the wall. One of my little child (my brother’s child), he was sleeping. When the bullet goes, he shouted. I closed his mouth. Then they marched out to town. When they marched to the town—we were there-o! [i.e. *we waited there for a long time*] What [*food*] we have finish[*ed*]. We are in a room! He [*Bresi-Ando*] doesn’t open [*the*] door. He doesn’t do anything. We are there till when they [i.e. *the rest of the soldiers*] pass the next following day.⁸⁵

Our food has finish[*ed*] in the room, so we have nothing. And this child is crying for food. I went out. I opened the door [...] we have oranges in the yard [...] so I went out to pick the fruit for the children [...] I heard someone call, “Mama! Mama!” I look. [...] I saw one of my husband’s people. They come with a [*friendly*] soldier. He say, “Where is dad?” I say, “He is in.” He say, “Oh, oh, they have come to take us to the camp.” That is how, I say, they came to the camp.⁸⁶

When going to the camp, we don’t go with anything, only one mat, one pillow! He [*Bresi-Ando*] closed the door. That ends the whole thing.⁸⁷

They had been rescued by a relative and a federal Nigerian army soldier. Safe in the refugee camp, Bresi-Ando took ill and was re-located to a federal soldier’s hospital for the duration of the war⁸⁸. His own words in a letter to Dr. K. A. Busia, Prime Minister of Ghana, describe “the dreadful Biafran war during which I was deadly sick and was in Hospital in Delta Clinic” until the day the Biafran rebels surrendered⁸⁹.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 1067, 1070.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1067.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1067-1068.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1068-1069.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1069.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1069-1070.

⁸⁹ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Letter to Dr. K. A. Busia, Prime Minister of Ghana, 24 July 1970, File GR1.64.

When the federal troops captured Owerri for the second time and final time 06 January 1970, the Biafran rebels lost hope and surrendered on the 12th ⁹⁰. Nigeria was reunited. The effects of the 2 ½ year civil war were tremendous: between 1-3 million were dead from fighting, disease or famine, with 3 million displaced refugees crammed into a small land area⁹¹. Many more were in danger of dying as the war had raped the countryside: no economy, no food, no housing, no hospitals, no medicine, no utilities, no churches, no schools, no normal life⁹². Everything was ruined.

3.3. The high cost of war: lost children, churches, files, vestments

When Bresi-Ando left his home to go to the refugee camp and shut the door of his house, he closed the door to his entire life in Nigeria. He and his wife Joana paid a very high price for this war, as family members were killed and missing in the destruction which ended all his Nigerian parishes and scattered his church members, as it did to all civilian life in Biafra⁹³. The war closed the chapter on all of Bresi-Ando's decades of mission work in Nigeria. "The war spoiled his work," remembers Joana Bresi-Ando⁹⁴. For three years there was no church life, no schooling, "you couldn't even find your sister"⁹⁵. When it was all over, there was nothing to go back to. His flocks were scattered—even his home was bombed.

During the war, you doesn't [*sic.*] know where your child be, neither your sister or brother be. During the war, everybody scatter! Everybody scattered! Oh, the town! Even when we left, our own home, our own house, was bombed by the soldiers, was bombed—everything [*was destroyed*]⁹⁶.
(Mrs. Joana Bresi-Ando remembering the Nigerian Civil War)

Bresi-Ando lost five family members in the war—3 of his children were killed by bombs and 2 were still missing after the war⁹⁷. However, Bresi-Ando later wrote that he and his wife and three other children "miraculously survived" the "dreadful" war⁹⁸. These children were not their own, but were adopted (two girls and a boy—Joana's nephew), as Bresi-Ando and Joana never had

⁹⁰ Paul E. LOVEJOY. "Historical Setting," p. 60.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 60-61.

⁹³ FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 17, p. 1072-1073.

⁹⁴ RI, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Tape 58, Log 17, p. 1073.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1072.

⁹⁶ RI, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Tape 57, Log 17, p. 1072.

⁹⁷ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Letter to Dr. K. A. Busia, Prime Minister of Ghana, 24 July 1970, File GR1.64; K. Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Letter to J. B. Hinson, 06 July 1970, File GR1.63.

⁹⁸ K. Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Letter to J. B. Hinson, 06 July 1970, File GR1.63.

children of their own⁹⁹. In addition to losing both family members and his life's work, Bresi-Ando lost all his earthly possessions, his home, his files, even his "episcopal dresses and robes"¹⁰⁰.

3.4. Repatriated home to Ghana in 1970

In May 1970 the sick Patriarch Bresi-Ando with his Nigerian wife Joana and the three children were repatriated back home to Ghana by the Nigerian Government, "out of sympathy" for him, wrote Bresi-Ando¹⁰¹. The Nigerians gave them over to the care of the Ghana High Commission in Nigeria, who provided him transport (over land by lorry) from Port Harcourt to Ghana¹⁰². Joana recalled that nobody forced her husband to return to Ghana this time. Rather, he now quite ready to go home, since he was afraid of becoming a war captive, should any future hostilities kindle in the region¹⁰³.

Bresi-Ando and his wife and three children arrived safely at the home of Deputy Bishop Edonu in Afransi in the Central Region on the 27th of May 1970¹⁰⁴. Spending nearly three months with his Deputy Bishop Edonu in Afransi where he was "attending conferences with members and ministers of my Church," the seriously sick 86 year-old-patriarch was also receiving medical care in the nearby town of Swedru¹⁰⁵.

Being back in Ghana among his faithful followers must have stirred Bresi-Ando's soul. He reported to Rev. Edonu of a dream in which "he was walking majestically in a long candle procession of about five miles comprising all the old and dead stations [i.e. *parishes*] and members through the streets of Apam"¹⁰⁶. The following night he had a second dream in which he saw an "uncountable number of people at a mass meeting at Apam"¹⁰⁷. This might be viewed as either his deep inner desire to return to the glory of the 1930's when he was the Patriarch in Apam with

⁹⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 13 October 1994, Log 32, p. 2074.

¹⁰⁰ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Letter to Dr. K. A. Busia, Prime Minister of Ghana, 24 July 1970, File GR1.64.

¹⁰¹ K. Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Letter to J. B. Hinson, 06 July 1970, File GR1.63.

¹⁰² Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Church Log Book, Diocese of St. Ignatius, Ghana, September 1969-May 1976, 27 May 1970 entry, p. 10, File GR4.

¹⁰³ FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 17, p. 1071.

¹⁰⁴ Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Church Log Book [...], 27 May 1970 entry, p. 10, File GR4.

¹⁰⁵ FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 17, p. 1073; K. Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Letter to J. B. Hinson, 06 July 1970, File GR1.63; Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Letter to Dr. K. A. Busia, Prime Minister of Ghana, 24 July 1970, File GR1.64.

¹⁰⁶ Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Church Log Book [...], 23 June 1970 entry, p. 13, File GR4.

¹⁰⁷ Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Church Log Book [...], 24 June 1970 entry, p. 13, File GR4.

his large national following, or, it was a premonition of his upcoming death, for in three months' time he would be laid to rest in the cemetery in Apam, at which time his soul would be meeting all his followers who had preceded him in death.

While still in Afransi, some of the Prince-Patriarch's former Ghanaian clergy gathered around him, while others refused to do so. A repentant Rev. Adentwi returned, offering to help the church with evangelism with the use of his Toyota truck¹⁰⁸, while Rev. Beedu expressed his desire to return as well, a promise he later made good on¹⁰⁹. Even Rev. Abradu's followers in Larteh urged him to reunite with Bresi-Ando, however Rev. Edonu received letter from Jones and Abradu informing him of their refusal "to come to beg the Prince Patriarch for readmission, as demanded by the Larteh Oman [i.e. *people*]"¹¹⁰. The two had been in their African Orthodox Church for 15 years by that time and had no desire to reverse the tide of time. Bresi-Ando and his adopted Afro-American brother Bishop Jones never met again in this life.

On 18 August 1970 Bresi-Ando moved to Apam, his old hometown¹¹¹. He had "come home finally with all concerned"¹¹². His poor wife was a complete stranger to both Ghana and Apam, however, she lived out the rest of her life among the Fante fisherfolk, becoming affectionately known as "Mama Nigeria".

Having arrived in Apam, Bresi-Ando did not see death coming. Rev. Edonu recalled those days:

When he came, he never knew he was going to die. I tell you. He was still struggling to survive, to live. But anytime we are discussing about the church, he encouraged us to hold the fort, even if he is not alive. "Hold the fort!" That was what he told me. "Hold the fort firmly till the help comes from above. Hold the fort firmly. I know I will soon get up and give you all the help you need and fill, supply and satisfy the people who need me and the short-comings of the church will soon be restored."¹¹³

Ever the optimist, Bresi-Ando kept his fighting spirit. As old and sick as he was, he was still in love with politics. Once when he heard someone discussing the election of Busia and all the

¹⁰⁸ Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Church Log Book [...], 15 July 1970 entry, p. 14, File GR4.

¹⁰⁹ Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Church Log Book [...], 16 June 1970 entry, p. 12, & 27 April 1975 entry, p. 55, and p. B, File GR4.

¹¹⁰ Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Church Log Book [...], 24 June 1970 and 15 July 1970 entries, p. 14, File GR4.

¹¹¹ FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 17, p. 1073.

¹¹² K. Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Letter to J. B. Hinson, 06 July 1970, File GR1.63.

¹¹³ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 37, Log 17, p. 1003-1004.

political troubles of the country, according to Rev. Edonu, Bresi-Ando got all animated and shouted boldly with a commanding tone of voice: “I want to stand as a President of the country! [...] I mean it! Don’t you think that I’ll win? I want to stand as a President of the country! I am fit for that position! Oh, as for this sickness, it will die away very quickly. I will stand as a President of the country! The country has to be handled by somebody who is more efficient than what they are doing!”¹¹⁴

Yet Bresi-Ando remained ill, suffering from a foot condition, with pains reaching his heart¹¹⁵. When a local physician referred him to a native religion traditional “doctor” in the area, his Fante family members transported him there. Arriving and realizing where he had been carried, Bresi-Ando protested vehemently, “Take me away from here! Take me away from here!” He started shouting, calling out loudly that he “has nothing to do with this place!”¹¹⁶ Obviously, the Prince-Patriarch was not as “Africanized” as his family thought. He wanted European medicine, not the local herbalist. But the violence of his reaction indicates that he must have viewed this as also a form of spiritual compromise with African primitive religion, something which he was not willing to entertain. (In Ghana, consulting a herbalist may involve the “spiritual powers” of African traditional-pagan religion, although some herbalist treatments are simply plant-based liniments.¹¹⁷) If this is the correct interpretation, one sees here in the old bishop a faithfulness to the Christian Gospel. He was going to live and die as an uncompromised Christian in this regard. So, his family obliged him, and carted the Prince-Patriarch off to the hospital in the city of Cape Coast¹¹⁸.

3.5. Dies and is buried in Apam

The ailing Bresi-Ando was admitted to Cape Coast Central Hospital on Sunday and expired the following Friday, 02 October 1970 at the age of 86¹¹⁹. He was buried in Apam the next day by his nephew and life-long loyal assistant, Rev. Edonu¹²⁰. Until his last breath, Bresi-Ando still would

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1002-1003.

¹¹⁵ FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 17, p. 1073.

¹¹⁶ RI, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Tape 58, Log 17, p. 1073-1074.

¹¹⁷ Richard D. HECHT and Vincent F. BIONDO (Eds.). *Religion and Everyday Life and Culture: Religion in the Practice of Daily Life in World History*, vol. 1, Santa Barbara, CA, Praeger, 2010, p. 226-227.

¹¹⁸ FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 17, p. 1074.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*; Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 73; FFN, Visit to Ebibirpim Cemetery, Apam, CR, GH, 29 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1648. Date of death on Bresi-Ando’s tombstone: 02 October 1970, at age 86.

¹²⁰ Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Church Log Book [...], 03 October 1970 entry, p. 17, File GR4.

not talk of nor admit to failure¹²¹. Not willing to give up, the Prince-Patriarch had himself hoped to return to health and resume his church activities¹²². Some of his last words to Rev. Edonu were: “Hold the fort firmly till the help comes from above.”¹²³ He never spoke of white men coming to aid them in the future, nor did he instruct his Deputy Bishop to seek a canonical link with any Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church overseas¹²⁴. He chose no successor nor did he ordain any bishop to continue to lead the community after his death¹²⁵. In fact, prior to his death, he gave no additional leadership capacity nor injunction to his Deputy Edonu, who actually had never been ordained a bishop¹²⁶. Even before their Patriarch expired, Rev. Edonu told his life-long best friend: “Fr. Labi, let us rest. As long as Bresi-Ando is alive, we can’t do better. But when he is gone, his spirit will come to help us revive.”¹²⁷ This might be a spiritual way to interpret the meaning of Bresi-Ando’s words: “I know I will soon get up and give you all the help you need.”¹²⁸ Meanwhile, the church’s youth, fearing for their future even before their Patriarch’s death, began to take matters into their own hands and organized themselves at the 25 September 1970 Camp Meeting at Larteh¹²⁹.

After Bresi-Ando died at Cape Coast, he was buried in the Ebibirpim Cemetery in Apam in a large cement-covered grave with a big cement angel set upon the headstone¹³⁰. Bishop Jones visited the widow Joana in Apam about three months later, offering his condolences¹³¹. In usual Ghanaian style, Bresi-Andon’s official funeral service was held in Apam many months later, with the Wake Keeping on Friday night, 23 April 1971, and the Thanksgiving Service on Sunday, the 25th¹³². The local tribal tradition of the pouring of “libations” was scheduled by his relatives for Saturday the 24th,¹³³ but since Bishop Bresi-Ando had long ago forbidden this African pagan custom to be a

¹²¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, Log 23, p. 1518.

¹²² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 17, p. 1003-1004.

¹²³ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 37, Log 17, p. 1003.

¹²⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 17, p. 1003-1004.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1004.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 13 October 1994, Log 32, p. 2079.

¹²⁸ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 37, Log 17, p. 1003-1004.

¹²⁹ FFN, Rev. Kwame Joseph Ayete LABI. Accra, GAR, GH, 04 June 1993, Log 7, p. 341-342; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 36, 64; Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Church Log Book [...], 25 Sept 1970 entry, p. 16, File GR4.

¹³⁰ FFN, Visit to Ebibirpim Cemetery, Apam, CR, GH, 29 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1648.

¹³¹ FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 17, p. 1079.

¹³² Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Church Log Book [...], 26 April 1971 entry, p. 27, File GR4.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

part of his Orthodox Catholic Church's practice, Rev. Edonu reported that none were poured¹³⁴. While some of the bishop's (non-Orthodox) Fante clan members had desired it, others resisted it. Thus, the family elders were divided over what to do for his funeral rites, and so in the end Bishop Bresi-Ando had a purely Christian funeral, with no pagan libations being offered to gods and ancestors¹³⁵. He was buried in an uncompromised manner, which must have pleased his soul.

3.6. Bresi-Ando orphans his church

Upon his death, Bresi-Ando's 44-year-old African Independent Church (AIC) was left orphaned: hierarchically leaderless, disconnected from any Synod of Bishops, with no link to the global Orthodox community. His faithful were confused both doctrinally and liturgically. They knew so little of real Eastern Orthodoxy that they could neither defend its existence nor explain its teachings when asked¹³⁶. As "orphans", they needed a "father"—a patriarch¹³⁷. Yet, remembered Rev. Edonu, they had no knowledge of the true Orthodox Church¹³⁸. Indeed, they had an "inspiration" that there was a *real* Orthodox Church because Bresi-Ando had brought his church from *somewhere*¹³⁹. Yet he had never led them to the source from which he had "collected" his "Orthodox Catholic Church"¹⁴⁰. Thus, with his death in 1970, Bresi-Ando's AIC entered a new phase which is beyond the scope of this chapter and deserves to be told fully in its own book. That story would begin with these following highlight moments:

Upon Bresi-Ando's death in 1970 the strength of his loyal (Edonu's) group was nine (9) full parishes and about 1,700 members: Fomena, Abodom, Bobikuma, Afransi, Akropong, Essaman, Breman, Odina-Ogua, and Larteh¹⁴¹. On their own *again*, as usual, Fathers Edonu, Labi Odeng, and Ankuma tried to make a go of it, adding three more parishes and four more mission posts throughout the decade of the 1970's¹⁴². Rev. Edonu described his work after Bresi-Ando's death:

¹³⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 13 October 1994, Log 32, p. 2086.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ FFN, Godfried K. MANTEY. Larteh, ER, GH, 17 May 1993, Log 7, p. 317; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 36-37, 64.

¹³⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 49.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Church Log Book [...], 01 July 1972 entry, p. 36, File GR4.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 13 October 1994, Log 32, p. 2092-2093.

“I was still going on as if I still had a bishop.”¹⁴³ They plowed on, just as they had done in the past. In his opinion, and as evidenced in his church logs, Bresi-Ando’s departure did not immediately leave a depression on the growth of their little church. “We acted as if we had a Superior Leader,” said Rev. Edonu, “we [*i.e. the clergy*] never felt lonesome.”¹⁴⁴ Yet after Prophet Ankuma died in 1974, followed by the deaths of Rev. Adentwi (1974), Rev. Beedu (1975), and Bishop Jones (1975), the loneliness started to hit¹⁴⁵. Feeling truly isolated at last, Rev. Edonu said he was “always praying for the day of a helper” using the words of Bresi-Ando: that “help would come from above”¹⁴⁶. Rev. Edonu admitted that he—as the Deputy Bishop—was “groping in darkness,” not knowing where he was going¹⁴⁷. With his eyes of faith, he kept the 1957 Shrine Flagpole vision and prophecy in the back of his mind:

I remember it. I always used to tell them, that some time ago we had a vision here [*which*] told us that some people were coming from *overseas* to come and take over the church [...] But we labored, we labored to get the church improved. I always expected some help to come *from outside* [...] I knew it would happen one day. I believed it would happen one day, to release myself from the burden, because we were only *groping in darkness*. I knew I was groping in darkness, *not knowing where I was going*. I had no aid, no point, generally, I had no goal. Theologically as a church, as a body, the leader whom I trusted had gone and left me [...] I said I would pursue, be as I am now until there is a redeemer. I knew one day, but I did not know it would happen in my life time. That I did not know. But people prayed and told me that “we want you to stay to see that this church is well developed before you die.” Any time I am dying, [*they say*] “It is no use, Papa. You can’t die and leave us like that.”¹⁴⁸

This faith that God would one day send them help in the form of a foreign bishop—and not just any man, but “men of honors”—gave Rev. Edonu inspiration and hope to persist, to fight on, like a good soldier for Christ, until their “redeemer” came. They would not give up.

I will wait till Moses comes. That is why I had belief. I knew one day things would change. And it has changed in my lifetime [...] We never sat down; we had to labor. We had to continue to serve, continue to change, continue to perform

¹⁴³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 13 October 1994, Log 32, p. 2080.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Church Log Book [...], 09 May 1974 entry, p. 52, 19 Oct 1974 entry, p. 53, 27 April 1975 entry, p. 55, File GR4; FFN, EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 13 October 1994, Log 33, p. 2125; FFN, Rev. John Frank Sarkodie-Aidoo, Accra, GAR, GH, 15 October 1994, Log 19, p. 1172 marginal note.

¹⁴⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 13 October 1994, Log 33, p. 2123.

¹⁴⁷ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 02 October 1992, Tape 10, Log 15, p. 916.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 915-917—italics added.

something which will really restore us, till help comes [...] I knew one day, God will not make our work useless, one day, that belief I had. In any form, the church will [*improve*] I knew, in the hands of *men of honors*. Who is God who will forget the good work we have done? You follow me? So I persisted. I will stick to my shoes. I never fall back. I always say, “No!” The 8th Battalion of the Gold Coast Army: “We Green Caps Never Turn Back! We fight on!” Jesus Christ told us to bear the cross. And whatever happens my way is my cross.¹⁴⁹

In the global picture, they were truly lonesome and ecclesiastically orphaned. “Orthodox” in name only, their theology and worship practices were actually a mixture of Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Charismatic/Pentecostal-style influences which *lacked* a coherent, unified set of teachings, beliefs and praxis¹⁵⁰. They were isolated and they knew it. More importantly, they knew that they needed to bring their church back “into communion with other Orthodox communities outside the country”¹⁵¹. But all along they still believed that they were legitimately Orthodox. Their problem of not being connected to any Synod of Orthodox bishops began “eating up the mind of [*the*] leadership of the church as well as individuals in the church,” especially the younger generation¹⁵². So while priests Edonu and Labi Odeng in 1971 made a fruitless and disappointing contact with a representative of one of the last remaining Kofey “African Universal” parishes in America¹⁵³, and in March of 1974 even negotiated a failed merge attempt with McGuire’s “African Orthodox Church”¹⁵⁴, the youth of Edonu’s church started to organize themselves in a desperate “search” for a link to Orthodoxy abroad¹⁵⁵. Seeing a bleak future and a pressing need for clergy and uniform doctrine and liturgical practices, on 03 July 1971 the youth decided to form the Orthodox Youth

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 919-920—italics added.

¹⁵⁰ Mr. Kwame Ayete LABI. Report of the OYO General Secretary, The Orthodox Youth Organization: The Orthodox Church in Ghana and Education, 09 August 1975, p. 1, File GR5.133.

¹⁵¹ Mr. Kwame Ayete LABI. Report of the OYO General Secretary, Orthodox Youth Organization: Interim Official Report on the Missionary Contacts of the Orthodox Youth Organization, Presented at OYO National Executive Board Meeting, Gomoa Fomena, 09 August 1975, p.1, File GR5.134.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Church Log Book [...], 02 Feb 1971 entry, p. 22. (They heard of AUC representative Rev. Sears’ visit to Ghana and tried to contact him, but failed since he had recently departed back to the USA. Instead, they met his Ghanaian rep, Rev. Mingle, on 11 Feb 1971, and then wrote a letter to the AUC leadership in the USA on 21 April 1971 “to prove that the African Universal Church has been in existence in Ghana since 1932.” They never received any reply, which dashed their hopes. (EDONU. Church Log Book [...], 11 Feb 1971 entry, p. 22-23; 11 April 1971 entry, p. 26; 21 April 1971 entry, p. 26; FFN, EDONU. Afransi, CR, GH, 13 Oct 1994, Log 33, p. 2106-2107.)

¹⁵⁴ Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Church Log Book [...], 18 Jan 1974 entry, p. 50, 22 March 1974 entry, p. 51; FFN, EDONU. Afransi, CR, GH, 13 Oct 1994, Log 33, p. 2118-2119. (Rev. Edonu backed out of the merge when he learned of the AOC’s stance against having white clergy.)

¹⁵⁵ FFN, Rev. Kwame Joseph Ayete LABI. Accra, GAR, GH, 04 June 1993, Log 7, p. 341-343, 346.

Organization (OYO) with its chief aim being the resuscitation of their church¹⁵⁶. At first Rev. Edonu saw this youth organization as a threat to his leadership, a “rebellion” of sorts¹⁵⁷, yet the youth persisted. Searching manually in those days before the internet, they were excited to find tangible proof of the existence of the global Eastern Orthodox Church communion when OYO youth leader Godfried Mantey discovered Timothy Ware’s famous introductory book, *The Orthodox Church*, in August of 1972 in the University of Ghana bookstore¹⁵⁸. Reading this book showed them actually how far their teachings and practices were from Orthodoxy’s norm¹⁵⁹. They saw that they needed changes in doctrine, worship, church government, and education if they were going to be “Orthodox” in reality and not in name only¹⁶⁰. More importantly, they needed an Orthodox bishop—and connection to a Patriarchate.

After a roller-coaster ride of searching, with many rising hopes and dismal disappointments, everything for their future changed forever on 04 August 1974—“the day Ghana went right” and stopped driving on the left-hand side of the road¹⁶¹. On that very day OYO leaders Kwame Labi and Godfried Mantey discovered and met with several famous Eastern Orthodox clergymen who were present on the University of Ghana’s Legon campus for a World Council of Churches meeting: Fr. John Meyendorff, Fr. Thomas Hopko, theologian Nicolas Lossky, and Alexandrian Patriarchate representative Fr. Parthelus¹⁶². Their link to the outside world family of Orthodoxy was now finally firmly established! Learning from these priests that their little Ghanaian church was uncanonical came as a great surprise, but arrangements were made to rectify that¹⁶³. Bresiano Ando had set them on the path towards Orthodoxy by giving them their self-identification as “Orthodox Catholics”—albeit unknowingly uncanonical. His Ghanaian followers—when they finally learned the truth from these visiting clergymen that they were *not* really part of the

¹⁵⁶ Orthodox Youth Organization, Ghana: Constitution, 03 July 1971, p. 1, File GR5.128.

¹⁵⁷ FFN, Godfried K. MANTEY. Larteh, ER, GH, 17 May 1993, Log 7, p. 319.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 320; photocopy of inside front cover of Timothy WARE’s *The Orthodox Church*, London, Pelican, 1964, showing the date when OYO General Secretary Kwame Ayete Labi purchased his first copy of the book on 08 August 1972, File GR5.129.

¹⁵⁹ Mr. Kwame Ayete LABI. Report of the OYO General Secretary, The Orthodox Youth Organization: The Orthodox Church in Ghana and Education, 09 August 1975, p. 1, File GR5.133.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ Mr. Kwame Ayete LABI. Interim Official Report on the Missionary Contacts of the Orthodox Youth Organization, [...], 09 August 1975, p.1, File GR5.134.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 1-2; FFN, Rev. Kwame Joseph Ayete LABI. Accra, GAR, GH, 04 June 1993, Log 7, p. 343-346.

¹⁶³ Mr. Kwame Ayete LABI. Interim Official Report on the Missionary Contacts of the Orthodox Youth Organization, [...], 09 August 1975, p.2, File GR5.134.

Orthodox Church in any way, shape or form—did everything they could to make Bresi-Ando's intention on joining the communion of the earliest Christian Church on the African continent their goal and reality. Thus, several of the youth were selected and sent overseas for training in Orthodox theological seminaries. The first to travel was Kwame Ayete Labi, who entered St. Vladimir's Seminary in New York in October of 1977¹⁶⁴. Meanwhile, missionary Archbishop Irineos of the Archdiocese of West Africa (Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria) arrived in Accra in 1978 for the first of several pastoral visits, prior to their 1982 canonical reception¹⁶⁵.

There is too much detail in this story than can be told here. Training and receiving the Ghanaian group involved communication, interaction, support and care from various leaders and organizations during '70s and '80s, involving Godfried Mantey and the Orthodox Youth Organization, Patriarchs Nicholas VI and Parthenios III of Alexandria, the SYNDESMOS international youth organization, Fr. John Meyendorff and Fr. Thomas Hopko of St. Vladimir Orthodox Theological Seminary in New York, Bishop Silas and the U.S. Greek Archdiocesan Mission committee, Bishop Dimitrios (James) Couchell of the Archdiocesan Mission Center (AMC)—later known as the Orthodox Christian Mission Center (OCMC)—as well as the Foreign Mission Office of Apostoliki Diakonia of the Orthodox Church of Greece. All these were united in the near-decade long effort to canonically receive Bresi-Ando's AIC and to help the indigenous religious movement that he had initiated continue its *transition* and total transfiguration into a fully-fledged Eastern Orthodox diocese in the decades that followed. It was not without merit that the new Orthodox cathedral in Accra (Abeka-Lapaz) was named Holy Transfiguration.

3.7. Bresi-Ando's AIC is canonically received into Patriarchate of Alexandria

On 14 September 1982 Archbishop Irineos (Talambekos) of the Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa (Nikolaos VI was Patriarch at the time¹⁶⁶) arrived in Ghana where, from 15th through

¹⁶⁴ FFN, Godfried K. MANTEY, Larteh, ER, GH, 20 May 1993, Log 7, p. 321-322; Kwame A. LABI. Letter to G. K. Mantey, 13 October 1977, File GR12; G. K. MANTEY. The Orthodox Youth Organization: Missionary Contacts of the Orthodox Youth Organization, Official Report (No. 3), 22 January 1978, p. 4, File GR5.136.

¹⁶⁵ G. K. MANTEY. Orthodox Youth Organization: Missionary Contacts of the Orthodox Youth Organization, The Visit of Metropolitan Irineos of Accra and All West Africa, An Official Report, 19 January 1978, p. 3, File GR5.135.

¹⁶⁶ "The Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa: Past Patriarchs," *The official website of Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa*. (Page consulted on 24 July 2019), <http://www.patriarchateofalexandria.com/index.php?module=content&cid=001003>.

the 19th, he received Edonu and Labi Odeng's Ghanaian church community into canonical Orthodoxy through the Mysteries of Holy Baptism and Holy Chrismation in the town of Larteh¹⁶⁷. The Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria did not recognize Vilatte's "apostolic succession," and thus the old clergy—Rev. Fr. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Rev. Fr. Gregory Labi Odeng, Rev. Fr. Samuel Adjei-Kumi—were given a fresh new start by Holy Ordination during a series of Divine Liturgies held throughout the week¹⁶⁸. Several younger men also joined the clerical ranks: Rev. Fr. Joseph Kwame Ayete Labi, Deacon Emmanuel K. Bruce, Deacon Daniel B. Aidoo, and Deacon Jacob N. Sey¹⁶⁹. While about 1,500 parishioners were received at that time along with their priests, not all the members of Rev. Edonu's fifteen communities (8 parishes, 6 sub-stations and 1 mission post) were able to be baptized in Larteh in 1982¹⁷⁰. More baptisms were held in the next few years, bringing the total to between 2,500 and 3,000¹⁷¹. In 1987 Archbishop Irineos baptized the Asante Akrokyere parish community and ordained Fr. John Sarkodee-Aidoo¹⁷². This was all that remained of Bresi-Ando's former huge Asante Diocese¹⁷³. Fr. Emmanuel Appiah and his Kwaboanta/Ankyease communities in the Eastern Region were also received at that time, along with other remnants of the Rev. Abradu/Jones African Orthodox Church organization¹⁷⁴. On his deathbed in 1985¹⁷⁵, Rev. Abradu had expressed his repentant desire to be part of the Church, urging his people to join with Fr. Kyriakos Edonu and Fr. Gregory Labi Odeng in Holy Orthodoxy within the Patriarchate of Alexandria and asking that they bury him¹⁷⁶. Thus, the tiny pieces that remained of the schisms which had broken from Bresi-Ando over the years were all reunited within

¹⁶⁷ Deacon Daniel Burford AIDOO. A Brief Report on a Newly Baptized Church: Orthodox Church in Ghana, West Africa, From Wednesday, 15th – Sunday, 19th September, 1982, University of Athens, Greece, November 1982, p. 4, File GR14.339; Metropolitan Irineos arrived in Larteh the night before, so some people date the Reception beginning with Tuesday, September 14, 1982, but the "festivities" really began on the 15th. – See Godfried K. MANTEY. Letter to H. E. Metropolitan Silas, 11 November 1982, File GR9.

¹⁶⁸ Deacon Daniel Burford AIDOO. A Brief Report [...], p. 4, File GR14.339.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ Kwame Joseph Ayete LABI, Antonia PATERAKIS, K. AMOA, and Andrew ANDERSON. Orthodox Church, Ghana: Amoa Report, [unpublished], Accra, Ghana, 20 April 1993, p. 6, File GR16.480; Godfried K. MANTEY. Letter to H. E. Metropolitan Irineos, 11 November 1982, File GR9.

¹⁷¹ Kwame Joseph Ayete LABI et al. Orthodox Church, Ghana: Amoa Report, p. 6; Godfried K. MANTEY. Letter to H. E. Metropolitan Silas, 11 November 1982, File GR9.

¹⁷² FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1183.

¹⁷³ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1124.

¹⁷⁴ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1181-1183.

¹⁷⁵ Joseph ABRADU AMOAH and Solomon Otu ABRADU. Accra, GAR, GH, 18 June 1994, Abradu file, p. 1, File GR20.

¹⁷⁶ FFN, Rev. Gregory Labi ODENG. Larteh, ER, GH, 11 April 1994, Log 8, p. 416; FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1182.

the Patriarchate¹⁷⁷. These details are just a few of the highlights of the story of the catechumenate, reception, and *transition* into the Eastern Orthodox belief and praxis for Bresi-Ando's AIC—a *fourth* major *transformation* of his church community which he began in Eastern Nigeria in 1926. The complete story must wait *to be continued* in a second volume.

Conclusion

The Prince-Patriarch's subsequent flight to Nigeria (in February of 1956) began his second virtual abandonment of his Ghanaian flock—for another 14 years. Priests Edonu and Labi Odeng bravely continued to shepherd his flock all alone—loyal to Bresi-Ando all the way, establishing the Annual Spiritual Revival and Annual Camp Meetings in an effort to hold together and unite his remaining Ghanaian flock. The Shrine of St. Raphael was inaugurated in 1956, and a year later, at its first Anniversary gathering, a vision was reported prophesying that in the future a white bishop would come to take over Bresi-Ando's AIC (which was fulfilled in 1982 when Archbishop Irineos received them under his omophorion). This charismatic approach to spirituality by displaying the miraculous brought a new tactic to Bresi-Ando's Pan-Africanism, which served to transform his AIC into one of Ghana's new "spiritual" churches, while simultaneously confusing his parishioners by blurring and blending doctrines and liturgical practices. Meanwhile, the Greeks in Africa started their own Accra Archdiocese, but ongoing coups and political instability after the 1966 over-throw of President Kwame Nkrumah soon chased most of the Greek expatriates out of Ghana. In those turbulent days there was no connection or interaction between the few Greeks who remained and Bresi-Ando's followers.

Bresi-Ando's missing years (1957-1967) were years of more political adventures in Nigeria. There he became the beloved leader of the Aba Community League as well as the president of the Ghana Community in Aba. Getting deeper and deeper into Nigerian politics, he mingled with political parties leading up to the Biafran War. His advice to rebel General Ojukwu not to secede went unheeded, and the devastating civil war broke out.

¹⁷⁷ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1124 and Log 19, p. 1181-1183.

The hostilities stranded Bresi-Ando and his family in Nigeria for the duration of the Biafran War (1967-1970). He suffered a high cost, losing family members, home, churches, files and vestments. All his decades of missionary work in Nigeria were destroyed. Narrowly escaping death by enemy soldiers, Bresi-Ando spent most of the war lying ill in a military hospital until he was repatriated home to Ghana in 1970 after the war. Ironically, the man who had preached repatriation in the 1930's was himself repatriated. Sick, he soon died in October of the same year at the age of 86 and was buried in his hometown of Apam.

Bresi-Ando's death had orphaned his Ghanaian AIC, as he had not provided them with a successor. "Deputy Bishop" Edonu himself had never been ordained as a bishop. Rather, Bresi-Ando had simply deputized him via a written mandate authorizing him "to function as Bishop" on his behalf in his absence "without powers to ordain ministers"¹⁷⁸. Thus, Rev. Edonu and his fellow priests and parishioners were very isolated and alone, but they held to their mistaken conviction and self-identity given to them by Bresi-Ando that they were already genuine "Orthodox Catholic" Christians. Unaware of their founder's canonical error, they retained the vision and intention that he had imparted to them: to be part of ancient Orthodox Christianity on the continent of Africa. Realizing that they needed a new Patriarch and local bishop, they began a decade of searching for a link to a Holy Synod within global Orthodoxy. Along their journey they discovered their uncanonical status, which they strove to rectify, thus keeping the Bresi-Ando dream alive: to be African *and* Orthodox. Their efforts culminated in their canonical reception into the Patriarchate of Alexandria in 1982. This fourth *transition* of Bresi-Ando's church—its transformation into an Eastern Orthodox Archdiocese—is an interesting story, worthy of another volume. Bresi-Ando's emancipationist AIC as a people-movement first had adopted the Garvey-inspired Kofey Pan-African repatriation program, then acquired Vilatte's "Old Catholic" "apostolic" orders and an "Orthodox Catholic" self-identity, then morphed into a Ghanaian "spiritual" Zionist/prophet-healing church, before arriving "home" into the bosom of the Holy Eastern Orthodox Catholic Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa.

¹⁷⁸ The Most Revd. Dr. K. N. BRESI-ANDO. Appointment letter authorizing Revd. Fr. Kweku Kurefi [*sic.*] Edonu to act as his "Deputy Bishop", 01 February 1945, File GR1.36.

SECTION THREE

SPECIFIC ANALYSIS OF THE “PAN-AFRICANISM” OF BRESI-ANDO DURING THE 1930’s

SECTION THREE: SPECIFIC ANALYSIS OF THE “PAN-AFRICANISM” OF BRESI-ANDO DURING THE 1930’s

Introduction to Section Three: Full Analysis

The hypothesis of this research project is that Bresi-Ando used *Pan-Africanism* as the guide to his comprehensive multidimensional vision of life. Having reviewed multiple levels of context in Section One, and having taken a good look at a complete biographical sketch of Bresi-Ando in Section Two, we have seen how he operated fully and completely within his colonial context: historical, social, cultural, political, philosophical, theological, ecclesiastical, and economic. The colonial context challenged the bishop at the level of his innermost core convictions and he in turn attempted to engage it in an all-out struggle for emancipation at every level, at every turn.

We are now ready to do the thorough study of Bresi-Ando’s successes and failures: a full analysis of his complete palette of emancipationist efforts, looking for every piece and shred of evidence that indeed Bresi-Ando utilized Pan-Africanism as the guiding principle in his multifarious life. In doing this, we will tackle the 3rd Objective of the thesis: to determine if in reality Bresi-Ando’s visionary goal was to achieve Pan-Africanist emancipation in every area of life—socio-cultural, religious, educational, commercial, and political—via his own independent church.

To accomplish this 3rd Objective, the research hypothesis (i.e. that Pan-Africanism is the “key” to understand Bresi-Ando) will be applied to the bishop’s own *complete vision for the African*, which he described as “the emancipation of the African in all areas of life: religious, political, social, cultural, economical, and educational”¹. Copious evidence from the Fulbright research data will

¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1513-1517.

be examined to see if indeed Bresi-Ando, while working on the Gold Coast throughout the decade of the 1930's, did make multiple, specific, coordinated, and determined Pan-Africanist actions in all the areas mentioned in his definition—in his socio-cultural stance, in his religious transformations, in his educational policy, in his commercial adventures, and in his political views. Each of these areas will comprise a chapter of study for Section Three.

Additionally, Bresi-Ando's emancipationist thinking—as translated into actions and not limited to mere words on paper or sermons for ears—will be compared to that of the world's leading Pan-Africanists in his day and before his day: Blyden, Casely Hayford, Du Bois, Marcus Garvey and Laura Adorkor Kofey. Not only will such comparisons be useful to determine if Bresi-Ando shared their mindset and therefore should be included within their group as a Pan-Africanist who was guided by their common vision, this approach will also help tackle the 4th Objective, which is to discern if, and to what extent, Bresi-Ando was a *Pan-Africanist pioneer*. This, however, is a transversal objective and therefore has no dedicated chapter or section. As an ongoing theme, it runs throughout the entire work drawing comparisons and stating pertinent points in all five chapters of Section Three.

Of these famous men and women who sought to replace a Euro-centered vision of life with their pro-black identity and unity, being guided by their Pan-African aspirations, the most important will be the comparison of Marcus Garvey to Bresi-Ando, the former being recognized as the world's foremost and loudest Pan-Africanist contemporary to the Prince-Patriarch in the 1920's and '30s. Section Three therefore will look in particular in this direction to see if, and to what extent, Bresi-Ando mirrored Garvey in acts and echoed him in words, and how they differed. This process will hopefully bring us to a deep understanding of Bresi-Ando's life, actions, values, and beliefs. We thereby will hopefully achieve our cognitive goal of making the bishop a comprehensible person who shared the greatest ideals with his greatest contemporaries. If the hypothesis of this dissertation is correct, by the end of Section Three the reader should see clearly that Bresi-Ando was indeed a Pan-Africanist "pioneer" who possessed a global, underlying, guiding Pan-African vision that he tried to implement in multiple ways. However, if the hypothesis is wrong, then Bresi-Ando's actions, words, and thoughts will be seen in another light.

Overview of Bresi-Ando's Emancipationist Thought

In 1932, after arriving on the Gold Coast with his new, indigenous, independent African church organization, Bresi-Ando explained to the locals gathered in his hometown of Apam his elaborate plans to launch a full-scale, multi-faceted emancipationist effort within his homeland. He described the new church that he was bringing from Nigeria and the vision of what he intended to do within the colony.

In his message—and throughout the next few years in his preaching—Bresi-Ando combined the good news of the Christian Gospel *with* the call for “emancipation”. This was his *synthesis*, in imitation of that of Laura Adorkor Kofey, who had presented repatriationist emancipation ideology within the context of her own innovative religious denomination. Making the Christian Gospel his base, Bresi-Ando's core conviction, according to Rev. Edonu, came from Christ's teaching: that the Son of God makes you “free indeed” (John 8:36 NKJV)². Thus, if a person desired true freedom, he or she first had to believe in Jesus Christ as the All-Powerful Creator of everything spiritual and material, and also as the Divine Liberator of humanity from sin, death and the Devil³.

From his Bible-based Gospel proclamation of freedom as his starting point, Bresi-Ando went on to preach emancipation and liberation for the black man in all areas of his life: social/cultural emancipation (Chapter 13), religious emancipation (Chapter 14), educational emancipation (Chapter 15), commercial emancipation (Chapter 16), and even political emancipation (Chapter 17)⁴. But instead of making a differentiation between “religious” and “secular” activities⁵, Bresi-Ando synergistically blended them all together⁶. Since Bresi-Ando was calling all Africans to come together to be free in all five of these areas, therefore, in this Section Three, a specific chapter is dedicated to each. The order of these chapters is not arbitrary but reflects generally the chronological order in which the Patriarch tried to implement his emancipationist views concretely on the Gold Coast and into the Asante hinterlands throughout the 1930's.

² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1516.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1513-1517; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 419.

⁵ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 73.

⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1514.

Chapter 13, “Bresi-Ando’s *Socio-Cultural* Emancipation.” First, and specifically, according to Rev. Edonu, Bresi-Ando started his church to effect *religious* freedom—via his church. African social and cultural considerations were reflected through his religious aspirations and will be elucidated within this chapter. As Africans they could now pray in an African church which was itself run by black African clergy—not by white Europeans⁷. Using their black “African spectacles” (African perspective), the Africanization policy within Bresi-Ando’s new church would liberate them from the constraints of certain European cultural dictates⁸. Thus, they would develop their worship of the true Triune God in a manner comfortable to Africans⁹. They would come together to pray, to believe in God, to trust Him for guidance, and to hope that one day all their prayers would be answered and the other desired freedoms would also follow in time¹⁰.

Chapter 14, “Bresi-Ando’s *Religious* Emancipation.” Initially, Bresi-Ando’s vision of religious emancipation was limited to his “Ethiopianist” desire for a black-run ecclesiastical organization, combined with certain elements of cultural Africanization. However, circumstances widened (or, “corrected”) this vision in 1935 after his pontifical ordination into the so-called “Orthodox-Catholic” Church of alleged Jacobite roots, a non-Western religious form carried by various European and American *episcopi vagantes*. Convinced of his legitimate canonical “apostolic” status, Bresi-Ando styled himself as the “Patriarch” of his own African “patriarchate”, non-European in origin, which he claimed was in communion with the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church. His was a church designed to embrace all Africans everywhere, be it on the continent, or abroad in the diaspora. Bresi-Ando’s desire was that all Africans be one in Christ—together, united and free. The 1935 religious enlargement of his original fundamental emancipationist vision is analyzed meticulously in Chapter 14.

Chapter 15, “Bresi-Ando’s *Educational* Emancipation.” In addition to religious emancipation, Bresi-Ando desired *educational* freedom—specifically, to have African-run educational institutions. In this arena, important voices saw him as a true “‘pioneer’ in the sense that he was

⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomaa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 26, and 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1513.

⁸ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 74; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomaa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 55.

⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomaa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 55.

¹⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomaa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1513.

establishing schools as an African”¹¹, “many years ahead of his time”¹². This side of Bresi-Ando’s concrete manifestation of his over-arching emancipationist vision is described in detail in Chapter 15.

Chapter 16, “Bresi-Ando’s *Commercial* Emancipation.” Bresi-Ando also started his church so that the African could become *commercially* free. He preached that they all should unite and pool their resources in order to prosper themselves, and thus not remain at the mercy of the white colonial master¹³. Commercially, Bresi-Ando was critical of the white man’s government which supported and accommodated the domineering foreign commercial companies who controlled the commerce and finances of the Gold Coast—this being part and parcel of “Colonial Imperialism”¹⁴. Yet Bresi-Ando could not talk about commercial freedom without giving it a concrete base, so in time Bresi-Ando’s company, “Ebibirpim Limited,” came into existence as a church-run company. This grand attempt to mobilize and unite the huge indigenous Gold Coast cocoa-producing farming community behind his emancipationist goal is exhaustively sequenced in Chapter 16.

Chapter 17, “Bresi-Ando’s *Political* Emancipation.” Finally, Bresi-Ando started his church so that the African would—in time—become *politically* free. While there was no opportunity nor direct means to realize this aim in the over-all package that Bresi-Ando presented to the elders gathered in the town of Apam in 1932, there was certainly an *indirect* approach, according to his nephew, Rev. Kyriakos Edonu¹⁵. If the Africans—by means of their own churches, schools and businesses (and specifically, with those of Bresi-Ando)—would attain to religious, educational, and commercial freedom, then “the sum of these three” would be, in a sense, political freedom. Or, at least, these three, along with his constant preaching about African emancipation, would help usher in that desired politically-free era¹⁶. This smaller component of his emancipationist dream is outlined in Chapter 17.

¹¹ RI, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1194.

¹² RI, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Tape 82, Log 20, p. 1225.

¹³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1513-1514.

¹⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 June 1994, Log 26, p. 1663-1668.

¹⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1514-1515.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Thus, Bresi-Ando's synthetic vision was socio-cultural, educational, commercial, political *and* theological. This present chapter will examine the *socio-cultural* components of his emancipationist ideology and agenda.

SECTION THREE: SPECIFIC ANALYSIS OF THE “PAN-AFRICANISM” OF BRESI-ANDO DURING THE 1930’s

CHAPTER 13 BRESI-ANDO’S SOCIO-CULTURAL EMANCIPATION

Purpose

This chapter will seek to determine if, and to what extent, Bresi-Ando’s unique socio-cultural position and reforms were manifestations of Pan-Africanism. While heavily influenced by Garvey, Bresi-Ando was not always 100% in line with Marcus’ teachings. Garveyite emancipationist ideology appears to have influenced his Ethiopianist establishment of his own independent African-run church (AIC), his subsequent adoption of both the “Kofey synthesis” and her African-American repatriation program, and his church’s selective cultural Africanization policy. Let us read on to learn if indeed such was the case.

Sources

Primary sources are used for this chapter are the corpus of writings of Bresi-Ando himself:

his booklet entitled, *The Apostolic Succession of the African Universal Church (Orthodox-Catholic)*, published by The Publication Department of Ebibirpim, Ltd., [no date], p. 1-30

his pamphlet entitled, *Funereal Bye-Laws*, The African Universal Church Orthodox Catholic, Diocese of St. Ignatius of Antioch, [no date], p. 1-3, (located in Anderson Ghana Research Fulbright File GR1.66)

his type-written document entitled, “Pledge of the African Universal (O.C.) Church,” [no date], (Anderson Ghana Research Fulbright File GR1.67)

his pamphlet entitled, *Steps to the Communion Rail in the African Universal Church (Orthodox Catholic)*, published by The Publication Department of Ebibirpim, Ltd., [no date] (out-of-print, but quoted at length in Max Assimeng’s 1975 article, “Methodological Africanism,” p. 75)

a pamphlet entitled, *Some Reasons for the Cocoa Crisis, 1937*, [s.l][s.n.] (out-of-print, but quoted in Max Assimeng’s 1975 article, “Methodological Africanism,” p. 61-62. Bresi-Ando was reportedly a contributing author of this leaflet.)

In addition to these documents are the transcripts of the field interviews of Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu in Afransi, Central Region, Ghana, by Andrew Anderson (September 1992 to November 1994),

and the personal interview that Anderson had with Dr. Max Assimeng on 12 October 1992 in his campus office. These are located within Anderson's Fulbright Field Notes (FFN). Another primary source that was very useful in comparing the ideas of Bresi-Ando to that of Marcus Garvey is the collection of the latter's articles, speeches, and sayings in: *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* (volume one, 1923; volume two, 1926), edited by his second wife, Amy Jacques-Garvey, and reprinted in one combined volume by Martino Publishing in 2014.

The most important *secondary* source for this chapter is Dr. Assimeng's 26-page article in which he surveys Bresi-Ando's sociological aspects: "Methodological Africanism: Bresi-Ando as an Episcopus Vagans," *CONCH*, Vol. VII, n° 1 & 2, 1975. This article is most informative since it is the only academic work of any magnitude devoted to the analysis of the life and work of Bresi-Ando prior to this present attempt. Further, it is extremely useful since the author is a leading sociologist in Ghana writing about a Ghanaian and analyzing him from a sociological point of view, which is perfect for a chapter dedicated to "Bresi-Ando's *Socio-Cultural* Emancipation."

A variety of secondary sources were consulted as well: E. David Cronon, *Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (1969); Hans W. Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, (1967), and David Kimble's *A Political History of Ghana: The Rise of Gold Coast Nationalism, 1850-1928* (1965).

Structure

There are *three* parts to this *first* of five analytical chapters in Section Three:

- 1) Bresi-Ando's general definition of the term "Pan-Africanism"
- 2) Bresi-Ando's "Ethiopianism"
- 3) Bresi-Ando's "Africanization" policy

The flow of the chapter will begin with an attempt to express Bresi-Ando's general definition of the term "Pan-Africanism." This first part will include an analysis of Garvey's influence on Bresi-Ando, with his emancipationist rhetoric being compared to that of Garvey. Their very similar black-oriented vision of life—their "spectacles"—will be likened. Bresi-Ando's own particular departures from Garveyite ideology will be demonstrated, with evidence displaying his lack of

racism and his willingness to cooperate with whites. Professor Assimeng's sociological analysis will show how he coined a term—"methodological Africanism"—to try to describe the thoroughness of Bresi-Ando's emancipationist approach, while providing his opinion on Bresi-Ando as an "Ethiopianist" church founder.

The second part will briefly elucidate Bresi-Ando's "Ethiopianist" stance in order to segue into his "Africanization" efforts, which are described in detail in the third part. Specific examples of socio-cultural "Africanization" within his Ebibirpim/African Universal Church will provide concrete evidence that Bresi-Ando actively set about trying to implement Pan-Africanist ideals within his AIC. These examples will reveal how Bresi-Ando subjectively selected certain elements from his African culture to introduce into his AIC, while forbidding others.

1. Bresi-Ando's general definition of the term "Pan-Africanism"

The fields of political science and African theology admit that their definitions of "Pan-Africanism" are hard to circumscribe and have changed over the last century¹. With this in mind, this study is limited to the understanding of the term as used within the Garveyist-era of the 1920's and 1930's. The preliminary chapters in Section One laid down the necessary background context for this analysis. For a definition of "Pan-Africanism" within those two decades, the discipline of political science saw W. E. B. Du Bois developing Blyden's concept of "blackness" by promoting the concepts of unity, empowerment, and liberation for the black/African "race". In the 1920-30's, Garvey took these ideas and formed a very large black international movement with millions of members (his UNIA), as he sought social improvement for the "Negro" in all areas of life—political, economical, educational and racial. His solution to racial tension echoed Blyden's "Back-to-Africa" repatriation scheme. Yet, in all his speech-making, Garvey intentionally avoided adopting a single a theological denominational platform.

Bishop Bresi-Ando had a strong hatred for the narrow limits which were placed upon his African culture by Western foreigners' religious and political perception of reality². This led him to espouse a broad-based African emancipation ideology, intersecting and impacting all disciplines

¹ Marc MATERA. "Pan-Africanism", p. 1701; Emmanuel MARTEY. *African Theology* [...], p. 9.

² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 942-943.

within his fundamental global vision of life. Bresi-Ando was convinced that the African's "blackness"—not the "white's ethics"—was to be the necessary judge of African's faith, morals, and actions³. In this wide all-embracing approach to "blackness" with its "black internationalism," Bresi-Ando was trumpeting Garvey's ideals.

1.1. Marcus Garvey influence

Bresi-Ando was *not* unique in his thinking on the subject of African political "emancipation" and "black internationalism" but was very similar to the views of his global contemporaries, such as Marcus Garvey in this regard, but with some critical distinctions. Like Garvey, Bresi-Ando saw Africa as the desired homeland for all people of African descent. Bresi-Ando's desire that Africans at home and abroad unite to define their own future freedom was further crystallized into a concrete plan by the entrance and merger of his AIC with the Kofey African Universal Church and its Garvey-inspired "Back-to-Africa" repatriation plan in 1931.

However, Bresi-Ando as a real "Garveyite" Pan-Africanist went further than Marcus' failed repatriation attempts, going beyond ineffective idealism to concrete realities—by actually starting parish communities as the "receiving" end of an intended cross-the-Atlantic "Back-to-Africa" repatriation movement. Between 1932 and 1935 not less than 44 parishes were planted—both in the Gold Coast Colony and neighboring Ashanti Protectorate—an average of one new parish was opened *every three and a half weeks* for a period of three years (See Appendix A for list of parishes with dates of founding). Bresi-Ando's church became a fast-growing, real, indigenous people "movement", remembers the retired Ghanaian senior politician, Mr. Kojo Botsio⁴.

1.1.1. Bresi-Ando's "Pledge" for emancipation

Bresi-Ando proclaimed that "to accomplish the Master's Work" he would seek "the salvation of souls" and the "unity and freedom of all peoples of the race"⁵. For the new converts to his "Pan-Africanist" Ebibirpim Church— "the Church of the Thousands of Africa", "the church for the whole of Africa, for all Africans everywhere"⁶, Bresi-Ando created a "pledge" of loyalty for them

³ Max ASSIMENG. "Methodological Africanism [...]," p. 54.

⁴ RI, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1189 and 1202.

⁵ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 12.

⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 06 January 1993, Log 16, p. 921, 925.

to take when they joined. The new convert pledged to work for Bresi-Ando's emancipation and repatriation program, promising that he or she would "ever be restless until the unification of all the blacks scattered abroad is materialized," believing that "all the scattered black men throughout the world shall ultimately come together and have their liberty"⁷.

In this "Pledge" can be seen the fervor of Garveyist Pan-African "*black internationalism*"—(i.e. "all the scattered black men throughout the world")—*combined* with Garvey's call for *universal Negro emancipation*—(i.e. "shall ultimately come together and have their liberty"). Bresi-Ando actually parrots Marcus' own words and concepts when speaking of Africa's coming "redemption" and God's promise that Ethiopia shall "rise"⁸. The text of Bresi-Ando's "Pledge" is a chief primary source exhibit and proof of Bresi-Ando's Garvey-inspired Pan-Africanist ideology. Here Bresi-Ando sounds very much like Garvey, who gave stirring speeches about the coming "redemption" of Africa, predicting that the continent "will be completely colonized by Negroes," while at the same time warning that "[n]o one knows when the hour of African's *redemption* cometh"⁹. Compare such words of Garvey to Bresi-Ando's "Pledge":

Pledge of the African Universal (O.C.) Church¹⁰

1. While I stand before the throne of the Almighty God Who stands behind the universe [...] I do devoutly devote myself and life to the glory of the African Universal (O.C.) Church.
2. I thoroughly understand that *all people that are black* are of a common descendant: So I faithfully believe that all the *scattered* black men *throughout the world* shall ultimately come *together* and have their *liberty*. To this end I offer to do my part.
3. I pledge to accord due honor to our Government, Chiefs [...]
4. I pledge to be obedient to all in authority of the Church [...]
5. I pledge not to do anything to lower the prestige of the African Universal (O.C.) Church and my *nation*.
6. I pledge to endeavor with all my might to safeguard the interest of the Church in spirit, mind and deed against all enemies within and without; to be well

⁷ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Pledge of the African Universal (O.C.) Church, [unpublished typed document], [s.d.], p. 1, File GR1.67.

⁸ George PADMORE. *Pan-Africanism Or Communism?: The Coming Struggle for Africa*, London, D. Dobson, 1956, p. 95.

⁹ *Ibid.*—italics added.

¹⁰ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Pledge of the African Universal (O.C.) Church, [unpublished typed document], [s.d.], p. 1, File GR1.67—italics added.

- behaved to the end that *it may hasten the realization of God's promise that Ethiopia shall rise.*
7. I will ever be restless until the *unification of all the blacks scattered abroad* is materialized and will not keep mute over the *redemption of my nation* until their righteousness shine [*sic.*] forth and their salvation brightly burn [*sic.*] like a lamp.
 8. I pledge also that august messengers shall emerge from the East of Africa; princesses [*sic.*] shall be found in Egypt and *Ethiopia shall haste to stretch forth her hand unto God.*

Professor Assimeng as an African sociologist sees this “Pledge” as evidence that “Bresi-Ando was a continuation of a long search for the cultural history, heritage and meanings of peoples of black descent”¹¹. In the text of the “Pledge” one easily sees the paramount emphasis of a broad *emancipation* for all blacks, set in religious verbiage. However, the seeds of nationalistic desires can also be discovered in this “Pledge”. The new member went on to promise that he “will not keep mute over the redemption of my *nation* until their righteousness shine [*sic.*] forth and their salvation brightly burn [*sic.*] like a lamp”¹². (In Chapter 14, on the topic of *religious* emancipation, we shall see how Bresi-Ando gave the term “nation” a very unique and *spiritualized* definition, since physical liberation from imperialist control was clearly not yet an option during the 1930’s British Gold Coast Colony.) Amazingly, Bresi-Ando’s embryonic call for what became Ghanaian nationalism was two decades ahead of the Post-WWII advent of Ghanaian politics. In this, he was prophetic.

Bresi-Ando’s Pan-Africanist “Pledge”—solemnly promised by all his converts—was similar to the baptismal pledge by another Garvey-influenced clergyman, Archbishop George McGuire of the African Orthodox Church. This former UNIA national chaplain in 1921 wrote for his new denomination the “The Universal Negro Ritual,” which contained his religious ceremonies. After baptism, the infant was also immediately declared a member of the Universal Negro Improvement Association with the words: “that hereafter he may fight manfully under this banner, for the *freedom* of his race, and the *redemption of Africa* unto his life’s end. Amen”¹³. Bresi-Ando, in

¹¹ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 73.

¹² Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Pledge of the African Universal (O.C.) Church, [unpublished typed document], [s.d.], p. 1, File GR1.67—italics added.

¹³ George McGuire. *The Universal Negro Ritual*, [s.l.], [s.n.], 1921, p. 24-25, in Richard NEWMAN, *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 88—italics added.

drafting his “Pledge”, was in step with other leading Pan-Africanist clergymen of his era who were also gathering recruits for the coming “redemption” of Africa.

In saying “*Ethiopia shall rise*” in the Pledge, Rev. Edonu understood his uncle Bresi-Ando to be referring to the coming “emancipation of the black race—politically, commercially, religiously”—from the “burden of the white [*man*]”¹⁴. This perfectly echoes the ideology of Laura Kofey and Marcus Garvey. Rev. Edonu even stated that Bresi-Ando “was following the line of Adorkor Kofey” in this Pledge¹⁵. Garvey liked to use Psalm 68:31 in his speeches: “*Princes shall come out of Egypt and Ethiopia shall haste to stretch forth her hand unto God*”¹⁶. Garvey researcher Barbara Bair identifies this passage of Holy Scripture as the one “repeated most often in the Garvey movement” since it “spoke directly to the Garveyite longing for redemption”¹⁷. She notes that “[i]t was precisely this vision of African redemption that Mother Laura Kofey used to urge her followers on to a Pan-African consciousness”¹⁸. Interestingly, Bresi-Ando also used this same Bible verse in point 8 of his Pledge. Certainly, he took it from Garvey and Kofey. Rev. Edonu’s interpretation of his uncle’s usage of this Bible verse meant that Africans would “obtain freedom by stretching forth [*their*] hands to God in praise and thanksgiving” inside Bresi-Ando’s AIC, because in it the black man had the “freedom to worship God the way he likes”¹⁹. Bresi-Ando was convinced that God was going to use his African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church as a vehicle *through which* to inaugurate all the other longed-for freedoms²⁰. This approach, however, was very different from that of Garvey, who did not see the desired African emancipation to be arriving via the exclusive context of any Negro church. Keep in mind that chaplain McGuire had left the UNIA because Garvey did not want his vast Universal Negro Improvement Association to sponsor a single Negro denomination and thereby reduce his potential support base²¹. Later on the two men (McGuire and Garvey) did again collaborate, but they very clearly kept their secular

¹⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 March 1994, Log 11, p. 630.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 81, 86, 96.

¹⁷ Barbara BAIR. “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]” p. 41.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 March 1994, Log 11, p. 630.

²⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1513-1517.

²¹ Karl PRUTER. *The Strange Partnership of George Alexander McGuire and Marcus Garvey*, [s.l.], Borgo Pr., 1986, p. 21.

(UNIA) and religious (AOC) entities entirely distinct, while sharing similar ideals and often the same members²².

Bresi-Ando's adoption of Garveyite emancipationist ideology was further "corrected" (i.e. spiritualized) in 1935 when he embraced the Jacobite Church and became an "Orthodox Catholic" "Patriarch" (which topic is thoroughly analyzed in Chapter 14, "Bresi-Ando's *Religious Emancipation*"). He wrote in his booklet, *The Apostolic Succession*, explaining his "corrected vision":

Yet there remains the absolute certainty that, whilst the Wisdom of God may have delayed the desires of man, His Almighty Will has at least granted him a *corrected vision* of the fulfilment of his longing. He who is no respecter of persons has devised the way whereby the fond aims of the Church and the legitimate aspirations of the writer *to make it a channel for the fulfilment of the prophecy* "Ethiopia shall suddenly *rise and stretch forth her hands unto God*" shall be realized. Assuredly, God plans differently from man, hence the African Universal (O-C) Church is participating fully in the activities of the Christian Church to gather into one fold that there may be one shepherd, the scattered sheep who, at the dawn of Christianity were converted by the Apostolic Sees of Anthioch [*sic.*], Jerusalem and Alexandria.²³

By joining Bresi-Ando's African Universal (O.C.) Church and pledging to be a good member of the same, the emphasis lay on obtaining one's *religious* freedom *first*, yet included—via hope—are all the other aspects and freedoms as well, for Christ, the Source of True Freedom, would make His followers "free indeed"²⁴. Like Kofey before him, Bresi-Ando's *synthesis* was based on—and tied together by—Christ and the Bible, concretely incarnated within his African independent church (AIC). As evidenced in his Pledge, Bresi-Ando offers his ecclesial organization as a means to that end: "that it may hasten the realization of God's promise that Ethiopia shall rise"²⁵. In this aspect, Bresi-Ando's approach to African emancipation is seen as slightly different from that of Garvey, who intentionally steered his UNIA social activist organization away from becoming another black Protestant denomination.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

²³ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 12-13.

²⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1516.

²⁵ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Pledge of the African Universal (O.C.) Church, [unpublished typed document], [s.d.], p. 1, File GR1.67.

1.1.2. Critical of the “white” way of life

Ideologically, on a fundamental level, Bresi-Ando was critical of the “white” way of life itself in many aspects. As they were free to be white, he wanted to be free to be black. He desired to be free in every way, in everything, because the oppression of the African by the white had also penetrated every aspect of the Gold Coast society—religion, education, commerce, and politics²⁶. In all areas white ideas were viewed to be “superior” while the black man’s were always seen to be “inferior”. To counter this, Bresi-Ando wanted the African to realize the authenticity of being an African²⁷. Garvey would have been proud of Bresi-Ando in this regard, since he had used his UNIA as an “economic, political, and cultural group” “to unite the black race through race pride, education, the redemption of Africa and economic development”²⁸.

1.1.3. Bresi-Ando’s “African spectacles”

Bresi-Ando, like Garvey before him, promoted the Africans’ own vision of life. Both believed in “blackness”. According to Assimeng, Bresi-Ando “was, and desired to remain, first and foremost, an African who always chose to look at issues through what he called ‘African spectacles’”²⁹. Bresi-Ando taught that Africans did not have to be subject anymore to the idea that the white man’s version of anything was necessarily and always the truest or most important one for the black man. He was against the *influence* of the white man over the black man³⁰. Therefore, for Bresi-Ando, the black man must be free to view the world as he sees it, through his “African spectacles”—his “black spectacles”—just as the white man sees the same world through his own point of view, in his own white context³¹. In thinking and doing this, one would become “more human.” Professor Assimeng came to this conclusion regarding Bresi-Ando: “His belief appeared to be that by being a proper and authentic African, one was thereby becoming more human”³².

²⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 June 1994, Log 26, p. 1663-1668.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Columbus SALLEY. *The Black 100* [...], p. 80-81.

²⁹ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 74.

³⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 June 1994, Log 26, p. 1663.

³¹ *Ibid.*; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 55.

³² Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 74.

Marcus Garvey also believed that using “one’s own spectacles” is a normal humanizing thing to do³³. Further, when Garvey wrote explaining his “Ethiopian spectacles,” he spoke about worshipping “the God of Ethiopia” instead of the “God of Jacob”³⁴:

If the white man has the idea of a white God, let him worship his God as he desires. If the yellow man’s God is of his race let him worship his God as he sees fit. We, as Negroes, have found a new ideal. Whilst our God has no color, yet it is *human to see everything through one’s own spectacles*, and since the white people have seen their God through white spectacles, we have only now started out (late though it be) *to see our God through our own spectacles*. The God of Isaac and the God of Jacob let Him exist for the race that believes in the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob. We Negroes believe in the God of Ethiopia, the everlasting God—God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost, the One God of all ages. That is the God in whom we believe, but we shall worship Him through *the spectacles of Ethiopia*.³⁵

With their “Ethiopian” and “African” spectacles, Garvey and Bresi-Ando sounded much the same, yet with a distinct difference. Bresi-Ando most likely borrowed the term from his more famous contemporary. However, there was a fundamental difference. Garvey himself, while admitting that God in His Divine Nature “has no color”³⁶, actually believed in a black-skinned “Negro Deity” until the day he died³⁷. Bishop McGuire, his “African Orthodox Church,” and Garveyites in the United States began to promote a physically “black” Christ³⁸. McGuire “urged the Garveyites to ‘forget the white gods’”³⁹. This only worked to alienate many black American Christians from Garvey and McGuire⁴⁰. Bresi-Ando, on the other hand, taught that when Africans “look through black spectacles, we see God as an African,” *without* actually physically changing Jesus’ skin color⁴¹. Rev. Edonu explained his uncle’s conception: “When an African looks at Christ, he sees Him as a ‘black’ Man, because he looks through black spectacles, and because *everything around him* was black.”⁴² Thus, for Bresi-Ando, “white spectacles” versus “black spectacles” meant that culturally the Africans saw all things as “black”. That had always been their norm, and they did

³³ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 44.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 177-180.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 179-180; Hans W. DEBRUNNER. *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, p. 331.

³⁹ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 178.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 181-182.

⁴¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 June 1994, Log 26, p. 1663.

⁴² *Ibid.*

not have to be intimidated by the whites into changing their view of life. Therefore, knowing God as “black” meant for Bresi-Ando, Edonu, and their fellow West Africans that God was Someone Who could relate to them as an insider, not as an alien to their culture or viewpoint⁴³. While both Garvey and Bresi-Ando agreed to have Christ fit into their cultural context—understanding that God can relate to any culture while being simultaneously far above all human cultures in the transcendence of Divine Essence—there is a real difference between Bresi-Ando’s term “*as an African*” versus Marcus Garvey’s *literally* portraying Jesus Christ with “black” skin color. Despite all his talk about the “God of Ethiopia” being a literal Black Negro Deity, one wonders if Garvey ever had the chance to view a traditional Ethiopian Orthodox icon of the Holy Trinity, which always shows three Identical Figures with light skin tone⁴⁴. A simple internet search easily verifies this fact. We will also see in the following chapter in what high esteem Bresi-Ando held the name “Jacob”, the name which Garvey rejected in favor of the term “Ethiopian”, when he said: “The God of Isaac and the God of Jacob let Him exist for the race that believes in the God of Isaac and the God of *Jacob*. We Negroes believe in the God of *Ethiopia*.”⁴⁵

1.1.4. Not racist

The Biblical Patriarch Jacob was a Middle Eastern white Semite, while the Ethiopians are shades of black. It is thus here, in skin color and the related topic of racism, where one really begins to distinguish Bresi-Ando from Garvey. It is a known fact that Garvey was an “extreme” racist who openly espoused racial separation/segregation⁴⁶, while promoting black purism in “the superiority of a black skin and Negro features”⁴⁷. Even among the African-American community, Garvey’s racism was divisive, for he believed that “pure” blacks were more authentic and worthy of leadership than light-toned Negroes (i.e. his opponent Du Bois was light-skinned)⁴⁸. For Garvey,

⁴³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 55.

⁴⁴ Nick Duff DAVIES. *Icons of the Trinity and crucifixion in Debre Birhan Selassie Ethiopian Orthodox Church, Gonder, Ethiopia*, [s.d.], Alamy Stock Photo, Image ID: A9292G, <https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-icons-of-the-trinity-and-crucifixion-in-debre-birhan-selassie-ethiopian-12227175.html>, (page consulted on 19 March 2019), 1 Photograph, color, 29.1 x 43.6 cm.

⁴⁵ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 44—italics added.

⁴⁶ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 178, 187-188.

⁴⁷ David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 543.

⁴⁸ Columbus SALLEY. *The Black 100* [...], p. 18, 81-82.

the blacker one was, the better. Blyden, the “Father” of Pan-Africanism and great promoter of repatriation back to African, had also advocated pure black genetics⁴⁹.

While Bresi-Ando was indeed an emancipationist-minded, anti-colonial, nationalistic, pro-African “Ethiopianist” leading an African-run church with hopes of a large-scale repatriation program, he was *never* a racist, said his aged nephew, with some indignation. Bresi-Ando only wanted, as a black man, to be free and equal as the whites were⁵⁰.

The steps to the Kingdom are not fixed in the white man’s land. It is everywhere. It is in the black man’s land too. From there he will start to climb.⁵¹
(The words and teaching of Bresi-Ando, as remembered by Rev. Edonu.)

Historian Kimble notes that during this time period within the Gold Coast, when Garveyism was filling all their colonial newspapers, the local budding nationalists “never accepted such extreme doctrines of racial purity as those propounded by Garvey”⁵².

Professor Assimeng notes that amazingly Bresi-Ando’s stress on being a “proper and authentic African [...] never led him to the direction of xenophobia or racism”⁵³. He did not believe in nor promote a Negro Christ and a “white” devil as McGuire’s people were doing at the time in the “African Orthodox Church” over in the U.S.A⁵⁴, nor did Bresi-Ando change Jesus’ picture to show Him with black skin as some Garveyites were doing⁵⁵. In fact, Bresi-Ando’s followers in Ghana carefully maintain a large, life-size cement crucifix of the Lord Jesus Christ at their Shrine of St. Raphael in the village of Fomena, Central Region, which for decades was regularly repainted with a fresh coat of *white* paint for His skin⁵⁶.

⁴⁹ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 12-13.

⁵⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 June 1994, Log 26, p. 1663.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 547.

⁵³ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 74.

⁵⁴ David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 544. This idea of a “Black Christ” died out in McGuire’s AOC as it started to stress more the theme of having “Apostolic Succession.” See Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 93.

⁵⁵ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 74; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 June 1994, Log 26, p. 1663.

⁵⁶ A black-and-white photo taken in 1975 and a color photo taken in 1992 both show that white paint was used for the color of skin of the Lord Jesus on His cross at Fomena, CR, GH. See: *Large outdoor Crucifix at the Shrine of St. Raphael, Gomoa Fomena, Central Region, Ghana*, 1975, Montreal, Private Collection: “A. J. Anderson Ghana Fulbright Research,” File GR26BOX.Album 6, 1 photograph, black and white, 9 cm x 14 cm; and a second photo of

Non-racist Bresi-Ando did not accept the “God of Africa” teachings of Nigeria’s NCNC party, nor did he tolerate the cult-like idol “worship” of his one-time Nigerian political associate, Azikiwe, as “the African Christ”⁵⁷. Racism, therefore, was not on Bresi-Ando’s agenda. Assimeng notes that in the writings of Bresi-Ando he *never* extolled “the African race as the race chosen by God, or as the centre of the universe”⁵⁸. Rather, in his research, the professor found that Bresi-Ando’s position “was that of *racial variability*—stressing, almost *ad nauseam*, that all the races of mankind are equal in the sight of the Creator, and that Jesus Christ is a universal saviour”⁵⁹. He only wanted, as a black man, to be recognized to be as free and equal as his white brothers were.

Here Bresi-Ando differed from Garvey, who had criticized the “social equality” stance of the light-skinned Du Bois while favoring the “racial purity” views of Blyden. Garvey was firmly against the intermarriage of blacks and whites, and looked down on mulattos as examples of race amalgamation, which he called “race suicide”⁶⁰. Garvey had no kind words to say about the “near white” or “colored” men like W. E. B. Du Bois whom he accused of promoting “general miscegenation” by “wiping out both black and white” races⁶¹. Garvey so totally despaired of the African-American ever gaining full equality with whites in the United States that the only solution in his mind was racial purity and racial separation via an independent Negro country in Africa⁶², which he sometimes called “the United States of Africa”⁶³. He claimed that he did not hate white people⁶⁴. He only wanted the Europeans “to pack up their bag [*sic.*] and baggage and clear out of Africa”⁶⁵.

Concerning racial segregation, while not demanding all whites to leave Africa, Bresi-Ando believed that the Anglican Church and the various European missionaries should return to their respective homes in England and Europe and leave the shepherding of the Gold Coast Christians

the same: Andrew ANDERSON. *Large outdoor Crucifix at the Shrine of St. Raphael, Gomoa Fomena, Central Region, Ghana*, 1992, Montreal, Private Collection: “A. J. Anderson Ghana Fulbright Research,” File GR26BOX.Album 1, 1 photograph, color, 10.2 cm x 15.2 cm.

⁵⁷ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 74.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid*—italics added.

⁶⁰ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 17, and vol. II, p. 84.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 84.

⁶² Columbus SALLEY. *The Black 100* [...], p. 81.

⁶³ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 185, 188.

⁶⁴ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 13.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 40.

to their new “canonical” African “Patriarch”⁶⁶. Rev. Edonu recalled how the old rumor was circulated in which the white Anglican Archbishop of Accra allegedly stated that if the white “Archbishop” Harrington (whom Bresi-Ando had ordained) would travel down to the Gold Coast and stand in support of the black “Patriarch” Bresi-Ando, this would help firmly establish the African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church in the colony: “then there will be no need for the Anglican Church in the Gold Coast as it was for the Anglicans—the British—and the Africans would have their own church”⁶⁷. In this Bresi-Ando clearly exhibits the Garveyite “Africa for the African’s” mentality, as Bresi-Ando wanted to reclaim the Gold Coast, West Africa, and ultimately the whole of Africa—religiously, culturally, educationally, commercially, and politically—for the Africans. (However, this rationale also contained a unique ecclesiological dimension which is thoroughly discussed in Chapter 14, “Bresi-Ando’s *Religious* Emancipation.”)

His goals of a broad-based emancipationist agenda being understood, Bresi-Ando never spoke of desiring an all-black Orthodox organization⁶⁸. Rather, he saw the chocolate-colored Ethiopians, the brown Indian Jacobites, the light-toned Egyptian Copts, and the Middle Eastern Syrian Jacobites as all being his spiritual *brothers* in their one global family of “Jacobite” (“Monophysite”) “Orthodox” churches. Here there was no room for color racism, as both the Copts and the Ethiopians were indisputably ancient African communities. His policy was quite different from that of McGuire’s “African Orthodox Church,” to which many Garveyite UNIA members belonged. In those days the AOC restricted whites from entering the ranks of its clergy, it being a “Racial Church” (with black “ethnic exclusiveness”) that was proud to be “controlled by Colored Churchmen”⁶⁹. Bresi-Ando on the other hand very easily and freely cooperated with whites. He had been consecrated “bishop” by a white man in London in 1935, and he himself had turned around and consecrated two other white men—Harrington and Ward—as bishops in London⁷⁰. Bresi-Ando ordained Harrington to be the bishop of the British section of his church—as a junior white bishop under the senior black Prince-Patriarch—although this ecclesiastical arrangement was very short lived⁷¹. This same white British man remained a close friend and co-

⁶⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 June 1994, Log 26, p. 1663.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 61.

⁶⁹ *The Negro Churchman*, November 1924, in Peter F. ANSON, *Bishops at Large*, p. 265; Stephen HAYES. “Orthodox Mission in Tropical Africa,” p. 386; Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 92.

⁷⁰ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 4.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

worker of Bresi-Ando for several years until death separated the two. Similarly, from 1944 onwards, Bresi-Ando associated himself as a fully equal “Catholicos” to the famous white *episcopus vagans*, Mar Georgius, “Catholicos” of the “West”⁷².

Thus, when it came to skin color, Bresi-Ando was very opposite Garvey. The truth is that Bresi-Ando liked whites and wanted to be equal with them so much so that he even married a white woman (Evelyn) while in London who bore him a set of twins⁷³. Garvey would have been appalled at Bresi-Ando’s marriage and offspring as the sin of “race suicide”⁷⁴. However, since color racism was not a big issue for Gold Coasters in the 1920’s and ‘30s⁷⁵, shades of dark skin color were not important to Bresi-Ando either. He freely associated himself with the missionary Rev. Carey Harold Jones who was remembered as being a “fair-colored” light-toned American Negro⁷⁶. Garvey, however, openly attacked the light-skinned “near white” American Negroes (represented by his arch-rival Du Bois) as advocates of “racial amalgamation” which Garvey feared would “wipe out both black and white”⁷⁷. Furthermore, when Bresi-Ando returned to Accra in 1935 he then married Wilhelmina, an educated mulatto whose one parent was a foreigner⁷⁸. According to his nephew, Bresi-Ando married her so that he would have a school-educated wife who would “match his bishop’s status” of Patriarch⁷⁹. He even “consecrated” her “Matriarch”—an unknown non-Orthodox title⁸⁰. Again, both Garvey and Blyden—being racial “purists” railing against the “mulatto” as a “mixed” race—would have condemned Bresi-Ando’s actions⁸¹. Finally, when Bresi-Ando went back to Nigeria in 1942, his final wedded union—in repentance to his previous helter-skelter marital life-style—was to the darker-skinned Joana, who would remain his one wife until his death in 1970⁸². In his love-life, Bresi-Ando clearly illustrated what Kimble noted: that the “Gold Coast nationalists never accepted such extreme doctrines of racial purity as those

⁷² Mar KWAMIN I PP. 1946 letterhead, blank clergy certificate of appointment, Catholicate of the South, (Africa), The Orthodox Catholic Church, 08 October 1946, File GR1.4.

⁷³ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]”, p. 71; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 April 1994, Log 8, p. 430.

⁷⁴ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 17, and vol. II, p. 81.

⁷⁵ David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 547.

⁷⁶ FFN, J. B. QUANSAH. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 20, p. 1223.

⁷⁷ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. II, p. 84.

⁷⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 February 1994, Log 10, p. 552-553.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 7-8.

⁸¹ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 12-13; Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. II, p. 84-87.

⁸² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 February 1994, Log 10, p. 553.

propounded by Garvey; nor was racial tension so acute as it was in other parts of Africa, aggravated by problems of white settlement. But undercurrents of suspicion and distrust remained”⁸³. Garvey would have vocally disapproved of Bresi-Ando’s racial associations.

1.1.5. Part “piano key” and part Garvey

While Bresi-Ando adopted many of Marcus Garvey’s ideas—“black internationalism,” “Back-to-Africa” repatriation, “African spectacles” perspective, African emancipation and “redemption,” he avoided racism and hostility towards whites by adhering to a bit of the social theory of the famous Gold Coast academic Kwegyir Aggrey. With his black and white “piano key” analogy, Aggrey promoted the principle of cooperation, not segregation. He taught that blacks and whites, Africans and Europeans, must cooperate as equals, as brothers, on equal terms⁸⁴. He was always fighting against Garvey’s “Africa for the Africans” principle of segregation while remaining simultaneously staunchly proud of his black skin color⁸⁵. His famous saying was:

You can play a tune of sorts on the white keys, and you can play a tune of sorts on the black keys, but for harmony you must use both the black and white.⁸⁶

In this vein, Rev. Edonu saw his uncle Bresi-Ando not as a Garveyite racial purist or exclusivist, but rather as espousing the “black and white piano key” concept of Kwegyir Aggrey⁸⁷. Rev. Edonu expressed Aggrey’s anti-segregationist mode: “You can’t play an organ on only black or white keys separately.”⁸⁸ We will see this color cooperation exemplified later in Bresi-Ando’s commercial adventure, Ebibirpim Limited (in Chapter 16), where his financial emancipationist goal was to unite the Africans to export their cocoa abroad, by circumventing the greedy, white middlemen. But in order to succeed, Bresi-Ando needed to play on some white keys too; he had to cooperate with a couple of white men. He had the help of Archbishop Harrington, who ran the Ebibirpim Limited’s importing office in London (known in England as the “African Churches Stores Ltd”)⁸⁹. And, when it became necessary to take on a white business partner from within

⁸³ David KIMBLE. *A Political History of Ghana* [...], p. 547.

⁸⁴ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 53.

⁸⁵ Kwame NKRUMAH. *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*, New York, International Publishers, 1971 [1957], p. 14.

⁸⁶ Kwegyir AGGREY, in Kwame NKRUMAH, *Ghana* [...], p. 14.

⁸⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 60.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 278.

the Colony in order to ensure the financial success of his colonial-based cocoa export company, Bresi-Ando was not too proud to ask a white expatriate businessman, Mr. Bartholomew (the local Ford automobile dealer in Accra), to join his firm as a fellow executive⁹⁰.

Romance brought Bresi-Ando white (and half-white) lovers in marriage, practical financial considerations brought him white partners in business, and political fears kept him forever writing kind appeals to the white colonial authorities. Bresi-Ando was definitely a complicated mix of two cultures—black and white, African and European—and not a racial purist.

1.1.6. Be an African, not a copy of a white: Bresi-Ando's "hypocrisy"

Bresi-Ando taught his followers that they were Africans first and that they should be proud of that fact. In the heat of the 1937-1938 Cocoa Crisis he preached that they did *not* need to rely on imported ideas and imported products⁹¹. He wrote that being African was more important than wasting one's money "buying European luxuries" when one could "live comfortably without such goods"⁹². His protest pamphlet was entitled: "Some Reasons for the Cocoa Crisis, 1937," and it urged its African reader to:

be thrifty and keep your money; do not by any means waste it on imported goods while you can live comfortably without such goods. [...] The money you have is yours. Do not part with it for the purpose of buying European luxuries. ABOVE ALL THINGS BE AN AFRICAN.⁹³

However, having stated such strict, pro-African, anti-European views in the context of the heated debate of the Cocoa Crisis, later on Bresi-Ando was seen to be quite the lover of European imported goodies himself. A police report in Nigeria in 1943 described him as a clergyman who quite often sported "a quantity of gold ornaments, watch chains, cuff links, etc." and was seen "[n]early always smoking a cigar" while carrying "a walking stick"⁹⁴. Photos of the Patriarch

⁹⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 April 1994, Log 9, p. 446.

⁹¹ Max ASSIMENG. "Methodological Africanism [...]" p. 61-62.

⁹² The Gold Coast Cocoa Farmer. *Some Reasons for the Cocoa Crisis, 1937*, [s.l.][s.n.] in Max ASSIMENG, "Methodological Africanism [...]" p. 61-62—emphasis is in the original. Bresi-Ando was reportedly a contributing author of this pamphlet.

⁹³ *Ibid.* Emphasis is in the original.

⁹⁴ Police Report. Senior Assistant Superintendent of Police, Aba, to Commissioner of Police, Lagos, Nigeria, 23 July 1943, Ibadan Archives File CSO.192/41394, African Universal Church and Ebibirpim Ltd., in Max ASSIMENG, "Methodological Africanism [...]" p. 62 & 77 footnote 8.

taken in the mid-1950's show him wearing the traditional toga-style outer cloth of Ghanaian gentlemen in one picture, while wearing Western-style clothing (business suit, white colonial pith helmet) in others⁹⁵. Ghanaian chiefs do commonly wear a lot of gold items crafted in their style of traditional African jewelry, but the watch chains, cuff links, cigars, and pith helmets are definitely *not* Ghanaian. Bresi-Ando's apparent "hypocrisy" in the area of European imports and outward adornments might be easily explained. While he loudly promoted "blackness" and being "an African," Bresi-Ando certainly did not limit himself to a "black-only" world. His love of white European products showed that in his own life in many practical ways he was more a "piano-key" cooperator than a "purist" Garveyite. He wanted to be the African who could move easily and comfortably—and most of all, *equally*—in both worlds, white and black. That being noted, Bresi-Ando did stress "Africanization" consistently enough throughout his varied affairs for the academic world to make up a new sociological term just for him—"methodological Africanism."

1.2. The "Methodological Africanism" of Assimeng

Recognizing that Bresi-Ando, like Garvey, desired to utilize an African vision of life with its "African" or "Ethiopian" black "spectacles", Professor Assimeng coined a useful term—"methodological Africanism—to describe the bishop's "underlying" pro-African-orientation "in his thoughts about religion, politics, commerce, and culture in general"⁹⁶. He wrote that *methodological Africanism* refers to "a mental framework which is dominated by an underlying assumption which stipulates that Africa, and Africans' interest, should be the principal guideline in interpreting values and derived social behavior"⁹⁷. This position holds that "Africa" and "blackness" is for Africans the judge of "the appropriateness or otherwise of belief and conduct with respect to Africa"⁹⁸. Thus, "methodological Africanism" was the lens within Bresi-Ando's "African spectacles." While Assimeng correctly discerned that this principle—these "African

⁹⁵ Photographs: *Rev. and Mrs. Bresi-Ando, Aba, Nigeria, 1949*, [in Western business suit]; *Bresi-Ando, Gold Coast, 1956*, [white pith helmet]; *Ghana Independence Day Celebration held by the Ghana Community in Aba & Environs, Nigeria, 1957*, [Bresi-Ando wearing Ghanaian toga-style cloth], Montreal, Private Collection: "A. J. Anderson Ghana Fulbright Research," File GR26BOX.Album 6, 3 photographs, black and white, 9 cm x 14 cm; *Patriarch Kwamin and Chief Adams of Fomena, Gold Coast, 1955*, [wearing Roman Catholic Archbishop's vestments and mitre], Montreal, Private Collection: "A. J. Anderson Ghana Fulbright Research," File GR26BOX.Album 6, 1 photograph, black and white, 9 cm x 12.4 cm.

⁹⁶ Max ASSIMENG. "Methodological Africanism [...]," p. 54, 73, 74.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

spectacles”—guided Bresi-Ando, his lack of field research in Ghana severely limited the scope of his conclusion, a fact that he himself admitted⁹⁹. His stated academic goal was “more on sociological thresholds and incidences, rather than on historical sequences and chronology”, and he called for “[a] future and more detailed study” on “the historical origins of the Bishop” to complete his work¹⁰⁰.

Despite the fact that he provides *useful yet incomplete* data, Assimeng was heading in the *right* direction with his new sociological term for the Prince-Patriarch of Africa—*methodological Africanism*. He recognized that Bresi-Ando was “an authentic African, dedicated to the continent’s total self-fulfillment and emancipation”¹⁰¹, and he had a hunch that Bresi-Ando was multidimensional in his approach. Therefore he wrote: “In a way, it would sound quite unfair to treat Bresi-Ando as either a religious leader, or a pioneer businessman, or a politician *exclusively*.”¹⁰² So Professor Assimeng had the *right* term in hand, however, due to his lack of wider field research, he was unable to apply it thoroughly to every aspect of Bresi-Ando’s actual life work—to his ecclesiastical, educational, commercial, and political actions. Therefore, Assimeng failed to see the full truth, scope and intensity of his correct idea: that Bresi-Ando was absolutely, *methodically*, and systematically guided by a unified underlying vision. Bresi-Ando was not just methodologically an African in some aspects; rather, he was trying to be methodologically African in *all major* areas of life—to the maximum possible.

Not having the full picture, Assimeng did not see Bresi-Ando consistently working out his vision, taking literal task-oriented action steps towards full emancipation in all areas. Therefore, the professor minimizes the size, speed, spread, and impact of Bresi-Ando’s popular repatriation plan while dismissing his pioneering educational system¹⁰³, allotting only one paragraph to these topics which actually require several chapters. Not knowing all of Bresi-Ando’s political connections with the rising politicians of Ghana, the professor only speaks of the bishop’s Nigerian politics¹⁰⁴. Not fully grasping the ecclesiastical implications, Assimeng fails to see how Bresi-Ando’s love

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* Emphasis in original.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 69-70.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66, 74.

for the Jacobites had any connection to African emancipation. Thus, Assimeng falls short of establishing a *full global perspective* on Bresi-Ando when he suggests that the bishop's primary motive may have just been the financial aspirations of an Ethiopianist-era clergyman seeking self-promotion in society by using fancy robes and high-sounding ecclesiastical titles: "a deflected self-realization" of "status, social mobility, and self-expression [...] and social eminence" through aspiring to high ecclesiastical rank¹⁰⁵. On the contrary, the thesis of this research—which hopes to be borne out in the analytical chapters of this Section Three on the topics of religion, education, commerce, and politics—is that Bresi-Ando's framework was much more exhaustively "methodological" than the good professor had ever grasped. "Pan" in Greek means "all", and Bresi-Ando wanted the African to have it "all". He truly systematically tried to realize this emancipationist ideology in every aspect of African life. In this way, he attempted to be "Pan-African". His "Africanism" was much more "methodological" than Professor Assimeng had ever imagined.

Professor Assimeng, however, does see Bresi-Ando "as an example of the kind of individuals who, although supposedly products of the dominant themes of their cultural patterns, do not easily fit the prescriptions and demands of culture's narrow but dominant orientations," and thus they have an "obsessive urge" to search "elsewhere for self-fulfillment"¹⁰⁶. Moreover, Assimeng recognized that within his time frame, Bresi-Ando's desire for real political nationalistic emancipation was in a "dilemma", being in the straight-jacket of the 1930's imperial colonial might, and therefore he had to have a broader goal of seeking the "emancipation of their wider race as a whole"¹⁰⁷. Finally, for the professional sociologist of the mid-1970's looking back in time, Bresi-Ando had completely broken the stereotype: "Bresi-Ando represents a sharp deviation from the stereotype of the black man as acquiescing, unquestioning, and easily accommodating," being creatively "deviant" in his "innovation in cultural forms"¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 56, 58, 61, 64.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 54-55.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

2. Bresi-Ando's "Ethiopianism"

When Professor Assimeng pegged Bresi-Ando as an Ethiopianist-era clergyman, he was correct. Prior to his embrace of the Jacobite church, Bresi-Ando's pre-1935 religious form of African emancipation was *not* unique, but fit rather easily into the early first phase of AICs—the "'Ethiopianism movement' in Africa" in which churches sought liberation from white dominion in church life¹⁰⁹. Rev. Edonu explained that his uncle "resigned from the Methodist Church" as a clergyman "to found a church of his own" because he believed that "[i]t was time that every African started to be doing things [*sic.*] by himself than to depend solely on the foreign teaching and suppression. There were so many Africans grown up, indeed, who are intelligent and could not serve God because of their color and the custom. That is the thing that made him to found a church which could embrace all—everybody—because of his color and custom."¹¹⁰ The "Bresi-Ando experience" of the 1920's and early 1930's can be aptly summarized "Early Ethiopianism" which "included tribalist, nationalist, and Pan-African dimensions" and was "encouraged by association with independent American black churches and radical leaders with 'back to Africa' ideas and an Ethiopianist ideology"¹¹¹. Everything here—except for "tribalist"—applies to Bresi-Ando. An ex-Methodist minister, Bresi-Ando took part in the First Wave "Ethiopian" movement by starting his own African indigenous church (AIC), with its accompanying schools, both in Nigeria (1920's), and later in the Gold Coast (1930's)¹¹².

However, as already noted, historically speaking, when Assimeng goes on to conclude that Bresi-Ando could be defined by this category of African natives in the early 20th Century, prior to decolonization, who were seeking to climb the ladder of social prestige and glory via high ecclesial office, he too narrowly constricts a complete understanding of the man. Like the hand-full of other researchers who mentioned the Prince-Patriarch in their writings, he fails to see how widely an all-inclusive Pan-Africanist vision of emancipation was guiding Bresi-Ando's actions in a very integrated manner in every area of his life. Nephew Edonu recalled that it was not only the color barrier that Bresi-Ando wanted to breakdown, but he also wanted to allow room for Africans who

¹⁰⁹ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. "Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]," p. 14.

¹¹⁰ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 1, Log 2, p. 26.

¹¹¹ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Ethiopianism", par. 4.

¹¹² Max ASSIMENG. "Methodological Africanism [...]," p. 56, 66-70.

had been prohibited from church membership and office due to African “custom”¹¹³. Therefore, from the very outset, the “Ethiopianist” clergyman Bresi-Ando cautiously began the transition of his new independent church from the First Wave of AICs into the Second Wave by bringing in a few African cultural accommodations. Dr. Assimeng correctly saw that Bresi-Ando set the pace of his cultural innovations according to the conditions of the day¹¹⁴. He did not move too fast, nor was he too outrageous all at once. However, he was radical enough in certain areas of his “Africanization” policy to make many enemies among the white missions, especially the Methodists in his old hometown of Apam. Over-all, Bresi-Ando’s rate of African acculturation was methodical and calculated. As Assimeng discovered about Bresi-Ando: “he remained ever mindful of the role of culture pattern in the African’s acculturation process, and believed that change had to proceed along meaningful and bearable directions of viability”¹¹⁵.

3. Bresi-Ando’s “Africanization” policy

Contributing to Bresi-Ando’s phenomenal success rate—opening sixty-six (66) known parish and mission stations throughout the Colony and the Ashanti Protectorate in just under seven years (mid-1932 through early 1939)—was Bresi-Ando’s *Africanization* policy, which was part of his over-all emancipation theme. Bresi-Ando taught that certain African customs and cultural practices which the older foreign British missionary churches had either suppressed or discouraged were in fact part and parcel of life as an African and therefore were legitimate and acceptable. For example, Bresi-Ando returned to his original name—Kwamin Ntsetse Bresi-Ando—leaving behind forever his old Anglicized “Ebenezer Johnson Anderson”¹¹⁶. “Stooled” (i.e. “enthroned”) tribal chiefs were received outright into Bresi-Ando’s African Universal Church as full communing members¹¹⁷, as were families that practiced polygyny¹¹⁸. Thus, Bresi-Ando easily received into his church the “untouchables”—these folks who were not welcome into the communion of the “orthodox” Methodist Church¹¹⁹.

¹¹³ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 1, Log 2, p. 26.

¹¹⁴ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 75.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 27.

¹¹⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1533.

¹¹⁸ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 75.

¹¹⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1533.

3.1. Funeral prohibitions, no customary libations

Bresi-Ando, however, did not simply approve of all local customs just because they were “African”. Certain matters he considered to be un-Christian and he outright forbade them. This was particularly exemplified in his “Funereal Bye-Laws” in which he expected his members to denounce “the world and all that appertains into it, and cling to the Church in all its several usages”¹²⁰. For example, Bresí-Ando did not permit the customary cultural funeral practice of the pouring of libations to deities (i.e. pagan gods) to be a part of his Christian church¹²¹. He viewed libations to pagan deities as an un-Christian act¹²². Nor did he approve of the use of alcoholic drinks at funerals, but insisted rather on the drinking of coconut milk instead¹²³. His general rule was that his parishioners should not let their non-Christian tribesmen and family members perform any non-Christian “pagan” funeral ceremonies: “the Church shall not permit the observance of any customary rite by the widow or widower of any deceased member in respect of whose funeral, this Church has bestowed all due privileges”¹²⁴. Additionally, Bresí-Ando would not allow family members of the deceased (some of whom might not be Christian) to “interfere in any way with the Church in the performance of any ceremonies, but shall be requested to be present and witness only in the place prepared by the Church for the funeral”¹²⁵. What he meant particularly was that “No Street assembly by the families of the deceased member is necessary in any way for any varying vengeance on the children during the Church’s funeral custom”¹²⁶. Thus, Bresí-Ando adopted some African customs, but drew the line with others. Where he succeeded quite often was with the chiefs, because he allowed for them exceptions to the rules¹²⁷.

3.2. Admitted stooled chiefs to membership

By his pro-African policy Bresí-Ando won the hearts of many town chiefs who believed in the Triune God as Christians and sincerely wanted to continue to practice as members of a Christian

¹²⁰ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *Funereal Bye-Laws*, The African Universal Church Orthodox Catholic, Diocese of St. Ignatius of Antioch, [s.d.], p. 1, File GR1.66.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1533.

¹²² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1533.

¹²³ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *Funereal Bye-Laws* [...], p. 2.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ David BROKENSHA. *Social Change at Larteh, Ghana*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1966, p. 31.

church but up until then had been prohibited from doing so by the foreign missions on the grounds that their “stooling” (their “enthronement” as chief) had not been performed in a Christian manner but rather in the old, cultural, non-Christian way (i.e. utilizing “heathen” sacrifices)¹²⁸. Customarily, when a believing African Christian was later nominated and enstooled by a pagan rite, this action caused the foreign churches to bar him from a place in their church; however, Bresi-Ando on the other hand readily accepted such chiefs into full communing membership, and they loved him for it¹²⁹. While forbidding his regular church members the act of pouring libations to the gods and the ancestors, Bresi-Ando did not interfere with the traditional customs and roles of the chief which involve court ceremonies that include the pouring of libations on a regular basis¹³⁰. These he allowed the chief to do, but only the chief¹³¹. A critic might question how Bresi-Ando could reconcile his discrepancy: forbidding libations to pagan deities during funerals on one hand, but tolerating the fact that pagan prayers, sacrifices, and libations to idols had accompanied a chief’s stooling (enthronement) on the other hand. Somehow, Bresi-Ando was able to make it sound reasonable that the barred chiefs be allowed to enter his church membership fully, as Africans and as chiefs, just as they were¹³². Thus, Bresi-Ando won the heart of many a chief with this tolerant policy. Rev. Edonu explained that once a chief was converted, many townsfolk would naturally follow him and join Bresi-Ando’s new church as well. By first convincing the chief to join, Bresi-Ando would catch the “snake” by the head, so to speak, and the tail (the “oman”, or, townsfolk) was inclined to follow.

One of the first chiefs to join the African Universal Church was Chief Robert H. Adams (Nana Essah III), a Divisional Chief under the Gomoa Assin State Chief¹³³. Chief Adams lived at the Gomoa village of Fomena, which was about 14 miles inland from Apam. The town was, in West African tradition, “his”. Meaning, Chief Adams was not only the town’s “chief”, he was also the town’s “owner” since it was built on his farm land¹³⁴. Having heard of the new Ebibirpim Church

¹²⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 420.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ David BROKENSHA. *Social Change at Larteh* [...], p. 31.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 420.

¹³³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 11 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1602, and 07 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1669, 1671, 1674.

¹³⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 03 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1670-1671.

at Apam, he had rushed to get it established in his village¹³⁵. Thus, after Apam, Fomena became the next major parish of the new Ebibirpim/African Universal Church, eventually out-lasting, and outshining, Apam itself. (Today the Fomena parish is honored as the “mother parish” of all the Eastern Orthodox parishes in the Central Region of Ghana.) Many inquiries seeking the establishment of the African Universal Church in the other Gomoa and Agona towns surrounding Fomena followed quickly upon the heels of Chief Adams’ initial request, and Bresi-Ando’s new Africanized AIC began to spread like wild fire.

3.3. Council of elders

A further example of Bresi-Ando’s use of African culture within his AIC was the establishment of councils of elders to help him run the church, at both the local parish level and at the national level. Knowing how, in his traditional tribal culture, a leader gains more respect when surrounded by a group of respected elders, Bresi-Ando put Chief Adams and other chiefs and elders on his Ebibirpim Council—his national council¹³⁶. These men, once appointed, would remain there for life, according to African custom, not to stand for re-election annually at parish council elections, as is the custom in Protestant churches. Thus, Bresi-Ando’s church governance looked and “felt” more African, since it incorporated chiefs and elders rather than a foreign concept of democracy with parish elections¹³⁷.

3.4. Liberal marriage position

Perhaps the single most important, most radical, and most impactful of all Bresi-Ando’s cultural adaptations of his AIC was his liberal stance on marriage. He approved of and openly allowed polygamy within his church (specifically, polygyny, the practice of a man having several wives)¹³⁸. This fact has been already published by Assimeng and Brokensha in their research on Bresi-

¹³⁵ Minutes of the Minor Synod of the African Universal (O.C.) Church, Gomoa Formina, 13 May 1950, p. 6, File GR1.43.

¹³⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 March 1994, Log 11, p. 625, and 11 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1602.

¹³⁷ David BROKENSHA. *Social Change at Larteh* [...], p. 33.

¹³⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 420; Max ASSIMENG. *Social Structure of Ghana*, Tema, Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1981, p. 58.

Ando's AIC¹³⁹. The older European-established missions clearly forbade their African converts to have more than one wife; however, Bresi-Ando's AIC was among the first in the colony to adopt the polygamous stance¹⁴⁰. To him it was simple cultural and social emancipation from foreign ways¹⁴¹. African culture had for centuries allowed men to have more than one wife. In his opinion the European missionaries had imported and imposed their foreign culture of monogamy upon their African converts. Bresi-Ando reasoned that to be an "authentic" African, one must be allowed to practice this form of African culture within his Africanized Christian church, without the constraints of a foreign European culture being forced upon him¹⁴². Here Bresi-Ando followed Blyden, who had later in life become enamored of Islam and advocated that polygamy was an old African institution, using it to justify his taking a second wife¹⁴³. Therefore, Bresi-Ando opened the doors for cultural accommodation within the arena of Christian marriage and the converts streamed in. Those who had been excommunicated by the European missions for contracting plural marriages or had been forbidden to convert due to their multiple wives, but in their heart believed in Jesus Christ as the Living God, found within Bresi-Ando's AIC the solution where they could have their cake and eat it too. They did not have to "renounce" and crucify their fleshly desires (Galatians 5:24) nor come into conformity with Christ's New Testament teaching of monogamy. In His "one flesh" teaching, Jesus had made His stance of one-husband-per-one-wife very clear:

But from the beginning of the creation, God "made them male and female." "For this reason a man shall leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife, and the two shall become one flesh," so then they are no longer two, but one flesh. Therefore what God has joined together, let not man separate. (Mark 10:6-9 NKJV)

Jesus did not say that three could become "one", or that four could become "one", but that the one male and the one female "are no longer two, but one flesh" in Holy Marriage. Yet Bresi-Ando disregarded His Master's teaching. Rather, according to his logic and doctrine, Gold Coasters could be "African" and polygamous and "Christian" all at the same time, ignoring the fact that the

¹³⁹ David BROKENSHA. *Social Change at Larteh* [...], p. 29; Max ASSIMENG. "Methodological Africanism [...]," p. 75.

¹⁴⁰ David BROKENSHA. *Social Change at Larteh* [...], p. 29.

¹⁴¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 419-420.

¹⁴² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 26.

¹⁴³ Hakim ADI and Marika SHERWOOD. *Pan-African History* [...], p. 14.

Coptic and Ethiopian Churches—as authentic, ancient, African “sister” Christian communities—both teach and practice monogamy, forbidding polygamy¹⁴⁴.

3.4.1. Even allowed clergy to have plural marriages

Bresi-Ando even went so far as to allow his clergymen to have multiple wives too, clearly disobeying the Scriptures which specify that the clergyman—from the bishop down to the lowly deacon—was to be “the husband of one wife” (1 Timothy 3:2, 3:12; Titus 1:6). (Professor Assimeng incorrectly thought that Bresí-Ando forbade polygyny to the priesthood; but that modification appeared to have entered his AIC at a later date¹⁴⁵.) In fact, during his brief stay at Cape Coast between 1941-1942, “Patriarch” Bresí-Ando himself took a second wife home with him to be the “rival” of his “Matriarch” Wilhelmina, in order to show “everyone that it was alright to marry more than one”¹⁴⁶. While the younger clergy such as Rev. Edonu and Rev. Labi Odeng personally rejected polygyny, Edonu remembers noticing that “many” of Bresí-Ando’s senior priests in those early days had two wives at the same time, except for Bishop Ando-Brew, who stayed loyal to one woman for his whole life, as did Bishop Jones¹⁴⁷. Both priest Edonu and sociologist Assimeng note the “jealousy and tension” and loud clamor in the homes of such plural marriages, making them very distasteful and even dangerous, often with accusations of witchcraft¹⁴⁸. For Edonu, such marriages did not amount to “real love”¹⁴⁹.

3.4.2. Monogamy vs polygamy

In his radical Africanization of Christian marriage—which he considered to be a necessary liberation from a “European-dominated” white cultural presentation of Christianity—Bresi-Ando showed his logical inconsistencies and (perhaps) willful ignorance of history. He claimed that his

¹⁴⁴ “The Christian Coptic Orthodox Church of Egypt,” *Encyclopedia Coptica*, *The Coptic Network*, put online January 2006, (page consulted on 21 August 2018), <http://www.coptic.net/encyclopediacoptica/>, par. 16; Rev. Marcos DAOUD. “Chapter 6: The Sacrament of Matrimony,” *The Orthodox Church Sacraments*, Tinsae Ze Gubae Printing Press, Addis Ababa, 1952, in *The Ethiopian Tewahedo Church Faith and Order*, put online 2003, (page consulted on 21 August 2018), section VI, (3), 1, <http://www.ethiopianorthodox.org/english/dogma/sacramatrimony.html>.

¹⁴⁵ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 75.

¹⁴⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 February 1994, Log 10, p. 553.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 553-554.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 554; Max ASSIMENG. *Social Structure of Ghana*, p. 59.

¹⁴⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 February 1994, Log 10, p. 554.

“Orthodox Catholic” church was in communion with the Egyptian Coptics and the Ethiopian Orthodox, both of whom are ancient African Christian communities which for centuries have practiced Christ’s Biblical monogamy. It was *not* a “white European” social norm that these ancient African communities had adopted, but rather it was Christ’s Biblical stance that they had received from the Jewish Middle-Eastern Apostles who had evangelized them in the 1st Century. Therefore, it would be historically wrong to assume that Christian monogamy was *exclusively* a “white” or “European” value.

Furthermore, it would be wrong to assume that white people (and especially the Europeans) had historically always confined themselves to the practice of monogamy. The truth is that they and many other “white/non-black” people around the world used to be polygamous. It is known that during the first millennium A.D. Germanic and Slavic tribes in Europe practiced polygamy, until it died out due to strong Christian influence¹⁵⁰. Islam has kept polygyny¹⁵¹ alive in the Middle East (and elsewhere) from the 7th Century A.D. down to the present day¹⁵². Polygamy was legally practiced by the Japanese and Chinese in the Far East until the 19th and 20th Centuries respectively¹⁵³. Although the ancient pagan Roman Empire technically legally promoted monogamy, the practical alternatives were many, varied, and frequent—“slave concubines” (as a form of polygyny), legal prostitution, adulteries, divorces and multiple remarriages¹⁵⁴. “Ease of divorce” in the old Greco-Roman world translated into “effective polygyny”¹⁵⁵. Marriage was cheap as Roman husbands often used wives merely “as steppingstone[s] to higher place or greater wealth”¹⁵⁶. Not to be out done by the men, many rich Roman women would “supplement their lawful” husband with a boyfriend lover on the side—the *cavalieri serventi*¹⁵⁷. This was a society of *de facto* polygamy. And there were many ordinary white polygamists in the ancient Middle

¹⁵⁰ Walter SCHEIDEL. *Monogamy and polygyny in Greece, Rome, and world history*, Princeton/Stanford Working Papers in Classics, Stanford University, 2008, [PDF file], put online [s.d.], (page consulted on 03 September 2019), p. 6, <https://www.princeton.edu/~pswpc/pdfs/scheidel/060807.pdf>.

¹⁵¹ “Polygamy” means having more than one wife or one husband at the same time (*Oxford Languages and Google*).

¹⁵² Walter SCHEIDEL. *Monogamy and polygyny* [...], p. 6. *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ Will DURANT. *Caesar and Christ: A History of Roman Civilization and of Christianity from their beginnings to A.D. 325*, Coll. “The Story of Civilization,” vol. III, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1944, p. 134-135, 222; Walter SCHEIDEL. *Monogamy and polygyny* [...], p. 6, 7, 13.

¹⁵⁵ Walter SCHEIDEL. *Monogamy and polygyny* [...], p. 6.

¹⁵⁶ Will DURANT. *Caesar and Christ* [...], p. 134.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

East, such as in the Parthian Empire (the area of former Mesopotamia, modern Iraq, modern Iran), prior to Christian missionization in these areas¹⁵⁸. Thus, the ancient polygamous practices of a variety of white peoples were replaced by Christ's Biblical monogamy as they through time converted to Christianity. Their pre-Christian cultural values were replaced by Christian ones. For example, the Viking Grand Prince Vladimir, leader of ancient Rus (Russia), was a great European polygamist with many wives who reduced his marital life down to one wife at his Orthodox Christian Baptism in AD 987 because he had learned "that the law of the Christians forbade him from keeping more than one wife"¹⁵⁹.

Therefore, what Bresi-Ando failed to see, or refused to see, was that monogamy was *not* a social norm associated exclusively with white Europeans, but rather it was an *Apostolic* Christian New Testament norm that had been embraced by converts—be they African, European, Middle Eastern, etc.—ever since the Early Church Apostolic era. The historical Orthodox Catholic presence in Africa and beyond has always—down through the centuries—condemned polygamy and promoted monogamy. Bresi-Ando, therefore, was the theological hypocrite when he claimed to be an "Orthodox Catholic" Patriarch following the pure "Apostolic Teachings" while at the same time parading down the streets of Cape Coast with two wives walking behind him, openly contravening those same Apostolic teachings. Here was the place of dissonance where Bresi-Ando's *socio-cultural* emancipationist views did *not* harmonize with his newly-embraced religious emancipationist teachings.

3.4.3. Lack of value of women and marriage

Rev. Edonu frankly stated that for most of his life his uncle simply "never valued marriage. He took it as a joke"¹⁶⁰. During his lifetime Bresi-Ando was married to seven different women (!), usually one at a time, but at Cape Coast his marriage was polygamous, with two wives at the same time¹⁶¹. In fact, Bresi-Ando changed his wife every time he moved to another country, leaving his

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 529.

¹⁵⁹ NUNS of Holy Apostles Convent and MONKS of Dormition Skete (Eds.). "Holy Grand Prince Vladimir, Equal-to-the-Apostles," *July*, Coll. "The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church," Translated from the Greek, Buena Vista, CO, Holy Apostles Convent and Dormition Skete, 2008, p. 645-646, 654-659, 667.

¹⁶⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 February 1994, Log 10, p. 552.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 552-553.

latest wife behind and earning the accumulated disrespect of his family¹⁶². Nephew Edonu felt that his uncle acted in a “religiously cruel” manner “by marrying so many women—by not regarding them—by leaving them behind carelessly”¹⁶³. With so many broken marriages (four wives left behind in the Gold Coast alone!)¹⁶⁴, plus the disrepute by his relatives that resulted, one may wonder if this was one of the answers to the mystery of why Bresi-Ando remained in Nigeria for the remainder of his life. Indeed, he had broken too many personal bridges. Perhaps returning home to his Ghanaian family and ex-wives on a permanent basis would have been too uncomfortable for him, other than his short visit over the Christmas holidays in 1955. Somewhere between this conjecture, coupled with the whole cocoa debt palaver (the accusation that he “ran away to escape his creditors”), his effort to re-ignite his emancipationist program in Nigerian, his fear of Kwame Nkrumah’s politics, combined with his known entanglement in Nigerian politics leading into the Biafran War, lies the whole truth. Perhaps a combination of these is the real answer for his long absence.

If womanizing, exploiting, disrespecting, and neglecting women was—according to the perspective of Bresi-Ando’s “African spectacles”—an “authentic” African trait, then it can be argued that he was attempting to make a virtue out of his vice. The Apostolic Orthodox Catholic Church that he claimed he had joined follows Christ’s New Testament teaching which had elevated the status and treatment of women to the level of real, sacrificial love on the part of their husbands. In faithful Christ-like love, a husband is commanded to “die” for his wife as the Lord Jesus died for the Church, His Bride. St. Paul wrote to the Ephesians: “Husbands, love your wives, just as Christ also loved the church and gave Himself for it.” (5:25 NRSV) Early Church Canon Law set the price of one act of adultery at seven years of excommunication¹⁶⁵. Orthodox Catholic husbands were (and are) to remain absolutely faithful to their one wife, and certainly are not to marry extra wives in order to fulfill their passions of pride, love of money, and lust. Assimeng states that often African men entered polygyny in order to acquire more social prestige, more economic gain (due to more women and children working more farmland), and more sexual activity (by having the

¹⁶² *Ibid.*; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1704.

¹⁶³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1704.

¹⁶⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 February 1994, Log 10, p. 552-553.

¹⁶⁵ Saints NICODEMUS and AGAPIUS (compilers). “Canon XX” of “The 25 Canons of the Regional Council Held in Ancyra” [AD 315], *The Rudder of the Orthodox Catholic Church*, Translated from Greek by D. Cummings, Chicago, IL, The Orthodox Christian Educational Society, 1983 [1800], p. 501.

“rival” wives compete with each other for their husband’s affection)¹⁶⁶. Assimeng also admits the irony that many times the Ghanaian wife would urge her husband to take an additional wife so that she could have the “prestige” of being the head wife, and to gain some relief with the household duties¹⁶⁷. From an Orthodox Catholic worldview, these are just examples of the raw passions of sin—pride, greed, and lust—that the Son of God came to purge out of mankind, purifying not only Africa, but every heart in every culture that accepted His teachings. Today, as modern African Christian women get educated and read their Bibles, more and more are being empowered to resist polygyny¹⁶⁸, viewing it as adultery and unfaithfulness on the part of their husbands which they will no longer simply tolerate, saying: “If my husband takes a second wife, then I will leave the marriage”¹⁶⁹.

3.4.4. Bresi-Ando’s personal repentance

On a positive note, there might have been a sincere repentance in Bresi-Ando. After his move back to Nigeria in 1942 and his divorce of his two Cape Coast wives, Bresi-Ando personally appeared to have adopted a more repentant, consistent, and Biblical/Apostolic/Orthodox-Catholic position. He married the Nigerian Joana and stayed faithful to her—keeping her as his one and only wife—for the next *three decades*, until he died in 1970¹⁷⁰. For him, this was quite a reformation of his marital practice! Rev. Edonu later surmised that this action of his uncle was proof that Bresi-Ando had changed his mind about plural marriages¹⁷¹. When his AIC was embraced by the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate, the teaching of polygamy was rejected along with many other un-Orthodox practices.

3.5. Miscellaneous cultural items allowed or forbidden

One of Bresi-Ando’s first liturgical Africanizations was the introduction of the indigenous Fante language hymns—the “Ebibifantsindwim” (“African-Fante-songs”)—into the worship services of

¹⁶⁶ Max ASSIMENG. *Social Structure of Ghana*, p. 58-59.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 57-58.

¹⁶⁹ Comment by an anonymous Orthodox Christian African married woman. Accra, Ghana, 31 May 1994.

¹⁷⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 February 1994, Log 10, p. 553.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*—However, the very personal family details of whether or not Bresi-Ando repaired all his former broken family relationships (or at least apologized) was not part of the Fulbright research investigation, as being too private.

the early Ebibirpim Church (prior to its move into “Jacobitism” in 1935)¹⁷². Later, in 1935, when Bresi-Ando transitioned his AIC into the highly structured “Orthodox Catholic” liturgical life, instead of the complicated Jacobite liturgy, he selected a simplified, modern-era, English language text of the Roman Catholic “Mass” in order to match the skills of his poorly-educated clergy¹⁷³. In support of his action, Bresi-Ando made the extravagant claim that “[t]he *Apostolic Rite* used by the African Universal Church originated at the *Christian College of Prophets* at Damascus, Syria, about A.D. 40”¹⁷⁴. He then justified his choice of liturgical texts by explaining that his “Autocephalous [*sic.*] African Universal Church has adopted this Primitive Apostolic Rite with some modifications and concessions to African environment”¹⁷⁵. Sociologist Assimeng felt that it was in this area of liturgical accommodation that Bresi-Ando’s Africanization excelled:

But it was in his liturgical formulations that one sees perhaps the fullest and most thoroughgoing expression of this notion of unity and diversity, this catholicity in the context of cultural uniqueness.¹⁷⁶

But actually how far did Bresi-Ando’s liturgical acculturation extend? Not to drumming and dancing in church liturgies, nor even in the church building itself. Introducing local tunes was one thing, but Bresi-Ando would not permit drumming in church—not in the 1930’s¹⁷⁷. No other foreign mission allowed it at that time, and in this arena he stayed with the status quo¹⁷⁸. Such a radical level of liturgical adaption to African ways would have to wait. However, when Rev. Edonu later introduced light tom-tom/bongo drumming in 1952 (for use after the close of the formal Sunday Liturgy), no word was sent from Bresi-Ando in Nigeria to forbid it¹⁷⁹.

Finally, Bresi-Ando’s cultural modification of the religious norms into the African context did *not* extend into the arena of local African medicine. Even on his deathbed, when family members tried

¹⁷² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 11 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1600.

¹⁷³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 96, and 06 January 1993, Log 16, p. 928, and 30 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1498; *The Liturgy, According to the Use of The Liberal Catholic Church*, 3rd ed., London, St. Alban Press, 1942, p. 7-17.

¹⁷⁴ BRESI-ANDO, Kwamin Ntsetse. *Steps to the Communion Rail in the African Universal Church (Orthodox Catholic)*, published by The Publication Department of Ebibirpim, Ltd., [no date], out-of-print, but quoted at length in Max Assimeng’s 1975 article, “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 75.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 75.

¹⁷⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 October 1992, Log 3, p. 108.

¹⁷⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 October 1992, Log 3, p. 108-110, and 22 September 1994, Log 30, p. 1908.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

to take him to a local herbalist, he loudly protested, and was carried instead to a European hospital for Western medicine¹⁸⁰.

3.6. Methodist response to Ebibirpim Church's rapid growth

The new Apam African Universal ("Ebibirpim") parish grew in numbers as Bresi-Ando preached his Africanization policy and announced his Afro-American "Back-to-Africa" repatriation program. He quickly drew in quite a few members, mostly from among the population of illiterate fishermen in the town, yet also from among the local Methodist mission. "Almost the whole town," it seemed, joined the new Ebibirpim Church, much to the Methodists' dismay, remembers Rev. Edonu¹⁸¹. Up until then Apam had had only one other church—the Methodist Church—so naturally quite a rivalry was touched off as Bresi-Ando's fast-growing African-run church began to draw away Methodist members who had fallen in love with Bresi-Ando's preaching and teaching¹⁸². When the former stalwart Methodist and known figure in Apam, Mr. Ebenezer Buabin Quansah, quit the local Methodist Church to become an elder in Bresi-Ando's Apam Ebibirpim Church, it caused quite a controversy¹⁸³. The Apam Methodists were strongly opposed to Bresi-Ando and his new church, especially over his relaxed attitudes evident within his Africanization policy. Thus the "orthodox" Methodist establishment in Apam was slow to accept Bresi-Ando's "radical" ideas and rather worked to frustrate his efforts¹⁸⁴. However, to the Methodists' dismay, Bresi-Ando's church began to spread rapidly throughout all the Central Region, and in fact, throughout the Colony and up into the Asante, as people from one town to the next learned of this new church and petitioned that it be brought to their village as well.

Conclusion

In his all-encompassing emancipationist ideology, one can see how Bresi-Ando was very much like his contemporary, the Pan-Africanist Marcus Garvey. The "Pledge" that Bresi-Ando required

¹⁸⁰ FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 17, p. 1073-1074.

¹⁸¹ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomaa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 968.

¹⁸² FFN, J. B. QUANSAH. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 19, p. 1209.

¹⁸³ FFN, Victor NUNOO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 29 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1208; FFN, J. B. QUANSAH. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 19, p. 1214, and Log 20, p. 1222. J.B. Quansah's father was Mr. Ebenezer Buabin Quansah, who joined Bresi-Ando's Apam Ebibirpim Church in 1932, along with his two sons, C. B. and J. B., both of whom attended the Apam Ebibirpim Academy.

¹⁸⁴ FFN, J. B. QUANSAH. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 19, p. 1209.

of all his converts reflected Garveyism's "black internationalism" combined with its call for universal Negro emancipation. Just as Garvey claimed to use his "Ethiopian spectacles," so too Bresi-Ando used his "African spectacles" as his "methodological" African mental framework. He believed that "Africa" and "blackness" were to be for the Africans the judge of whether or not a particular belief and conduct was appropriate for Africa. With this rather subjective viewpoint, he selected certain African cultural norms and found a place for them within his AIC: a place for stooled chiefs, disenfranchised elders, plural marriage, and African music. However, he drew the line excluding other African norms and cultural practices: libations to the spirits, certain funeral customs, drumming in church, and local "medicine". This pick-and-chose mentality made him out to be a bit of a hypocrite at times. During the Cocoa Crisis of 1937-1938 he advocated the boycotting of European goods, the same imported delicacies of which he was known to be very fond and was often seen displaying in Nigeria—cigars, gold watch chains, cuff links, etc. It is not surprising that Assimeng said that Bresi-Ando "could possibly be regarded as a forward-looking revolutionary" who "might have been selective in his admiration for African customs, while noting those areas of cultural life which needed modification"¹⁸⁵.

During this same 1920's-30's time period, African theology witnessed a dynamic definition of "Pan-Africanism". African clergymen like Bresi-Ando formed their own African Independent Churches (AICs) in movements known as "Ethiopianism" (First Wave AICs) and "Zionism" (Second Wave AICs), in which they sought religious *liberation* from white colonial dominance (in the former), along with the inclusion of *Africanization* elements (in the latter). Bresi-Ando's own actions were a paradox: he fought against the colonialism of the colonialists after having internalized much of colonialism. Yet this is explained by his being a member of the First Wave Ethiopianists who were not really against all that the foreigners had brought to Africa. They simply wanted to overcome the imported colonial racism and gain equal access to the higher church offices. But Bresi-Ando did move towards embracing the Second Wave AIC posture with his "methodological Africanism" that was very selective, subjective and hybrid, at times cautious and at other times radical. Central to this present study and time frame is the political and religious synthesis made by African female theologian Laura Adorkor Kofey, who married Garveyism to

¹⁸⁵ Max ASSIMENG. "Methodological Africanism [...]," p. 67.

Protestant theology within her own independent black American denomination, while heavily promoting “Back-to-Africa” repatriation.

Within this same time frame (1920’s-1930’s), Bresi-Ando’s definition of African emancipation was an “all-inclusive” synthesis. He was in tune with his era, the time when “Pan-Africanism” itself was seen as a broad-based emancipation ideology. Borrowing from Blyden, Du Bois, Garvey and Kofey, Bresi-Ando amalgamated all of the above components of Pan-Africanist political science and African theology into a single comprehensive over-arching *synthesis* based on the theological conviction from the Christian Gospel of “freedom in Christ Jesus the Lord”. Throughout the 1930’s, within the Gold Coast and the Asante, Bresi-Ando tried his hardest to make real every aspect of his dream. He wanted it all, on equal terms, without being a racist, as he was not an exact replica of Garvey. Unlike Marcus, Bresi-Ando was not a racial purist, since he once married a white wife. While adopting many of Garvey’s ideas—such as Africa’s “redemption”, the repatriation “Back-to-Africa” movement, a modified “Africa for the Africans” ecclesiological separatist policy, and “African spectacles” as his “methodological” perspective, Bresi-Ando rejected the pure black color racism of Garvey and Blyden. Neither did he espouse the black-skinned Christ of Garvey and McGuire’s theology. However, Bresi-Ando did make a big issue out of polygamy, something which Garvey—though divorced and remarried—never embraced. Then again, as his life rolled on, Bresi-Ando repented and brought his marriage back into line with Christ’s monogamous New Testament standard.

Bresi-Ando was not too proud to embrace an inclusive, cooperative approach—for example, taking on white business partners—where and when it was practically necessary. In this he was following the black-and-white “piano key” principle advocated by the most famous Gold Coast academic of his day, Professor Kwegyir Aggrey. This is because Bresi-Ando’s foundational principle was equality, in all areas of life, not hatred of whites and mulattoes. Therefore, he was not a racist, nor was he completely anti-white; rather, he was pro-equality. He wanted to be recognized by whites as being fully their equal: “I am one just like you.” On this emancipated equal-footing, he—as a black African—could cooperate with the whites: human to human. Thus, Bresi-Ando was also very much a pragmatic “piano key” collaborator in his effort to free Africa.

Truly, as Professor Assimeng stated, Bishop Bresi-Ando was “an authentic African, dedicated to the continent’s total self-fulfillment and emancipation”¹⁸⁶. He had wanted it all, and his followers eventually got it all—but not him. Bresi-Ando had lived and worked several decades too far ahead of his time to witness the transformation of the Gold Coast personally. Also, he had moved on. Ghanaian political legend, Dr. Danquah, years later inquired of Rev. Edonu: “Where is Kwame Ntsetse? He has preached the freedom and the freedom has come! [...] But where is Kwame?”¹⁸⁷ But by then, in the post-World War II Gold Coast, Bresi-Ando was long gone. His hopes for total emancipation in the Colony via his AIC were nearly dead after a tough, courageous decade of church-planting, school-starting, and business-launching. Instead, he had relocated to Nigeria in 1942 to try to fan the flames of his emancipationist ideas in yet another British colony.

¹⁸⁶ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 58.

¹⁸⁷ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 2, Log 2, p. 48.

SECTION THREE: SPECIFIC ANALYSIS OF THE “PAN-AFRICANISM” OF BRESI-ANDO DURING THE 1930’s

CHAPTER 14 BRESI-ANDO’S RELIGIOUS EMANCIPATION

Purpose

The purpose of this chapter is to focus on the religious aspects of Bresi-Ando’s 1930’s Gold Coast emancipationist efforts, looking for clues that Pan-Africanism remained his guiding vision, despite all his theological twists and turns. Bresi-Ando’s dramatic embrace of a strict hardline “Monophysite” ecclesiastical stance based on the old 5th Century Christological debate was a theological posture that he handily used to substantiate his claim of being the “autocephalous” Patriarch of an independent African Orthodox Catholic Patriarchate in the 1930’s in West Africa. Through this claim of legitimate “self-rule” via canonically “valid” hierarchical ordination into the “apostolic” Orthodox Catholic Church of Africa’s ancient history, Bresi-Ando believed he could realize all his dreams. He kept hitting his drum: he had been “inspired” to launch own AIC in order to set the African free¹. Through his church he would start African-run schools and businesses and thus unshackle his continent from being servile to the white man. However, to better attain such lofty and broad goals, Bresi-Ando found that he could make use of a “valid” claim to the episcopate in order to firmly establish his new African independent church on a more lasting, ancient and African foundation.

Sources

The chief primary source and cornerstone for this present chapter is Bresi-Ando’s own single existing English-language publication: *The Apostolic Succession of the African Universal Church (Orthodox-Catholic)*, published by The Publication Department of Ebibirpim, Ltd, [no date]². It

¹ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 3, Log 2, p. 54.

² Internal evidence indicates that this booklet was printed in the Colony of the Gold Coast prior to Bresi-Ando’s departure to Nigeria in March of 1942. On page 14 Bresi-Ando mentions “The Holy Orthodox-Catholic Keltic Peoples and the Spiritual Christian Nation under their own Metropolitan.” This refers to his friend Archbishop-Metropolitan Harrington who died on 17 January 1942, and whose death orphaned his minuscule denomination (The Orthodox-Keltic Church of the British Commonwealth of Nations, AKA, The British Orthodox Catholic Church) (Anson, *Bishops at Large*, p. 279-282). Its “remnant” was later swept into Mar Georgius’ “Catholicate of the West” in 1944 (See MAR GEORGIUS, Letter to Patriarch Bresi-Ando, 11 November 1944, File GR1.35; ANSON, p. 240). Presuming that Bresi-Ando (on page 14) is referring to an *alive* Metropolitan-Archbishop Mar Frederic Harrington, not posthumously, then *The Apostolic Succession* booklet must have been printed *prior* to 17 January 1942, at which time Bresi-Ando was still actively at work on the Gold Coast.

will be carefully dissected and analyzed in order to grasp the careful use of his argument for valid theological “origins” stemming from the 5th Century Chalcedonian vs. Non-Chalcedonian polemic of the Orthodox Catholic Church. From this same publication we shall clearly see Bresi-Ando’s understanding of Jacobite/Monophysite theology and ecclesiology. To add in some needed additional academic context for this discussion, Anson’s masterpiece on the *episcopi vagantes*, *Bishops At Large* (2006), and Brandreth’s similar work, *Episcopi Vagantes and the Anglican Church* (2006), will be consulted. Also, Professor Max Assimeng will again provide some clues from his 1975 journal article, “Methodological Africanism: Bresi-Ando as an Episcopus Vagans.” The remainder of the chapter, describing the Bresi-Ando’s attempted sacramental and liturgical reforms—as he tried to migrate his former Protestant AIC into the sacramental life and experience of “Orthodox Catholicism”—relies mainly upon primary source material taken from the Anderson 1992-1994 U.S. Fulbright field research in Ghana, specifically, the 29 hours of recorded interviews plus 49 hand-written follow-up interviews conducted with Bresi-Ando’s Deputy Bishop, Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, who as a witness labored within the leadership of Bresi-Ando’s AIC for seven decades, beginning in 1933.

Structure

This *second* chapter of the five analytical chapters comprising Section Three is structured with *three* separate parts:

- 1) Bresi-Ando’s theological emancipation
- 2) his ecclesiological emancipation
- 3) his reforms in liturgical and sacramental life

Part one describes Bresi-Ando’s *theological* emancipation. His effort in this area had its infancy in Nigeria in the 1920’s and looked promising with the advent of the Garveyite “Back-to-Africa” repatriation program in 1931. However, Bresi-Ando’s use of theology to promote Africa’s emancipation increased dramatically with his 1935 adoption of “Monophysitism”, which replaced his failed repatriation effort. Bresi-Ando’s desire to use the old Monophysite polemic to give his new status as an African “Patriarch” the widest African emancipationist appeal involved a lot of Monophysite/Jacobite “saber-rattling” against the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches.

His theological omissions (i.e. never discussing the central topic of *theosis*), his contradictions (i.e. that he in fact was not really anti-Chalcedonian), plus the lack of complete catechesis of his followers into the finer points of “Monophysitism”, will be discussed.

Part two deals with ecclesiology. Bresi-Ando’s *ecclesiological* emancipation will be explained in the context of his 1935 adoption of the Non-Chalcedonian “Monophysite” Jacobite church, since his previous ecclesiastical union with the African-American Protestant “Koffey African Universal Church” had failed to provide the lasting Pan-African impetus for which he had hoped. Through his joining the hierarchical ranks of Archbishop Vilatte’s *episcopi vagantes*, Bresi-Ando established a very wide all-Africa ecclesiology which, at the same time, was now very much concerned with who was “inside the line” of “valid” sacramental life and who was “not”. Discussed will be the lasting negative ecclesiastical legacy of Bresi-Ando’s desire for complete independence in ecclesiological matters from any foreign synod of bishops. It will be shown how the new “Prince-Patriarch” handicapped himself and his AIC by lack of sufficient theological training for his clergy and by attempting to establish a supposedly “canonical” apostolic hierarchy via uncanonical solo consecrations.

Part three explains Bresi-Ando’s *sacramental* and *liturgical* reforms. These will be studied, from their initial non-sacramental beginnings (due to his Protestant theological origin) to the big switch to sacramental practices in 1935 with Bresi-Ando’s embrace of the “Orthodox Catholic” Church. However, it will also be seen that these reforms were largely an incomplete transition, resulting in a confused mixture of Protestant and Roman Catholic practices that remained the legacy of his AIC for decades.

1. Bresi-Ando: African emancipationist visionary and church founder

Bresi-Ando (1884-1970) was a complicated man with a high vision of what the African should and could be. Himself highly educated, multi-talented, and interested in many fields, Bresi-Ando’s whole life was integrated by an overarching inter-disciplinary perspective. He was in many regards similar to that of his famous contemporary, Marcus Garvey, with the exception that Bresi-Ando used the Christian Gospel explicitly as the foundation stone of his emancipationist synthesis. “The freedom of the African was in his mind,” as he preached the Gospel of salvation united with

the “gospel of emancipation”—“freedom from the suppression of the whites”³. His was a simultaneously compact and complete vision for the African, defined as *the emancipation of the African in all areas of life—religious, political, social, cultural, economical, and educational*⁴.

As a very outspoken “nationalist” advocating “Africanization” and “self-rule”⁵—but not in any capacity a politician—Bresi-Ando boldly preached total *freedom* for the *African* in all areas of life during the era of colonialism between the two World Wars. Claiming divine inspiration for his dream of emancipation⁶, Bresi-Ando religiously sought to establish an indigenous church that would be free from the dominance and direction of the foreign establishments⁷. He saw all the British missionary churches as having political views which necessarily supported the official British party-line and policy, something which Bresi-Ando was firmly against because it was “suppressing and always reducing the African”⁸. He desired that his church would help emancipate the black man—helping the African to realize that God had created him “to live as an African, to worship as an African, to run his government as an African. No more [*were they*] to remain as a servant, a tool of the white man”⁹. Marcus Garvey’s own Pan-Africanist ideals can be heard echoing loudly through these emancipationist sentiments of his West African contemporary. Yet Bresi-Ando pressed farther, grounding his dreams on a Gospel-based, church-oriented foundation. While Garvey avoided officially adopting any single religious denomination to further his program, Bresi-Ando’s goal was that his “African Independent Church (AIC)” would unite all black Africans and set them free of white rule, affording blacks the chance to run their own church and be their own bishops. As Africans they could now pray in an African church which was itself run by black African clergy—not by white Europeans. Using their “African spectacles” (or pro-African point of view)¹⁰, an Africanization policy within Bresi-Ando’s new church would liberate them from the constraints of certain European cultural dictates. Thus, they would develop their

³ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 1, Log 2, p. 29.

⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1513-1517.

⁵ FFN, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1192.

⁶ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 3, Log 2, p. 54.

⁷ FFN, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1190-1192.

⁸ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 36, Log 16, p. 974.

⁹ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 3, Log 2, p. 54-55.

¹⁰ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 74.

worship of the true Triune God in a manner comfortable to Africans¹¹. Bresi-Ando taught (as phrased in the words of his student Rev. Edonu):

If he [*i.e. the white man*] has given you something to give us, we have taken it, and thanked him, but we have to develop it ourselves—to make it our own—to please God. Therefore, we will worship God in a way we like. God will tell us what to do to improve our standard.¹²

Thus, Bresi-Ando was one of the “mission-trained African nationalists” who started to criticize the white mission churches—the exception being that Bresi-Ando was speaking out two decades *prior* to the majority of those mid-20th Century voices¹³.

In his initial protest against colonial mission churches, Bresi-Ando fell clearly within the definition of the “First Wave” of AICs—African Independent Churches—the movement known as “Ethiopianism”¹⁴, whose major characterization was simply the desire for a black-run ecclesiastical organization. As a label, “Ethiopianism” had nothing to do with the actual Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church other than to admire its indigenous freedom. Usually this initial wave of AICs did not involve much theological deviation from the ideology of the parent European mission church¹⁵. However, Bresi-Ando did begin to embrace some of the ideals of the “Second Wave” of AICs (known as “Zionist”/“Spiritual”/“prophet-healing” churches) by carefully making certain “Africanizations” within the liturgical and social-cultural side of his religious organization. These were described in the previous chapter. Bresi-Ando’s own theological understanding of “religious emancipation” evolved and expanded over time, as did his Christological understanding. He eventually came to embrace his search for Christianity’s historical origins, within the context of the 5th Century Christological debate. With his “consecration” in 1935 as a “Monophysite” Jacobite “patriarch” of an “autocephalous” church which he called “Orthodox Catholic,” he cut his theological ties with West African missionary Protestantism. Bresi-Ando’s version of a “Second Wave” AIC came to have a rare twist to it, for he sought to combine his Africanizations with ancient historical Christianity that had long existed on the African continent. For him, “Pan-

¹¹ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 3, Log 2, p. 55.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Emmanuel MARTEY. *African Theology* [...], p. 15.

¹⁴ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. “Ethiopianism”, par. 1; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]”, p. 13.

¹⁵ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. “Ethiopianism”, par. 1 & 5.

Africanism” meant not only reaching out to all the blacks on the continent and in the diaspora, but it also meant reaching back across the centuries and connecting with Africa’s Christian roots in the Early Church era, while simultaneously including a variety of African modifications to its praxis.

2. His *theological* emancipationist upgrade: the adoption of “Monophysitism”

It was in Nigeria where Bresi-Ando’s search for religious origins—historical and rooted deep in antiquity—began to manifest itself. According to his chief lieutenant and nephew, Deputy Bishop Kyriakos K. Edonu, due to firm emancipationist convictions, Bresi-Ando resigned his post as a Methodist minister, joined but soon exited the foreign mission known as the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church¹⁶, and moved to Nigeria in the 1920’s where he formed his own independent African Indigenous Church (AIC)—“The United Free Church of Africa”—in Warri, Eastern Nigeria, in 1926¹⁷. According to sociologist Dr. Max Assimeng, this church’s motto—“Love, Brotherhood and Freedom”—summarized the combined themes of religious and political independence that Bresi-Ando was promoting at this point in his spiritual odyssey¹⁸. This is evidence of Pan-Africanist ideology budding within Bresi-Ando’s early emancipationist mindset. Since his theology and ecclesiology at this initial point were still largely “Protestant Methodist,” the main difference being that he was now the owner/operator of his own African-run denomination, Bresi-Ando’s new AIC was therefore clearly a First Wave “Ethiopianist” AIC. This became more apparent when he quickly adopted the style and name of “bishop.”

In 1929 Bresi-Ando assumed the office of “Bishop” when he exchanged the name of his AIC—“The United Free Church of Africa”—for a new name that spoke volumes in the category of religious origins and authenticity: “The Primitive Apostolic African Church”¹⁹. With this new title, new position, and new church name came a foreshadowing of Bresi-Ando’s future role as a Monophysite/Jacobite Orthodox “Patriarch” for all Africa. As the decade of the 1920’s closed in Nigeria, Bresi-Ando’s ideological emancipationist vision began to reach back in time, desiring an

¹⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 57, and 01 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1532.

¹⁷ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 66, 77 footnote 14.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

¹⁹ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 243.

ecclesiology that was “early” and “Apostolic” therefore, “original”. In the terms that he chose to use—“*Primitive*”, “*Apostolic*”, “*African*”, and “*Bishop*”—one can discern that Bresi-Ando had begun to manifest an ecclesiastical longing for a Christianity that was original to Africa, something that pre-dated the Reformation-era European missions that so recently had come to evangelize the continent. One can wonder if Bresi-Ando had yet studied anything about the apostolic Orthodox Catholic Early Church which had been planted in the First Century in northern and eastern Africa. Did he know of the Eastern Orthodox Church or the Coptic and Ethiopian (“Oriental”) Churches at this juncture? Was there to be seen here any attempt to justify his own church by connecting it with ancient African-based Orthodoxy? We do not know. However, in his yearnings for a “Primitive” and “Apostolic” and “African” ecclesiastical community, Bresi-Ando was growing a Pan-Africanist theme of emancipation from the white colonialists. He desired a non-European African-based indigenous church which had its own genuine authenticity, with origins that were not Western nor west European. However, Bresi-Ando’s initial search for *origins* were seemingly temporarily set aside in 1931 when he incorporated an ambitious Garveyite-inspired “Back-to-Africa” *repatriation* component into his Nigerian religious organization. Yet this move only proved to further enhance his vision of African religious emancipation.

2.1. Repatriation Program: a stepping stone to greater African-oriented episcopal and religious aspirations

In September of 1931 Bresi-Ando merged his “Primitive Apostolic African Church” with a black American independent Protestant church known as the “Koffey African Universal Church,” which was a splinter broken from Marcus Garvey’s huge UNIA (Universal Negro Improvement Organization)²⁰. The Kofey organization was heavily invested into a “Back-to-Africa” repatriation program, and, in need of a new leader following the assassination of Ms. Kofey in 1928²¹, approached Bresi-Ando requesting a unification of their two respective churches. The merger took place on 22 September 1931 under the new name “The African Universal Church,” with the Most Rev. Kwamin Ntsetse Bresi-Ando becoming the “Supreme Pontiff”²². Thus, a new name with a more *concrete* Garveyite Pan-Africanist vision and mission came into Bresi-Ando’s own

²⁰ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. 405.

²¹ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 133. “Koffey” and “Kofey” are interchangeable spellings.

²² Document of the Interdiction of Bishop Carey H. Jones [...], File GR1.34.

independent African church activities. Dropping the “Primitive Apostolic” title from the signboard and letterhead, Bresi-Ando translated the name “African Universal” into his native Ghanaian dialect of Fante (“Ebibirpim Asore”) and transplanted his renamed AIC into the Gold Coast Colony in 1932²³. In Fante “Ebibirpim Asore” means “The Church of the Thousands of Africa”—hence, Bresi-Ando envisioned that his new AIC was “the church for the whole of Africa, for all Africans everywhere”—hence the name, the African Universal Church²⁴. In essence, “Ebibirpim” was the Fante word for “Pan-African”. This new name—“Ebibirpim”—carried an echo of the church’s Garvey/Kofey roots and brought a new, larger, Pan-African thrust to Bresi-Ando’s missionary efforts.

With the exciting news that hundreds of their African-American brothers were soon to be repatriated home to the Gold Coast, hundreds of locals joined the new “Ebibirpim” church, which many began to nick-name, “the American Church”²⁵. During the period of mid-1932 to the beginning of 1935, the rate of growth for Bresi-Ando’s new Gold Coast AIC was quite fast. At least 44 parishes (that can be remembered and named) in both the Colony and the neighboring Ashanti Protectorate were planted during these first three years: an average of *one* new parish was opened *every three and a half weeks* for a period of three years! While Bresi-Ando’s church was still very small when compared to the established, larger European missions (i.e. Methodist and Anglican), yet he and his Ebibirpim/African Universal Church were becoming more and more known every year. The church was really moving—it was in its most “glorious state” in 1935, remembered Rev. Edonu²⁶. Mr. Kojo Botsio called it a “movement”, large enough to attract the attention of the future Ghanaian president²⁷.

The failure of his Repatriation Program to actually bring African-Americans “home” to Africa was the catalyst which took Bresi-Ando to London in 1935. There his seeds of religious emancipation that had started budding in Nigeria in 1929 began to blossom. In 1935 Bresi-Ando received what he was convinced was “valid” episcopal consecration into the ancient apostolic Orthodox Catholic faith community, whose footing had been on the African continent since the days of the Apostles.

²³ Rev. K. D. NYAAKO-ADENTWI. History of Apam [...], p. 14, File GR1.19.

²⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 06 January 1993, Log 16, p. 921, 925.

²⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 06 January 1993, Log 16, p. 929-930.

²⁶ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 35, Log 16, p. 967.

²⁷ RI, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1188, 1202.

While his inner guiding logic remained coherent (i.e. his emancipation agenda was continuing) from the perspective of his clergy and laity who received their bishop back from London in the fall of 1935 as a “Patriarch” wearing a Roman Catholic-style episcopal miter, he appeared to be bringing home an entirely new program²⁸.

Bresi-Ando added the words “Orthodox-Catholic” into the name of his existing AIC and launched a massive reform. In his new and improved “African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church” there were many new aspects in the details of theology and ecclesiology, as well as in the sacramental and liturgical understanding and practice (all of which shall be reviewed in this chapter). Yet, despite embracing a huge amount of reform, Bresi-Ando’s underlying religious emancipation was in no way hampered but rather was further enriched, enhanced, and enabled by his embracing of Orthodoxy—via the “Monophysite” Jacobite church. This conversion further strengthened and empowered Bresi-Ando in his emancipationist practice of African Christianity. He felt that it gave him a connection to the historic pre-Reformation and pre-Schism (AD 1054) era of Early Church history—a Church that was already on the continent of Africa and had been there for 20 centuries²⁹. It was not a product of recent European missionary efforts. He was now theologically and ecclesiastically *independent* of Western Christendom. By getting rooted into the deep past of the Early Church’s Christological debate, Bresi-Ando was emboldened to proclaim even louder than ever before that the presence of white European Imperial-era missions was absolutely no longer needed in West Africa, as now the Africans had their own authentic autocephalous “Orthodox Catholic” church with its “canonical” status via Apostolic Succession and an assumed connection to ancient Christianity³⁰.

2.2. Monophysite saber-rattling

In London in 1935, *episcopi vagantes* like “Archbishop” Sibley were quite certain of the validity of their ordinations. They felt “connected” through Vilatte to the ancient Syrian-Jacobite Orthodox Church, classified by academics in Bresi-Ando’s day to be a part of the “Monophysite”

²⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1595a; FFN, Rev. Daniel B. AIDOO. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1595b - 1596a.

²⁹ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 1-3, 7-16.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

communion³¹, which itself had disagreed with and broken away from the majority body of Orthodox Catholic bishops of the Roman Empire following the famous 4th Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D.³². Vilatte's followers truly believed that they had "valid" ordinations in a real "apostolic" succession. Thus, in turn, Bresi-Ando also was completely convinced of the validity of his own ordination by "Archbishop Sibley"³³. In his booklet, *The Apostolic Succession of The African Universal Church (Orthodox-Catholic)*, Bresi-Ando reveals this point as he takes the pains to itemize his own personal "Apostolic Succession"³⁴. His connection to Jacobite "Orthodoxy" flows from Archbishop John Churchill Sibley, who was consecrated by Archbishop Frederick Ebenezer John Lloyd (Mar Frederic I) on 08 September 1929, who himself was consecrated by Archbishop Joseph René Vilatte on 29 December 1915, who himself was consecrated by Archbishop Alvarez Julius I and two Jacobite bishops in India—Bishop George Mar Gregorius and Archbishop Mar Paul Athanasius—on 29 May 1892, "in accordance with the Patriarchal Bull of His Holiness Ignatius Peter III" of Antioch³⁵. The new autocephalous "Patriarch" Bresi-Ando felt so very "connected" to the Early Church by his 1935 consecration that in his *Apostolic Succession* booklet he proudly lists a chain of Antiochian patriarchs extending from Jacobite/Syriac Patriarch Ignatius Peter III (1872-1894) all the way back to St. Ignatius I (AD 69-107), the third bishop of Antioch, and then back to the Apostle Peter himself as the "Founder of the Church at Antioch" in AD 38³⁶. The Malankara Jacobite Syrian Orthodox Church in southern India still highlights this fact on their official website³⁷.

The fact that Vilatte had already been *excommunicated* by this same Syrian Jacobite Patriarchate for doing un-canonical solo consecrations did not bother Bresi-Ando nor Sibley. Through Vilatte they felt that they were now a part of the true "Mother Church" of the "whole" Christian world, namely, the ancient Syrian Jacobite Orthodox Church, whom Bresi-Ando calls the "Custodians" of the "One Source" of valid "Orders"³⁸. Bresi-Ando clearly wrote that valid orders come "from

³¹ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 238, 240, 447-448.

³² Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 33-37.

³³ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 3.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2-3.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 2-3; Henry R. T. BRANDRETH. *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 2006, p. 39, 40, 43.

³⁶ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 8-11.

³⁷ *Jacobite Syrian Christian Church*. (Page consulted on 16 August 2019), <http://www.jacobitesyrianchurch.org/>, par. 2.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8, 20.

the One Source, the Custodians of which are the ‘Jacobites’ of today”³⁹. This body of Jacobite believers actually was a part of the various Monophysite communities which had severed relations with the rest of the Church of the Empire (i.e. the majority body of Orthodox Catholic bishops) following the Council of Chalcedon in AD 451⁴⁰. Today, the Non-Chalcedonian churches that reject the decisions of Chalcedon are called by various names: Coptic, Syriac (Syrian Jacobites), Armenian, and Ethiopian (which has recently birthed the Eritrean)⁴¹. As was explained in Chapter 2, these modern-day Non-Chalcedonian Orientals do not adhere to the Eutychian form of extreme Monophysitism, but rather hold to the more moderate Monophysitism of Severus and Dioscorus, which they recently prefer to label as “miaphysitism”. In addition, some (but not all) descendants of India’s first century “St. Thomas Christians” are also included within this Non-Chalcedonian “Miaphysite” group these days⁴². They joined the Jacobite Syrian/Syriac Patriarchate in AD 1665⁴³, after having been under Nestorian hierarchs for over one thousand years (496 to 1599)⁴⁴, and under the Roman Catholic Pope for a few (1599-1653)⁴⁵. This fact is pertinent to this research, because Vilatte’s (hence, Bresi-Ando’s) claim to valid “Apostolic Succession” flows through these Indian Christians (formerly Nestorians) who joined the Jacobite Syrian Patriarchate in the 17th Century.

2.2.1. Against the “Royalist Greco-Romans”

Deliberately taking sides with the Non-Chalcedonian minority, specifically identified by Bresi-Ando as “the Jacobite Syrians under the leadership of their Prince-Patriarch of Antioch”⁴⁶, together with the Coptics, the Ethiopians, etc., Bresi-Ando refers to the *majority* group of Chalcedonian

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁴⁰ Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 33-37; Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 13, 26-27.

⁴¹ Henry CHADWICK. *The Early Church*, p. 210.

⁴² *The Holy Mysteries*, Coll. “The Great Book of Needs”, vol. 1, Translated from Church Slavonic by St. Tikhon’s Monastery, South Canaan, Pennsylvania, St. Tikhon’s Seminary Press, 1998, p. 72.

⁴³ GÖRRES-GESELLSCHAFT. *Oriens christianus : Hefte für die Kunde des christlichen Orients : Gesamtregister für die Bände 1(1901) bis 70(1986)*, vol. 1-70; vol. 88-91, Wiesbaden, Germany, O. Harrassowitz, 2005, p. 206.

⁴⁴ Adolphus MEDLYCOTT. “St. Thomas Christians,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 14, New York, Robert Appleton Company, 1912, (page consulted on 06 September 2019), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14678a.htm>, sections X, XII, XIII.

⁴⁵ Robert Eric FRYKENBERG. “Thomas Christians,” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 14 December 2018, (page consulted on 06 September 2019), <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Thomas-Christians>, par. 4-6.

⁴⁶ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 13.

bishops as “the Melkite Party of Old”⁴⁷. Here he follows the ancient usage of the term “Melkite” (“royalist”—referring to the Chalcedonian Orthodox Christians who were supported by the Emperor)⁴⁸, not the modern usage of the term (referring to a group of Middle East Uniates who went under Rome in the early 1700’s)⁴⁹. He also calls them the “Royalist Greco-Romans,” the “Melkite Sees of Rome and Constantinople,” who “commenced their new worldly life as the ‘Great Church of the Western Greek Nation,’ in deliberate sin!”⁵⁰ For Bresi-Ando, it was a “sin” for any church to be connected to (or under the sovereignty of) a civil government or worldly empire—it was anathema⁵¹. He considered the ancient 5th Century ecclesiastical state of affairs to be parallel to his present-day 20th Century situation in which the white missionaries to the Gold Coast were seen as the “agents” of the colonial governments, collaborating with the Western imperial powers who were always “suppressing the African”⁵². In his writing, Bresi-Ando loudly condemned “all other Churches including the Roman and Protestant State Churches of England and America”⁵³ as completely heretical (note his historical error: the independent United States had long ago dispensed with its colonial-era “State” churches). With a Pan-Africanist mind-set, a freedom-seeker like Bresi-Ando could easily assimilate the old imperialist “State church” trend of the “Royalist Greco-Roman” Chalcedonians into New Imperial modern-era colonialism.

By joining the Jacobites, who had been persecuted by the old Roman Empire⁵⁴, Bresi-Ando could boast that his “true” church offered a “purer” spirituality with complete freedom in Christ Jesus which totally liberated his followers from any form of civil, ethnic, or political rule. Thus, he viewed his AIC as more “Apostolic” than the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholics who—in Bresi-Ando’s opinion—had recognized “the absolute sovereignty” of (i.e. subordinated to) the civil government of the Roman Empire⁵⁵. By entering the historic “Jacobite Church,” Bresi-Ando thought that his own AIC had crossed the boundary and reached the upper atmosphere of real Christianity, where, as the people of God, they were free from all political division. He considered

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁴⁹ “Primates of the Apostolic See of Antioch,” *Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America*. Put online [s.d.], (page consulted 18 September 2019), <http://ww1.antiochian.org/patofant/primates>.

⁵⁰ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 26-27.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁵² RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 36, Log 16, p. 974.

⁵³ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 16.

⁵⁴ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 35 footnote 3.

⁵⁵ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 13.

his to be the authentic ancient “Orthodoxy” which had preceded the schism of Chalcedon and had continued within the walls of the “Monophysite” (Jacobite) churches.

Men like Bresi-Ando who had received ordination via the Vilatte lineage were not afraid to rattle their Monophysite sabers in the direction of all Chalcedonian Christians—Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Protestant—since they were firmly convinced that they had been given “valid” episcopal consecrations and thereby were part of a true “Apostolic Succession”⁵⁶. In his writings, “Patriarch” Bresi-Ando clearly displays an ideological solidarity with the old Jacobite/Monophysite polemic against the Western (Roman Catholic) and Eastern (Greek) Orthodox Churches. He maintains that they went into schism in the 5th Century and broke “from the Catholic Church” (i.e. which, in Bresi-Ando’s opinion at the time, was the “Jacobite Holy Orthodox-Catholic Church”)⁵⁷. Bresi-Ando considered the “Royalist Greco-Romans” (i.e. today’s Roman Catholic and Eastern/Greek Orthodox Churches) at the Council of Chalcedon to have unfairly condemned and excommunicated “their Mother Church”, the “Mother See” of Christendom—the Jacobite Church of Antioch⁵⁸. “By breaking from the Catholic Church they were guilty of the sin of Schism”⁵⁹, which was “the secession of the Greco-Roman section of the Church from the Mother See”⁶⁰. In Bresi-Ando’s mind, this action cost them their very “Catholicity” and the right to use the name “Christian”, as “heretics and schismatics are not a part of the Historic Church of Christ” any longer, for “they have cut themselves off from it”⁶¹:

Churches, which, although they may have been canonically erected Provinces in the first instance, but deliberately cut themselves off from the Mother Church, are not now a part of the original Catholic Church. If they have cut themselves off from it, they must now be outside its guidance and Powers, and cannot rightly call themselves ‘*Catholic*’ nor ‘*Jacobite*’ nor ‘*Christian*’. These three signs together designate a true Follower of Christ.⁶²

In his 1930’s-era writing, Bresi-Ando maintained that to be a “true Follower of Christ” and a true member of His Apostolic Church, one must be simultaneously “Catholic” and “Jacobite” and

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 24, 27.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1, 26-27.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1, 27.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15, 24.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 24—italics added.

“Christian”⁶³. Concerning the “Melkite Sees of Rome and Constantinople”, he goes on to conclude that their “breaking from the Catholic Church” set the stage for the advent of Islam a few centuries later, since it “was the Christological Conflict that caused its rise”⁶⁴.

2.2.2. A new definition for the term “Jacobite”

In stressing the importance of being a “Jacobite”, Bresi-Ando fails to mention the actual historical etymology of the term, which is traced back to a Syrian Monophysite bishop named Jacob Baradaeus in the mid-6th Century. One hundred years after the Council of Chalcedon⁶⁵, Jacob Baradaeus went all around the East “in disguise creating an underground Monophysite episcopate to coexist with the Chalcedonians”⁶⁶. In this way, he kept the persecuted Monophysite cause from going extinct⁶⁷. Normally it was the Chalcedonian Orthodox who referred to the Non-Chalcedonian disciples of Baradaeus negatively as “Jacobites”⁶⁸, although the Malankara Jacobite Syrian Orthodox Church still proudly uses the name to refer to themselves⁶⁹. And so did Bresi-Ando!

Instead of mentioning the well-known facts surrounding the historical origin of the term “Jacobite”, Bresi-Ando has his own spiritualized etymology for the term. He holds that it refers to the Patriarch Jacob in the Old Testament. He claims that true Christians are those who are either “Sons of Jacob” “by the seed” (i.e. by blood: “Jews, Israelites and Samaritans”) or “by adoption” (i.e. the Gentile believers in Christ)⁷⁰. (Anson shows that Archbishop Harrington, Bresi-Ando’s

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁶⁵ Ignatius Aphrem BARSOUM. *The Scattered Pearls: A History of Syriac Literature and Sciences*, 2nd ed., Matti Moosa (Ed.), Translated from Arabic by M. Moosa, Pueblo, CO, Passeggiata Press, 2000 [1943], p. 100. After his consecration as Metropolitan of Edessa in 543 (or 544), Jacob Baradaeus (d. 578) went to Egypt to help consecrate two Monophysite bishops. After this he travelled all around the Middle East “incognito” (throughout Syria, Armenia, Asia Minor, Cyrus, Egypt, Greek islands, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Persia, etc.) for the next 35 years, during which time “he consecrated twenty-seven bishops and ordained a few thousand deacons and priests,” (p. 100) saving the Non-Chalcedonian cause from extinction.

⁶⁶ Henry CHADWICK. *The Early Church*, p. 210.

⁶⁷ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 35 footnote 3.

⁶⁸ The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica. “Syriac Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch and All the East,” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 14 February 2018, (page consulted on 06 September 2019), <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Syriac-Orthodox-Patriarchate-of-Antioch-and-All-the-East>, par. 2.

⁶⁹ *Jacobite Syrian Christian Church*. (Page consulted on 16 August 2019), <http://www.jacobitesyrianchurch.org/>. This is the official web page of the Malankara Jacobite Syrian Orthodox Church.

⁷⁰ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 17.

colleague, held this same view as well.⁷¹) The Archangel Gabriel told the Virgin Mary that her Holy Child Jesus will be given “the throne of His father David. And He will reign over the *House of Jacob* forever, and of His Kingdom there will be no end” (Luke 1:32-33 NKJV). Bresi-Ando contends that since Christ God will rule over the “*House of Jacob* forever,” then “His loving subjects” are those “whose name they bear even ‘Jacobite and Christian’”⁷². Thus, Bresi-Ando considered it to be of utmost importance that everyone should *belong* to that Jacobite House, which he clearly identifies as “the Jacobite Holy Orthodox-Catholic Church”⁷³. According to Bresi-Ando in the 1930’s, to be surely among the saved, one had “to be a ‘Jacobite’”, in addition to being “Catholic” and “Christian”, as “[t]his ensured the salvation of our real selves, our Ego and its whole being”⁷⁴. He wrote:

To be a real “Christian” therefore, one must take on a Spiritual life and be admitted into the Company of the Righteous and Spiritual Peoples of God, the Spiritual Christian Nation and to be a “Jacobite” therefore, one must be admitted into the very household of God – “The House of Jacob for ever” – and to be a “Catholic” is to be admitted into that Spiritual Christian Nation’s Church, and the terms embrace both Jew and ex-gentile.⁷⁵

Loving the terms “Jacobite”, “Orthodox-Catholic”, and “Apostolic”, and using them often in his writing, Bresi-Ando in his *The Apostolic Succession* never once uses the terms “monophysite” or “miaphysite”, since he considers the “Jacobite” Church to be the authentic “Orthodox” community⁷⁶. (One might wonder if Bresi-Ando considered that in the Non-Chalcedonian Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church one might find both the Sons of Jacob “by seed” and “by adoption”, remembering how there is the local Ethiopian tradition that the Queen of Sheba carried home in her womb her child who had been fathered by King Solomon.)

⁷¹ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 280.

⁷² Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 14.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 14, 24.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21, 24.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22-24.

2.3. Contradiction: not really anti-Chalcedonian

A careful reading of Bresī-Ando's theology exposes his Chalcedonian core. In reality, he was not anti-Chalcedonian in theology, nor was he a true Monophysite after all—neither extreme Eutychian nor conservative/moderate Severan Miaphysite. He actually admits that there are “two natures in one person” in his succinct summary of the Definition of Chalcedon given on page 26 in his *The Apostolic Succession*⁷⁷. He includes as well the famous four adverbs from Chalcedon: “inseparable and indivisible [...] unconfused and unchanged”:

The Union in Christ was a real unity, in which the elements are *inseparable* and *indivisible* on the one hand *unconfused* and *unchanged* on the other—a unity which, while *uniting the two natures in one person*, yet does not confuse the two so as to cause the disappearance of either.⁷⁸

A keen 21st Century Orthodox theological eye will see here that Bresī-Ando is not espousing Eutyches' extreme Monophysitism (i.e. one divine nature swallowing the human nature), nor is he—in this statement—espousing Severus' more moderate “Miaphysite” version (which speaks of one composite nature)(refer back to Chapter 2). Rather, Bresī-Ando clearly speaks of “two natures *in one person*” remaining *after* the union, which is classical Eastern Orthodox Byzantine Chalcedonian theology⁷⁹. He insists that there is no “disappearance of either” nature⁸⁰.

However, Bresī-Ando does include one paragraph in his *Apostolic Succession* booklet that—if isolated and lifted out of context—might appear to contradict his Chalcedonian “two natures *in one person*” statement. In it he refers to Christ's “Theandric” “two-fold nature” (speaking here of “nature” in the singular, not in the plural)⁸¹. By referring to *one* “nature” the reader might be led to think that Bresī-Ando held to a formulation that was similar to the conservative monophysite (miaphysite) “one composite nature” position. He wrote:

Jesus Christ was God-man. The two natures, the complete God-head and the complete manhood met and from these there was formed the One Emanuel [*sic.*] or

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*—italics added.

⁷⁹ Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 34.

⁸⁰ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 26.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

God-man, in the same way as two opposite elements, the body in the one hand and the soul on the other, come together in us, and *the two-fold nature* of man results.⁸²

This reference to a “two-fold nature” at face value leads one to momentarily consider the possibility that Bresi-Ando was a Miaphysite. But he was not, because he immediately follows this sentence with his purely Chalcedonian statement—already quoted above: “The Union in Christ was a real unity [...] a unity which, while uniting the *two natures in one person*, yet does not confuse the two so as to cause the disappearance of either.”⁸³ Here he remains clearly within the Eastern Orthodox Chalcedonian camp by speaking of “two natures in one person”.

2.3.1. Bresi-Ando’s view: just semantics

Despite the fact that one can see in Bresi-Ando’s writing a clear Chalcedonian Orthodoxy, and putting aside all Jacobite ecclesiastical saber-rattling, Bresi-Ando’s honest theological opinion, which is exhibited loudly in his booklet, *The Apostolic Succession*, is that the 5th Century Monophysite debate was just *pure semantics*, an unnecessary schism resulting from the “Royalists” proud refusal to recognize that the two opposing groups of bishops were actually defending the *same* doctrine. He openly stated that “[t]he truth that both sides held the *same doctrine* at Chalcedon Council and differed only on the term naming this ‘Mystic Union’ [*i.e. “Hypostatic Union vs. “Theandric”*] must be freely acknowledged before Peace, Harmony and Love can be regained”⁸⁴. (The consensus of Eastern Orthodox Patriarchates today in the 21st Century still has *not yet agreed* with Bresi-Ando’s 1930’s position that the centuries-old Christological debate was *merely semantics*.⁸⁵)

2.3.2. Bresi-Ando’s view: imperial politics was to blame

In the end, instead of on theology, Bresi-Ando puts the blame of the schism which resulted after the Council of Chalcedon on *imperial politics* (not everybody will agree with Bresi-Ando on this viewpoint). He claims that “[i]t was the Greco-Roman Emperor’s interference in the things of

⁸² *Ibid.*—italics added.

⁸³ *Ibid.*—italics added.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27—italics added.

⁸⁵ “Communiqué Issued by the Working Group of the Joint Commission,” Athens, Greece, 24-25 November 2014, in CHAILLOT, Christine (Ed.), *The Dialogue Between the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches*, Volos, Greece, Volos Academy Publications, 2016, p. 450.

God, namely, Spiritual Dogmas and doctrines that caused the Division at Chalcedon”⁸⁶. He damns the “Royalist” Roman and the Greek bishops (he calls them the “Melkites” and “Royalist Greco-Romans”⁸⁷) for bowing to pressure from the Roman Empire in which they “propounded a new invention, the ‘Hypostatic Union’, taken from the Greek Philosophy in opposition to the ‘Theandric’ doctrine as held by the Apostles and the Primitive Church”⁸⁸. He saw no reason to use it in place of the older term, since “[t]he Theandric’ doctrine was simple, maintaining that Jesus Christ was God-man”⁸⁹. While Bresi-Ando states his opinion that “both sides held the same doctrine at Chalcedon”⁹⁰, he theologically argues that the term “‘Theandric’ meaning ‘God-manly’” was more “simple and decisive,” more “Apostolic”, and was the “true doctrine” of the “Mother Church,” whereas the “new” term “‘Hypostatic Union’ was open to so many false interpretations”⁹¹. Bresi-Ando’s theological research did not delve as deep as that of Jaroslav Pelikan who shows in his *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition* (1971) that the theology of “hypostatic union” existed with St. Cyril in Egypt *before* Chalcedon, and rather, it was the Tome of St. Leo that clarified it, to the joy of the majority of Empire bishops gathered at Chalcedon⁹².

Remaining in his posture of “semantics” and “politics”, and viewing life through his anti-colonial spectacles, Bresi-Ando did not think that it was fair that the Empire “Royalists” should have excommunicated the Jacobites as “heretics” when in fact they were innocently only espousing ancient “Apostolic” doctrine⁹³. Therefore, he loudly decried the “Royalists” for crucifying Christ “afresh” by bowing to Imperial pressure and theological meddling⁹⁴. He claimed that by excommunicating the Jacobites, the “Melkite Sees of Rome and Constantinople” rather had cut themselves off from their “Mother Church” of Antioch, propelling themselves into schism, a position which they later only further complicated by “[t]heir own internal schism of A.D. 1054”⁹⁵.

⁸⁶ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 28.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 26-27.

⁹² Jaroslav PELIKAN. *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600)*, Coll. “The Christian Tradition—A History of the Development of Doctrine,” vol. 1, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1971, p. 259-264.

⁹³ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 27.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26-28.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

2.3.3. Bresi-Ando's solution: to call for all nations to "come home" to Antioch

Bresi-Ando's solution to this alleged governmental "interference" into church life was simple: invite all the schismatics and heretics to come home to Jacobite Antioch. This was his *spiritual repatriation* program which replaced his failed Garveyite earthly repatriation scheme. Since "[w]orldly nations are false barriers dividing Humanity," by joining Bresi-Ando's AIC or any similar "Jacobite" Patriarchate—which he claimed were free of governmental ties—one would find in them "a solution to the problem of international crisis of today": freedom from the oppressive imperialist colonial powers with their state-run colonial churches⁹⁶. "The [*Roman*] Empire has disappeared, let the Emperor's erroneous acts also disappear and God's truth will prevail and unity in the Brotherhood will be regained," wrote Bresi-Ando⁹⁷. "'Christ's Righteous People' and Spiritual Nation ensure Unity, Peace, Harmony, Love and Fellowship" as "a solution to the problem"⁹⁸. It is easy to see here how Bresi-Ando's religious and political emancipationist vision was striving for a complete liberation via a "pure" Jacobite "Mother Church" free from all imperial colonial control. He is comparing his present (1930's) religious-political situation within the British Empire to that of the Jacobites within the old Roman/Byzantine Empire. This demonstrates that Bresi-Ando has a Pan-Africanist mindset which is assimilating any real (or imagined) imperialist trend in the interactions between the ancient Orthodox Catholic Church and the Roman Empire to that of Anglicanism and British New Imperialist colonialism in West Africa.

Semantics aside, the resulting ecclesiastical schism of AD 451 was still very real for Bresi-Ando, and therefore he envisioned a day of reunion for all Christians within the bosom of the Mother See of Jacobite Antioch: "They are now invited to 'come out' of their errors and return to their Father's House"⁹⁹. He was ready to welcome "back home" the erring Protestants, Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox¹⁰⁰. In his booklet, Bresi-Ando carefully lists "all" the recognized members of this Mother Jacobite See—a list which *excludes* the Roman Catholics, Eastern Orthodox, and Protestant churches, but *includes* all the Oriental Churches (Coptic, Ethiopian, India, etc.) plus about forty (40) other so-called "Orthodox" churches mostly belonging to the *episcopi vagantes*

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 15-16, 27.

“Vilatte” variety which the Jacobite Syrians later expressly denounced as non-recognized and not part of their communion, in their official public statement released in 1938¹⁰¹.

2.4. Lack of complete and lasting catechesis into the finer points of “Monophysitism”

In Bresi-Ando’s AIC during the late 1930’s there was a lack of complete and lasting catechesis into the finer points of “Monophysitism” or what it meant to be “Jacobite”. In fact, his priests never studied his booklet, *The Apostolic Succession of the African Universal Church (Orthodox-Catholic)*, very deeply, admitted the former Deputy Bishop, Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu¹⁰². Rather, they only used it as “a guide” to defend their claim that the “Apostolic Succession” of their “Orthodox Catholic” was the “true” one, not that of the Anglican, Methodist, or A.M.E. Zion churches¹⁰³. If someone questioned their stance, Rev. Edonu simply provided them a copy of the Patriarch’s *The Apostolic Succession* for them to read for themselves—if only they could understand it¹⁰⁴.

After Bresi-Ando’s departure to Nigeria in 1942, his Gold Coast flock’s knowledge of Orthodoxy—Oriental or Eastern Orthodox—remained very minimal. His abandoned church organization was left doctrinally confused for decades. Over time, it forgot its 1930’s “Monophysite” theology. After all, Bresi-Ando (who had been raised Methodist) was really still theologically a Chalcedonian, especially after his association with Mar Georgius’ group of *episcopi vagantes* in the late 1940’s. This group had disliked the Jacobite Syriac Patriarchate’s 1938 renunciation of all the Vilatte “sects”, and (as was shown in the preceding Biographical Section) they formally retaliated by holding their own synod of bishops in London in 1943 during which they publicly renounced “Monophysitism”, openly accepted all Seven Ecumenical Councils, and broke “ties” with the Syriac Church¹⁰⁵. This explains why after World War II one no longer hears any espousal of the “Jacobite” Church with its “Monophysite” theology coming from the mouth and pen of Bresi-Ando. This also explains why his nephew, Deputy Bishop Edonu, in his interviews in the early 1990’s admitted that for many years he had no knowledge of the

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 22-24; Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 282.

¹⁰² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomaa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1510.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 240-241, 447-448.

meaning of the term “Jacobite”, nor could he explain what Bresi-Ando meant by using that term so much in his 1930-era pro-Jacobite booklet, *The Apostolic Succession*. Rev. Edonu only learned what that term meant decades later, after a younger generation of Ghanaians went to Greece to attend Greek Orthodox schools of theology and gained the necessary vocabulary to decipher Bresi-Ando’s booklet¹⁰⁶. At any rate, the theology and Christology of Bresi-Ando’s AIC became decisively Chalcedonian/Eastern Orthodox when they were all received into the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria.

2.5. Lack of deep understanding of Eastern Orthodoxy

Concerning the important connection between free will and synergy in Orthodox soteriology, Bresi-Ando's understanding of salvation did not reach the depth of the Eastern Orthodox doctrine of *theosis* (deification). In his writing there is no discussion of the wills belonging to each nature, human and Divine. He does not dive that deep into the finer Chalcedonian/Non-Chalcedonian theological differences. After all, it was “all the same” to him. Rather, he emphasized “valid” sacramental Baptism due to “valid” Apostolic Succession and kept his theology at the practical ecclesiastical level. If a person’s baptism was outside the line of this “true” “Apostolic” succession, then he or she could *not* be saved—it was “mere mockery”¹⁰⁷. In Bresi-Ando's 1930’s era writings one does not see any theology of deification (*theosis*) via synergy with the Holy Spirit's Grace, nor did his deputy Edonu remember hearing such. However, in 1949 after Bresi-Ando had re-aligned himself with Mar Georgius’ pro-Chalcedonian *episcopi vagantes*, he did write some very nice theology about the Holy Spirit’s charismatic presence in the lives of Christians¹⁰⁸. These thoughts he put into his Charter for “The Guild of Saint Raphael” which he drafted at the request of Rev. Edonu who desired a mandate certifying that it was okay to incorporate a charismatic element within Bresi-Ando’s Gold Coast AIC¹⁰⁹. Yet within this document there is no mention of Eastern Orthodoxy’s classic Essence/Energy distinction nor deification (*theosis*).

¹⁰⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1510.

¹⁰⁷ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 15.

¹⁰⁸ Mar KWAMIN I Prince-Patriarch. Instrument of Inauguration, The Guild of St. Raphael in the Order of Fishers of Men, [handwritten charter], 07 August 1949, File GR1.40; Charter, the Guild of Saint Raphael in the Order of Fishers of Men, Instrument of Inauguration, in the Programme, Fourth Anniversary of the Spiritual Healing Revival at the Shrine of the Guild of St. Raphael, Gomoa Fomena, Orthodox Catholic Church, Diocese of Saint Ignatius of Antioch, Ghana, 13th to 15th January 1961, p. 3-5, File GR2.93

¹⁰⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 03 March 1994, Log 10, p. 557.

As this entire discussion took place in 1949, its analysis is beyond the scope of this present study and should be developed at a later time.

3. His *ecclesiological* emancipation

3.1. Bresi-Ando establishes a very wide all-Africa ecclesiology

In 1935, as a newly-consecrated “Orthodox Catholic” hierarchy, Bresi-Ando established a very wide all-Africa ecclesiology since now he “regarded himself as the Primate of Africa”¹¹⁰. Yes, he actually viewed himself as “Patriarch” for all Africans—for “the Thousands of Africa”—not limited to the Gold Coast or Nigeria or even to West Africa¹¹¹, but even to the southern U.S. (mistakenly labeled as “South America” in Anson’s book)¹¹². He was a “Patriarch” without borders—*sans frontiers*—with a mission to blacks everywhere. Bresi-Ando wrote that “Ethiopia” will fulfill the Biblical prophecy of Psalm 68:31 and shall “stretch forth her hands unto God”:

He [*God*] who is no respecter of persons has devised the way whereby the fond aims of the Church and the legitimate aspirations of the writer to make it a channel for the fulfilment of the prophecy ‘Ethiopia shall suddenly rise and stretch forth her hands unto God’ shall be realized.¹¹³

As the real Ethiopians were already part of the Oriental Orthodox global family—having literally stretched out their arms to God in Christian faith centuries ago—Bresi-Ando *cannot* be understood as using a literal interpretation here of Psalm 68:31. In fact, he lists the Ethiopian Orthodox as being one of the churches with whom his West African church was in communion (from his point of view, of course)¹¹⁴. Therefore, when Bresi-Ando refers to Ethiopia, he must be speaking symbolically, in the Pan-Africanist manner of Marcus Garvey who would refer to all Negroes around the whole world as the “Men of Ethiopia”¹¹⁵. Garvey liked to quote this same verse from Psalm 68 in his speeches, as in it he saw both the future political emancipation of all of Africa as well as the complete emancipation of the entire Negro race globally¹¹⁶. On the other hand, in

¹¹⁰ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 243.

¹¹¹ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 23.

¹¹² Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 279.

¹¹³ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 12.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13, 23.

¹¹⁵ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 96.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 81, 96.

Bresi-Ando's view¹¹⁷, emancipation for all the "[i]ntelligent men and women of the race"¹¹⁸—all Africans and black peoples scattered around the world—was to be achieved through re-uniting all of them and all other "outsiders" to his African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church¹¹⁹, thereby returning all humanity "to their Father's House"¹²⁰—the global family of autocephalous Jacobite Monophysite churches¹²¹. Being autocephalous, these churches required no parent organization, no mediator, but stood on equal footing. Such status elevated Bresī-Ando's "Orthodox-Catholic" church for the Africans to the same level as the other autocephalous churches in the world—Coptic, Syriac, Armenian, even Greek and Roman. In a Pan-African mindset, this was *complete religious* emancipation. Thus, Bresī-Ando felt that God Himself had blessed his "legitimate aspirations" and "has devised the way" to make his AIC "a channel for the fulfilment of the prophecy"¹²². While Garvey had noisy, yet unproductive ambitions, Bresī-Ando felt that God had provided him with a concrete road to real emancipation. Through the Jacobite communion of churches, all Africans could be "liberated", in a spiritual sense, from the bondage, constraints, and limitations of earthly politics.

Bresī-Ando was a visionary who saw himself as "Patriarch" of an authentic "Apostolic" communion which was designed to unify all African Christians on the continent, thereby removing them from the European missions and their colonial masters whom he so much despised. This was how he would ecclesiastically achieve part of his over-all emancipationist agenda. Yet Bresī-Ando's vision of ecclesiology was not racist nor exclusivist¹²³. He saw his African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church as merely one "nation" among a global family of autocephalous Monophysite churchly "sister nations"¹²⁴, all ultimately serving a common goal: "the Brotherhood of Man in Christ"¹²⁵, according to God's own plan¹²⁶:

¹¹⁷ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 12, 30.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15-16, 22-24, 27, 30.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹²³ Max ASSIMENG. "Methodological Africanism [...]," p. 74.

¹²⁴ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 14.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12-13.

the African Universal (O-C) Church is participating fully in the activities of the Christian Church to gather into one fold that there may be one shepherd, the scattered sheep who, at the dawn of Christianity were converted by the Apostolic Sees of Anthioch [*sic.*], Jerusalem and Alexandria.¹²⁷

Bresi-Ando believed that “[i]t is Christ’s plan to bring in peace, harmony, and love of the Brotherhood of Man in Christ, which one day will rule the world—then wars and hatreds will disappear”¹²⁸. Bresí-Ando saw that only Jesus Christ’s love through the Church can conquer racism, prejudice, and hatred. Therefore, looking towards that longed-for-day of “Brotherhood”, all the “outsiders”¹²⁹ (i.e. specifically, all Protestant, Roman Catholics, and Eastern Orthodox¹³⁰), regardless of any nationality, tribe, race, or color, were “invited to ‘come out’ of their errors and return to their Father’s House”,¹³¹ which in Bresí-Ando’s opinion during the 1930’s was “the Jacobite Holy Orthodox-Catholic Church”¹³², the “World Mother Church—the Holy Eastern Church of Syria”¹³³. This was how he envisioned the lost unity of Chalcedonians and Non-Chalcedonians could be regained.

With all this as his guiding vision, Bresí-Ando saw himself as part of larger, global Orthodox “Reunion Movement”, supposedly launched in the mid-1800’s by the Jacobite Syriac Patriarch of Antioch, His Holiness Ignatius Peter III, when he was still Mar Bedros of Emesa¹³⁴. His 1866 (alleged) ordination of a certain Jules Ferrette to become “Mar Julius, Bishop of Iona” in Great Britain¹³⁵ is claimed to have begun “a movement with the laudable aim of gathering and re-uniting to the Mother See of Antioch, the scattered Sheep, even the converts made in the early days, as well as active members of the Eastern Church who were sojourning in Europe and America and were somewhat lost to the Primitive Faith and form”¹³⁶. Ferrette’s target territory for setting up new “indigenous Orthodox Churches” was Western Europe, primarily Great Britain¹³⁷. According to Anglican church historian Peter Anson, Vilatte’s later attempt to unite all non-Monophysites

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 15-16, 27.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹³⁴ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 35-36, 107-108.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 36-37.

¹³⁶ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession [...]*, p. 1.

¹³⁷ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 36.

back to the “Mother Church” was a “sequel” to the Jules Ferrette “Reunion” story¹³⁸. “Archbishop” Vilatte claimed that he had been ordained by the approval of Ignatius Peter III (formerly Mar Bedros) in 1892 with the understanding that he would set up a missionary Jacobite diocese—“the Old Catholic Church of America”—to help further this reunion goal within the United States¹³⁹. Yet not sticking to this new denomination, in 1915 he independently started another one, his “American Catholic Church”, consecrating Frederick Lloyd at its first hierarch¹⁴⁰. Like Vilatte, members of this “Reunion Movement” claimed that they had the authority from the Jacobite Patriarchate to set up independent “autocephalous” Orthodox “Patriarchates” and churches whenever and where ever they wanted¹⁴¹. This movement among the *episcopi vagantes* is what Bresi-Ando joined in 1935 and it really motivated him. He felt that it “authorized” his status to be an “autocephalous” patriarch, with hopes of improving his religious emancipation dream and efforts. In his booklet, *The Apostolic Succession*, Bresi-Ando gives the names of 12 “Reunion Movement” churches which Vilatte and “his successors founded”¹⁴²:

1. The American Catholic Church (Vilatte and Lloyd’s)
2. The African Orthodox Church (of America) (McGuire’s)
3. The African Universal (O-C) Church (Bresi-Ando’s)
4. The Eskimo Church
5. The Polish National Church
6. English Catholic Church
7. Western Orthodox Church
8. British Orthodox-Catholic Church (H.O.C.C.) (Harrington’s)
9. French Orthodox-Catholic Church
10. North American Indian Church
11. Palestine Orthodox-Catholic Church
12. Australian Orthodox Church

3.2. Antioch’s Petrine primacy minus the Pope

In Bresi-Ando’s mind, what united all these new *episcopi vagantes* churches was a common “Apostolic Succession” (with “valid” orders) which was derived “from the same Source, the Holy

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*; Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 1-2.

¹⁴⁰ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 124-125.

¹⁴¹ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 36; Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 1, 3-4; J. A. DOUGLAS. “Foreword”, in Henry R. T. BRANDRETH, *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 2006, p. xiii.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

Ghost, through the Holy Apostolic See of St. Peter and the Apostles at Antioch”¹⁴³. Bresi-Ando wrote that Antioch became the “Mother Church” for all Christendom after the Fall of Jerusalem in AD 70 had forced the Jewish Christians and their bishops (who were the “Sons of Jacob by the seed”) to flee to Antioch¹⁴⁴. There they were joined to the Gentile Christian community (the “Sons of Jacob by adoption”) by St. Ignatius, the 3rd bishop of that Apostolic See, who “took them under his protection and ‘ordained that the Church founded by St. Peter at Antioch A. D. 38 [*sic.*], should embrace both sections of the followers of Jesus’,” both Jew and Gentile, under the name “Catholic Church”, in addition to the names “Christian” and “Jacobite”¹⁴⁵. Here Bresi-Ando defines “Catholic” as meaning “Universal”—“comprising peoples of all Nations, Jews and ex-Gentiles”¹⁴⁶. (The “pre-eminence of Antioch” and its replacing Jerusalem as “the capital of the whole Christendom” in the First Century is a concept that one can still find on the official website of the Malankara Jacobite Syrian Orthodox Church¹⁴⁷.)

While it is true that St. Ignatius’ letter to the Smyrnaeans (chapter 8:2) gives one of the earliest recorded usages of the name “Catholic Church”¹⁴⁸, to claim that the saint brought the Jewish and Gentile Christians together to comprise the Church with *himself* as its “first visible Prince-Patriarch” and “Chief Bishop of the Apostolic Church” is a rather strange opinion on the part of Bresi-Ando¹⁴⁹. He overlooks the fact that in AD 70 St. John the Theologian, one of the original Twelve Apostles, was still alive¹⁵⁰, making it impossible that St. Ignatius could have been considered at that time to be “the Chief Bishop” of all Christendom¹⁵¹, “the second in succession after St. Peter himself”¹⁵². Just the same, Bresi-Ando’s rather unique ecclesiastical revisionist idea of church history holds that St. Ignatius was the one whose action “fulfilled all the prophecies of

¹⁴³ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 14.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17, 20.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁴⁷ *Jacobite Syrian Christian Church*. (Page consulted on 16 August 2019), <http://www.jacobitesyrianchurch.org/>, par. 3.

¹⁴⁸ Jack N. SPARKS (Ed.). *The Apostolic Fathers*, Minneapolis, MN, Light and Life Publishing, 1978, p. 113.

¹⁴⁹ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 1, 16-17.

¹⁵⁰ NUNS of Holy Apostles Convent and MONKS of Dormition Skete (Eds.). “Saint John the Theologian,” *September*, Coll. “The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church,” Translated from the Greek, Buena Vista, CO, Holy Apostles Convent and Dormition Skete, 2002, p. 688 footnote 4. St. John the Theologian died in Ephesus in the year AD 101, between 93-95 years of age.

¹⁵¹ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 17.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

the Old and New Testament”¹⁵³ by uniting under the name “Catholic” both Jewish believers and ex-Gentile believers into one Church¹⁵⁴, and “into One Spiritual House [of Jacob] and One Spiritual Nation [Christian] under Christ as the King of Jacob”¹⁵⁵. In this vein of thinking, Bresi-Ando is building his case for a type of *Antiochian primacy*. Thus, Antioch and the “Holy Eastern Church of Syria” (the Jacobite Syriacs) became the “World Mother Church,” instead of Jerusalem or Rome, in Bresi-Ando’s stretch of theological imagination¹⁵⁶. In his emancipationist mentality, this Syrian Church was “the very opposite of temporal power and mere national or isolated State Churches”¹⁵⁷. Here he is obviously using St. Ignatius and the ancient Church to meticulously build his case for his own religious independence.

Knowing correctly that the Church at Antioch had been founded by the Apostle Peter before he had ever visited Rome, Bresi-Ando goes on to formulate his argument for the primacy and permanency of the Antiochian See, based on an understanding of Christ’s famous words to Peter: “thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven” (Matthew 16:18-19 KJV)¹⁵⁸. According to Bresi-Ando, all the Monophysite/Jacobite churches received their “Apostolic Succession” from this “Holy Apostolic See of St. Peter and the Apostles at Antioch”¹⁵⁹. This is a very wide and all-embracing claim—that all true Christians (whom Bresi-Ando identifies as the “Jacobite” Orthodox Catholics) receive the power of the Holy Spirit through Jacobite Antioch. (An outsider might wonder if the early Orthodox Catholic Christians living in Egypt claiming an Apostolic Succession from St. Mark would beg to differ, since their Apostolic See of Alexandria founded in AD 43 predates the Fall of Jerusalem in AD 70!¹⁶⁰)

The primacy and centrality of the See of Antioch were critically important to Bresi-Ando, since “[t]o this day, the Patriarchs of Antioch have preserved an unbroken succession so necessary for

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17. Brackets are in the original.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ “The Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa,” *The official website of Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa*. Put online 22 October 2012, (page consulted on 09 September 2019), <http://www.patriarchateofalexandria.com/index.php?module=content&cid=002010>, par. 3.

the true validity of the Sacraments”¹⁶¹. Here he minimizes the fact that other ancient Apostolic Sees have also preserved their unbroken Apostolic succession and retain lists of all their successive hierarchs down through history. Bresi-Ando therefore made the effort to publish a list of the names of 126 Patriarchs in Antioch, beginning with the Apostle Peter on down to Syriac Ignatius Peter III¹⁶². (Note: the list of the Patriarchs of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch and All the East shows *different* names appearing shortly after the failure of the 5th Ecumenical Council in AD 553 to appease and reconcile the Non-Chalcedonians.¹⁶³) However, for Bresi-Ando, stressing the Non-Chalcedonian Antiochian Jacobite/Syriac “Apostolic” lineage—and ignoring the Chalcedonian Antiochian Greek Orthodox Apostolic lineage—was extremely necessary in order to defend his own ordination, his claim to “valid” “Sacraments”, and his episcopal emancipationist dreams via autocephaly. While acclaiming Antioch’s Petrine primacy (as the “Source” and “Custodian” of Apostolic Succession)¹⁶⁴, Bresi-Ando stopped short of recognizing a universal supremacy or infallibility in the Antiochene successors to St. Peter, nor does he allow the Pope of Rome to hold infallibility, primacy or universal papacy in his person either. This is because in discovering the concept of Apostolic hierarchy, Bresi-Ando had also discovered the Orthodox concept of autocephaly.

3.3. Bresi-Ando embraces the term “autocephalous”

It was the concept of “autocephaly” that grabbed and excited Bresi-Ando in 1935, though he and his fellow *episcopi vagantes* abused this centuries’ old ecclesiastical arrangement by claiming that they had the independent “authority to erect indigenous Orthodox Churches, under an autonomous Patriarchate of their own, and not in any way subject to Antioch”¹⁶⁵. Anson points out that this is *not* how the true Orthodox Catholic Church of history established new autocephalous

¹⁶¹ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 8.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 8-11.

¹⁶³ “Primates of the Apostolic See of Antioch,” *Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America*. Put online [s.d.], (page consulted 18 September 2019), <http://ww1.antiochian.org/patofant/primates>. It was especially after AD 553 (5th Council) that Jacob Baradaeus ramped up his efforts to establish a parallel Monophysite hierarchy (Chadwick, *The Early Church*, p. 210).

¹⁶⁴ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 20.

¹⁶⁵ Mar GEORGIUS. *The Man from Antioch, being an Account of Mar Julius, Bishop of Iona, and of his Successors, the British Patriarchs, from 1866 to 1944*, Glastonbury, [s.n.], 1958, p. 3, in Peter F. ANSON, *Bishops at Large*, p. 36; see also Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 1-4.

Patriarchates¹⁶⁶. For this very type of ecclesiastical sin, their Jacobite “Mother” Patriarchate of Antioch eventually repudiated Vilatte and all his *episcopi vagantes* followers.

The Orthodox Catholic Church of the first millennium of Christian history had an ecclesiological understanding of equality among bishops, especially the Patriarchs, which continues in the Orthodox Church down to the present. This is due to its understanding of “autocephaly” (“self-governing”, literally meaning, “self-headed”)¹⁶⁷, wherein each ancient Patriarchate is sovereign over its own internal affairs, managing the group of dioceses within its geographical area and electing its own Patriarch¹⁶⁸, primate, or *cephale* (i.e. leader, in Greek, “head”)¹⁶⁹. While simultaneously being held mutually accountable to the other sister Patriarchates to maintain the fullness of the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Faith unchanged, and sharing full sacramental intercommunion, each Patriarch has no man above him to which he must answer other than his own Holy Synod of bishops¹⁷⁰. The churches in the five great cities of the Roman Empire—Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem—formed the ancient “Pentarchy” of sister Patriarchal churches for “the whole of the known world,” each led by a Patriarch who sits as the first among equals on his local synod of bishops¹⁷¹. However, no Orthodox Patriarch is a *prince* over his brother bishops¹⁷². Instead, fundamentally, all bishops, archbishops, metropolitans and patriarchs are “essentially equal” in the “apostolic succession,” “sacramental powers,” and “divinely appointed” teaching authority¹⁷³. This Orthodox understanding does not admit a “supremacy” nor lordship over other bishops by the Pope in Rome, who is seen by the Eastern Orthodox hierarchs as only possessing a “primacy of honor” among his equal, brother Patriarchs¹⁷⁴.

¹⁶⁶ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 36.

¹⁶⁷ George W. GRUBE. *The Complete Book of Orthodoxy: a comprehensive encyclopedia and glossary of Orthodox terms, theology, history and facts from A to Z*, Salisbury, MA, Regina Orthodox Press, 2001, p. 48.

¹⁶⁸ Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 34-35.

¹⁶⁹ George W. GRUBE. *The Complete Book of Orthodoxy* [...], p. 48; New World Encyclopedia contributors. “Autocephalous Church,” *New World Encyclopedia*, put online 02 May 2016, (page consulted 17 October 2017), http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/p/index.php?title=Autocephalous_Church&oldid=995768, par. 1 & 4.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, par. 1.

¹⁷¹ Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 34-35.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

To become “autocephalous”, or “self-headed”, a mature missionary diocese must be granted that complete independent status by the Ecumenical Patriarch¹⁷⁵, or sometimes by its mother Patriarchate, with the mutual global recognition of this autocephaly being granted by all the other autocephalous Patriarchates, who thereafter maintain sacramental intercommunion with it¹⁷⁶. The global Orthodox Church acts in concert, as a group, with collegiality and mutual intercommunion, and not in the independent manner of the *episcopi vagantes*.

Often, an intermediate step towards full autocephaly is taken, in which the daughter church for an extended period of time is first granted “autonomous” (i.e. “self-rule”) status, which allows the daughter synod to manage its own affairs under a prelate (who is not a Patriarch) selected by its mother Patriarchate¹⁷⁷. This is a very technical distinction in that “nomos” means “law”; hence, “autonomous” means “self-ruled” (“self-legislated”), which is quite different from being “self-headed” (independently “self-governed”)¹⁷⁸. An “autonomous” church legislates its own day-to-day internal affairs, but its “head” is the Patriarch of its mother Patriarchate to which it still belongs. The number of Eastern Orthodox patriarchates has grown over time, taking on a “national” character, as various autocephalous Patriarchates were added, due to missionary efforts (i.e. Russian Orthodox Patriarchate, Serbian Orthodox Patriarchate, Romanian, Bulgarian, etc.)¹⁷⁹.

3.4. Ecclesiological omission

Despite his newly-found theological convictions, his love for autocephaly, and his noisy theological saber-rattling, Bresi-Ando made a terrible omission in his understanding of Early Church ecclesiology, a glaring error which later on returned to haunt his community after his death. While he was enraptured with the critically important concepts of “Apostolic Faith, Apostolic Tradition, Apostolic Rite, Apostolic Form, Apostolic Teaching, Apostolic Unity & Succession”¹⁸⁰, he failed in the area of Apostolic hierarchical collegiality and mutual accountability. He rightly

¹⁷⁵ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 36.

¹⁷⁶ George W. GRUBE. *The Complete Book of Orthodoxy* [...], p. 48; New World Encyclopedia contributors. “Autocephalous Church,” par. 2, 5, 6.

¹⁷⁷ George W. GRUBE. *The Complete Book of Orthodoxy* [...], p. 48.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*; New World Encyclopedia contributors. “Autocephalous Church,” par. 4.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, par. 9. There are 14 Autocephalous Orthodox Churches within global Eastern Orthodox Church, or 15, if the Orthodox Church in America (OCA) is included. However, its autocephaly has not yet been recognized by all the Patriarchates. The recent attempt to create a new Patriarchate in Ukraine is currently hotly disputed.

¹⁸⁰ New 1957 letterhead: K. Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Letter to His Excellency, The Governor-General, Independent Sovereign State of Ghana, 03 April 1957, File GR1.51.

maintained that “all such Autocephalous Churches are Sister Churches and Equals”¹⁸¹. All their bishops together form the college of bishops—the “Apostolic Council, which is the Visible Head of the One, Holy, Orthodox-Catholic and Apostolic Church”¹⁸². For the Orthodox who see themselves as a global community of fully equal autocephalous sister churches, there is no Pope with “precedence or domination over the others”¹⁸³. Thus, for Bresi-Ando, he recognized no Roman Pope nor any single-person global papacy concept—not even in the person of the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. However, despite holding onto these ancient Orthodox Catholic ecclesiological concepts, Bresi-Ando erred in his attempt to adopt and use Orthodox “autocephaly” as a vehicle for African emancipation.

3.4.1. Bresi-Ando’s defect: no possibility of excommunication

Autocephaly was very important to Bresi-Ando. Coming from his anti-colonial emancipationist motivation, it was a most useful tool to maintain his religious and hierarchical independence from British clergy and Western churches. He squarely stated: “The African Universal Church therefore is an autonomous self-governing Church canonically erected and with unquestioned regular and Valid Apostolic Succession and Holy Orders, with power to develop a purely indigenous African Church”¹⁸⁴. He further clarified: “We are therefore under the domination of no other Bishop, Pope, Patriarch or Church whatsoever, being *absolutely self-governing*.”¹⁸⁵ One can see how such an ecclesiology easily fit into—and even amplified—a Pan-Africanist religious emancipationist ideology. Certainly, in his mind, “Prince-Patriarch” Mar Kwamin Bresi-Ando now felt *completely* religiously liberated. In his exuberance to declare his comprehensive religious manumission, Bresi-Ando uses both terms—“autocephaly” and “autonomous”—side by side and interchangeably, without noting the technical distinction between the two terms¹⁸⁶.

As if this was not clear enough, “Patriarch” Bresi-Ando expanded on his statement to say that “[n]o succeeding Patriarch of Antioch, even, since His Holiness Ignatius Peter III, has any *Jurisdiction* over our *autocephalous* Church, *neither can they excommunicate* members of another

¹⁸¹ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 22.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*—italics added.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1, 3-4.

Local Synod”¹⁸⁷. With this statement, Bresi-Ando refuses to accept any excommunication, such as that which the Syrian Jacobite Patriarch felt compelled to publicize widely in 1938. Not liking the news of the existence of yet another new, tiny, *episcopi vagantes* denomination in England—“the so-called ‘One Holy Orthodox Catholic Church’” which was headed by the very “Metropolitan” Frederic Harrington whom Bresi-Ando had consecrated in 1935—the Syrian Jacobite Patriarchate circulated an official statement disavowing any canonical relations with Harrington’s sect and with “a number of schismatic bodies which have come into existence after direct expulsion”, namely “all the sects claiming succession through Vilatte”¹⁸⁸. This, of course, *included* Bresi-Ando’s own AIC and he *refused* to accept this excommunication. He ignored the historical fact that down through the centuries the independent autocephalous Orthodox Catholic Patriarchates had *always* used the threat of excommunication to hold their brother Patriarchs accountable to the Apostolic community and Apostolic faith. In fact, it was such of Bull of Excommunication that divided the Roman West from the Orthodox East in 1054 A.D.¹⁸⁹

3.4.2. Bresi-Ando’s lack of accountability

By refusing to be accountable to the rest of the Orthodox global community—be they Oriental or Eastern Orthodox—Bresi-Ando isolated himself. While he accepted—and loved!—the concept of *autocephaly* that fit so nicely into his African emancipation program, but he failed to grasp and practice the equally necessary concept of Apostolic *collegiality* with its stress on *mutual* recognition and responsibility. Yes, Bresi-Ando did recognize the theoretical need and existence of “the Apostolic Council composed of all Bishops and Superiors of Religious Orders from all Orthodox-Catholic Churches throughout the World” which could assemble from time to time “to consider matters troubling the Orthodox-Catholic conscience”¹⁹⁰. He even stated that this Apostolic Council “is the Visible Head of the One, Holy, Orthodox-Catholic and Apostolic Church”¹⁹¹, since he would never admit a global papacy. In his anticolonial emancipationist mindset, Bresi-Ando preferred that his autocephalous church be *directly* related to Christ “as their

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3—italics added.

¹⁸⁸ Notice from the Syrian Patriarch of Antioch and All the East, Homs, Syria, 10 December 1938, in Henry R. T. BRANDRETH, *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 2006, p. 70, Appendix A.

¹⁸⁹ Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 67.

¹⁹⁰ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 3.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

Supreme Head”¹⁹², with Bresi-Ando’s “Patriarchate” being equal to—but not mediated by—the other sister Patriarchates. This lack of outside mediation meant that he and his AIC had—in Christ—total emancipation and complete *freedom* from all foreign control.

But Bresi-Ando’s omission and error is the fact that in Orthodoxy—at least in Eastern Orthodoxy—there is and has always been a mutual responsibility and accountability between the Sister autocephalous Churches. If any autocephalous Local Church enters into heresy, then the Sister Churches *do excommunicate* it—by breaking communion—until it repents or the matter is resolved at an Ecumenical Council. This procedure has been used throughout the centuries, and the Patriarchs fear the removal of their names from the “diptychs”, which act is the “visible sign” of the beginning of a period of non-intercommunion between autocephalous churches¹⁹³. It is this very practice of excommunication which led to the schism between the Chalcedonian (i.e. Greek/Roman) and Non-Chalcedonian (i.e. Monophysite) Churches at the 4th Council, an act of which Bresi-Ando was well aware, and of which he laments loudly in his writing¹⁹⁴.

3.4.3. The fundamental flaw of the “Old Catholic” *episcopi vagantes*

Bresi-Ando’s unique theological position on autocephaly was a direct product of the *fundamental* theological error of the “Old Catholic” *episcopi vagantes* which he had joined in 1935¹⁹⁵. He received from them their *highly reduced* theological vision since they stressed that “the sole hallmark of the nature of the Church and its authority” was “valid” ordination¹⁹⁶. For the *episcopi vagantes*, in actuality, hierarchy, apostolic succession and autocephaly had been “divorced from almost every consideration but a mechanical conception of *validity*”¹⁹⁷. All that they thought they needed was a technically “valid” ordination—in a sort of ecclesiastical game of “tag.” This, in turn, gave birth to private opinion and false teaching, all in the name of “Orthodoxy”, as Henry St. John wrote in the “Introduction” to Anson’s *Bishops at Large*:

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹⁹³ Timothy WARE. *The Orthodox Church*, p. 65.

¹⁹⁴ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 27.

¹⁹⁵ Henry ST. JOHN. “Introduction”, in Peter F. ANSON, *Bishops at Large*, p. 17.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*—italics added.

Mr. Anson's story shows us a *reductio ad absurdum* of the divinely ordained hierarchical structure of the Church constituted by apostolic succession, when divorced from almost every consideration but a mechanical conception of validity. The obsession of the "bishops at large" and their followers with the validity of orders has brought them to the belief that such validity is the sole hall-mark of the nature of the Church and its authority. *Ubi ordines validi, ibi ecclesia* is the principle upon which they all of them [*sic.*] consistently act with a determined conviction. The result of this action is that they are in effect reduced to saying "Get valid orders and you can choose what you believe." They are unaware that they are saying this, and consequently lay great stress on the supreme importance of an orthodoxy, which turns out to be no more than their own particular and sometimes variable "doxy".¹⁹⁸

The ecclesiology of Bresi-Ando and all the *episcopi vagantes* is rooted in the Western Roman Catholic Augustinian approach which carefully watches its sacraments for "lawfulness" (regular, licit) and for "validity" (apostolic line of succession, plus proper "matter, form and minister" and proper "intention")¹⁹⁹. In this Western understanding, sacraments can be either "valid" or "invalid", while *also* being "licit" or "illicit" (lawful/unlawful)²⁰⁰. To be "licit" necessitates that a priest be operating obediently under his bishop. But complications can arise. For example, in the Western view, an excommunicated Roman Catholic priest can still perform sacraments that are deemed "valid" and grace-filled but simultaneously considered to be "illicit" (unlawful/irregular) due to the fact that he has been forbidden to do such by his bishop²⁰¹. This ecclesiological approach traditionally has been foreign to the Eastern Christians (both Chalcedonian and Non-Chalcedonian), who—in addition to apostolic succession and tradition—also stress the unity and apostolic collegiality of the Church. Any attempt by an excommunicated Orthodox clergyman to perform a Sacrament would immediately be considered "outside of the Church" and therefore be null and void²⁰². In this Eastern view, the man who offers himself for

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*—italics in original.

¹⁹⁹ Frank K. FLINN. "validity", in *Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, Coll. "Encyclopedia of World Religions," J. Gordon Melton (Ed.), New York, Facts on File, 2007, 670 p., put online [s.d.], (page consulted on 10 September 2019), p. 619, <http://1.droppdf.com/files/RJfLH/encyclopedia-of-catholicism.pdf>; J. A. DOUGLAS. "Foreword", in Henry R. T. BRANDRETH, *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 2006, p. xiii; Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 95.

²⁰⁰ Frank K. FLINN. "validity", in *Encyclopedia of Catholicism* [...], p. 619.

²⁰¹ Frank K. FLINN. "validity", in *Encyclopedia of Catholicism* [...], p. 619.

²⁰² Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 95.

ordination at the hands of a deposed clergyman (such as Vilatte who had been excommunicated by the Syriacs) receives no grace nor holy orders, but only sin²⁰³.

The modern-day *episcopi vagantes* tend to ignore the “illicit” component in the Roman Catholic Augustinian distinction of “licit” versus “illicit” sacraments, while also ignoring the Eastern Orthodox requirement of Apostolic collegial unity for a sacrament to be considered a Sacrament²⁰⁴. By adopting the Western sacramental approach and then vastly reducing it to this mere “mechanical conception of validity,” Bresi-Ando unwittingly shifted his view away from the accepted, authentic, ancient Eastern Orthodox Catholic view of autocephaly. His refusal to acknowledge the *mutual* responsibility (and possibility of excommunication) inherent in Apostolic collegiality which accompanies true autocephaly came back to haunt his little West African diocese after his death in 1970. His emancipationist desire for complete self-rule totally isolated him. He had no Holy Synod nor was he linked to any canonical Orthodox global synod of bishops, either Eastern or Oriental. Even Bresi-Ando’s later (1940’s era) through-the-mail association with the well-known *episcopus vagans* Mar Georgius was carefully worded: “In Communion with, but of course entirely independent of us.”²⁰⁵ And over time, this too appeared to be no more than mere words decorating a letterhead, which had no meaning nor functional reality in the lives of his Ghanaian followers.

Upon his death Bresi-Ando’s little West African AIC was left ecclesiastically orphaned. No synod in the whole world was responsible to provide it a replacement bishop. This glaring error in Bresi-Ando’s ecclesiology is perhaps further explained by some latent Protestant individualism and sectarianism at work here. The Vilatte-style *episcopi vagantes*, although dressing-up like Roman Catholic bishops, acted very much like independent-minded Protestants. They disagreed, fractured, broke apart and multiplied into new denominations as easily and as often as their Protestant counterparts (as has been documented by Anson and Brandreth, and witnessed on the Gold Coast within Bresi-Ando’s own AIC)²⁰⁶. A humorous yet accurate charge was once leveled at these *episcopi vagantes*: “You are all very headstrong wayward young men, who believe very

²⁰³ Henry R. T. BRANDRETH. *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 2006, p. 34.

²⁰⁴ Henry R. T. BRANDRETH. *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 2006, p. 6-11.

²⁰⁵ MAR GEORGIUS. Letter to Patriarch Bresi-Ando, 11 November 1944, File GR1.35.

²⁰⁶ Henry ST. JOHN. “Introduction”, in Peter F. ANSON, *Bishops at Large*, p. 16.

much in your own infallibility, though you cannot accept that of the Pope!”²⁰⁷ On another level, Bresi-Ando’s ecclesiastical error can perhaps be explained by his emancipationist desire to be free from all outside foreign control. Maybe in this point his quest for a Pan-Africanist vision clouded his understanding and practice of Orthodoxy. Whatever the cause, Bresi-Ando’s ecclesiastical omission found a canonical solution when his followers later joined the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria.

3.5. Hierarchical structure

Completely convinced of his own legitimate canonical “Apostolic” status, Bresi-Ando styled himself as the “Patriarch” of his own African patriarchate, non-European in origin, which—during the 1930’s—he *claimed* was in communion with the Ethiopian and Coptic Churches, they all being Non-Chalcedonians²⁰⁸. One would doubt that the Ethiopians and Copts saw this as mutual²⁰⁹. (Interestingly, the English version of Bresi-Ando’s liturgical service book does not indicate prayers of the diptychs recognizing these Oriental primates²¹⁰.) Yet Prince-Patriarch Bresi-Ando openly made the claim of intercommunion. In his writing he describes the Copts as a “Spiritual People” and a “sister nation” limited to Egypt, and the Ethiopians as the same confined to their land, but he includes West Africa—and in fact all the rest of black Africa—as “his” Patriarchate²¹¹. In a British newspaper in 1935 Bresi-Ando proudly announced that his church and that of Egypt and Abyssinia/Ethiopia (all being African and “Orthodox” and *not* Protestant) were part of the same ancient Christian communion²¹². In this sense, they shared a common liberation—a freedom—from Western Christianity. Viewing these African Patriarchs as his spiritual equals within the global “Monophysite” communion²¹³, Bresi-Ando saw no need to come under the Ethiopian and Coptic Patriarchates’ ecclesiastical authority. After all, he viewed his church in West Africa as already being validly autocephalous via the Syrian Jacobite Patriarchate. Having been spiritually

²⁰⁷ Bishop Arnold Harris MATHEW. Letter. Cited by T. F. REDFERN, in “Bishop Mathew and his Theosophical Clergy,” *The Liberal Catholic*, July 1956, in Peter F. ANSON, *Bishops at Large*, p. 349.

²⁰⁸ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Hornsey Journal*, Hornsey, London, 13 September 1935, in Henry R. T. BRANDRETH, *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 2006, p. 43 footnote 4.

²⁰⁹ Henry R. T. BRANDRETH. *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 2006, p. 43 footnote 4.

²¹⁰ *The Liturgy, According to the Use of The Liberal Catholic Church*, 3rd ed., London, St. Alban Press, 1942, p. 415-417.

²¹¹ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 12-14, 23.

²¹² Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Hornsey Journal* [...], in Henry R. T. BRANDRETH, *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 2006, p. 43 footnote 4.

²¹³ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 13-14.

liberated, to then turn around and come under the dominion of any other Patriarchate was against his stated position in his booklet, *The Apostolic Succession*, being against his principle of African religious self-rule²¹⁴. Thus, in his opinion, his and theirs were fully equal and independent sister churches—“sister nations”—and they could rejoice that they were all *Africans together* in one Faith²¹⁵. However, after World War II, when he joined Mar Georgius’ group of *episcopi vagantes* who had repudiated both Monophysitism and the Jacobite hierarchy, accepted the Seven Ecumenical Councils, and sided with the Chalcedonians, Bresi-Ando highlighted his primatial status, boldly printing on his new 1949 letterhead that he was *the Orthodox leader* in Africa—the “Catholicos” of the “Catholicate of the South”, in addition to being the “Prince-Patriarch of Apam”²¹⁶. Coptic Egypt and Ethiopia appear to recede beyond Bresi-Ando’s theological horizon. However, one wonders what the Eastern (Greek) Orthodox Patriarch (“Pope) of Alexandria, and the Coptic Pope, and the Ethiopian Patriarch might have thought of such a claim. But maybe to Bresi-Ando their opinions did not matter, since he already had in writing in 1944 from the “Metropolitan of Glastonbury,” Mar Georgius of the Catholicate of the West, the promise of “formal Letters of Communion recognizing Your Beatitude *as the Orthodox Catholic ecclesiastical authority for Africa*”²¹⁷.

Viewing himself as “the Primate of Africa”²¹⁸, Bresi-Ando completely ecclesiastically re-organized his former Protestant AIC, adopting a highly structured hierarchical system with offices for “Prince-Patriarch as supreme head, and under him metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, sub-deacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, door-keepers and clerics”²¹⁹. Thus, Bresi-Ando adopted for his church the usual multi-tiered hierarchical system of the ancient Orthodox Catholic Church, which is still used by the Eastern Orthodox, the Roman Catholics, and the “Monophysite” Non-Chalcedonian churches (although the Roman Catholics have their Papacy built into their understanding and practice). He also provided for “a general conference, a bench of bishops, a

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²¹⁶ New 1949 letterhead: Mar KWAMIN I Prince-Patriarch. Instrument of Inauguration, The Guild of St. Raphael in the Order of Fishers of Men, [handwritten charter], 07 August 1949, File GR1.40.

²¹⁷ MAR GEORGIUS. Letter to Patriarch Bresi-Ando, 11 November 1944, File GR1.35—italics added.

²¹⁸ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 243.

²¹⁹ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Constitution, [unpublished typed manuscript], [s.d.], p. 1-19, in Hans W. DEBRUNNER, *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, p. 332.

connectional council, local synods, etc.”²²⁰. Certainly, sitting on top of such a pyramid of clerics as their autocephalous “Patriarch” satisfied Bresi-Ando’s thirst for Pan-African religious equality with—and emancipation from—the white hierarchy of the Anglicans.

In 1935 the new “Prince-Patriarch” established formal, named diocesan structures. The area of the Gold Coast Colony contained the Diocese of St. Ignatius of Antioch²²¹, while the parishes in the neighboring Ashanti Protectorate were given the name of the Diocese of St. Peter III of Antioch²²². This northern diocese was still under the care of Bresi-Ando’s brother, Rev. Ando-Brew, who now became known as a “Priest Superior”²²³. Though he was not yet a bishop, missionary priest Ando-Brew, based in Kumasi, was still responsible for local Asante oversight and was answerable to the Prince-Patriarch down in Accra. Research has not unearthed the saint’s name of Bresi-Ando’s Nigerian diocese. Finally, briefly during 1935 Bresi-Ando’s upgraded AIC even gained a “British section”²²⁴, which he designated the “Holy Orthodox Catholic Diocese of St. George”²²⁵, being under the spiritual care of Archbishop Harrington in London, whom Bresi-Ando had consecrated on September 1st of that same year²²⁶.

Within Bresi-Ando’s dioceses were the smaller “districts” (i.e. deaneries) made up of the “stations”—the parishes²²⁷. The terms “district” and “station” were Protestant terms being used on the Gold Coast by all the missions at that time, and thus Bresi-Ando simply borrowed them in 1932 when he set up his Ebibirpim/African Universal Church²²⁸. These popular terms stubbornly stayed in use after Bresi-Ando’s AIC transitioned from its Protestant “past” into its new life as a Jacobite “Orthodox Catholic” church. Similarly, other practical management structures that Bresi-Ando had established within his formerly Protestant AIC continued to exist as well down through

²²⁰ *Ibid.*

²²¹ His Beatitude The Most Rev. Dr. K. N. BRESI-ANDO, O.A., Prince Patriarch of Apam. Liturgical Booklet: *Som Yebea (Martins [sic.] and Burial)*, Orthodox Catholic Church, Diocese of St. Ignatius, Ghana, West Africa, Cape Coast, Grabys Press, [s.d.], cover page, File GR2.82; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 938.

²²² Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 243.

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 4.

²²⁵ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 243.

²²⁶ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 4.

²²⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 11 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1601. In this book, the term “parish” has been used consistently, instead of “station”, even though in his interviews, Rev. Edonu *always* used the later term. “Parish” has been selected since it has a wider usage more meaningful to readership outside of Ghana.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

the decades. Within the regional “districts”, elected lay representatives from the “stations”, along with the entire body of clergymen, gathered once a year for the Annual Synod, which was the highest decision-making body of the church²²⁹. There were also Quarterly Meetings, which in time became *regional* Quarterly Meetings, the responsibility of the local “district” clergyman (or, dean)²³⁰. There the clergy and elected lay delegates discussed the various reports from the district’s “stations” (numerical membership, assessments, etc.)²³¹. These were later brought to the next Synod meeting. At the local level, the parish was governed by a local council which met weekly (or was supposed to, at least)²³². This weekly parish “Leaders Meeting” concept (which Bresi-Ando initiated) was composed of the local clergyman and church elders who had been appointed for life (a system which worked similarly to the African understanding of the town chief, surrounded by his group of elders)²³³.

3.6. Solo consecrations

While he retained some practical organizational standards from his Protestant past, Bresi-Ando tried to transition his AIC into its new “Orthodox” praxis. Indicating his clear break with his Protestant non-sacramental past, in order to ensure that his priests had valid orders, in 1935 Patriarch Bresi-Ando re-ordained them all²³⁴. The ministers were no longer to be simply addressed as “Reverends” but now were identified as “priests” and were addressed as “Father”. Bresi-Ando himself—as “Primate” and “Prince-Patriarch”—was often called “His Holiness”²³⁵. However, being so alone in his emancipationist autocephaly, the Patriarch made an ecclesiastical blunder—a true canonical error.

3.6.1. Bresi-Ando’s canonical error

With the defrocking of his brother, Rev. Ando-Brew, in 1939, Bresi-Ando needed a replacement to oversee his northern Diocese of St. Peter III of Antioch. He decided to elevate Rev. Jones to

²²⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 March 1994, Log 11, p. 630.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 631.

²³¹ *Ibid.*

²³² *Ibid.*

²³³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 March 1994, Log 11, p. 631, and 11 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1604.

²³⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 04 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1547.

²³⁵ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 243.

the status of Bishop and assign him to oversee this Asante Diocese. The episcopal ordination of Bishop Jones took place in Accra on Palm Sunday, 02 April 1939, at Bresi-Ando's rented Church of Christ the King on New Cromer Road²³⁶. The new bishop—"The Right Revd. Kwesi Dutton Bresi-Ando"—was given the name "Mar Dutton" in a ceremony which²³⁷, to the many Ebibirpim faithful who had gathered from the various parishes for the big event, looked very much like a Roman Catholic hierarchical consecration, with the sole exception being that there was *only one* consecrating bishop present—Patriarch Mar Kwamin Bresi-Ando²³⁸. This was a real canonical error on the part of Bresi-Ando. By ordaining a bishop *all by himself*, without at least two other fellow hierarchs assisting, Bresi-Ando continued the false tradition for which the *episcopi vagantes* of the Vilatte succession had already been condemned by the Syrian Jacobite Orthodox Church in 1938, and for which Vilatte personally had been excommunicated long before that, by the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch²³⁹. Ancient Orthodox canon law requires that there be at least three canonical consecrators when a new bishop is ordained. One bishop is forbidden to act alone. This is the very 1st Canon of the 85 Apostolic Canons of the ancient Orthodox Catholic Church, and it is still a Canon Law of the Syriac Church²⁴⁰.

Although there was no second consecrator, there was, however, a second bishop who was consecrated on that same Palm Sunday in 1939. Rev. Kofi Brebi (Bennett Sr.) was elevated to the episcopacy by the Prince-Patriarch at the same service, time, and venue as Bishop Jones²⁴¹. Oddly enough on that same day, the Patriarch even "consecrated as Matriarch" his wife Mrs. Wilhelmina Bresi-Ando, who up until then "had been the Supreme Mother"²⁴². The term "Matriarch" is foreign to ancient Orthodoxy, so it is unclear exactly what this word meant or what role she performed within Bresi-Ando's AIC.

²³⁶ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 7-8; FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 20, p. 1220-1221.

²³⁷ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 8.

²³⁸ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 20, p. 1221. Bresi-Ando's nephew, Emmanuel A. N. Adentwi, was present for these consecrations as an eye-witness.

²³⁹ Henry R. T. BRANDRETH. *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 2006, p. 34, 70.

²⁴⁰ Saints NICODEMUS and AGAPIUS (compilers). "Canon I" of "The 85 Canons of the Holy and Renowned Apostles," *The Rudder of the Orthodox Catholic Church*, Translated from Greek by D. Cummings, Chicago, IL, The Orthodox Christian Educational Society, 1983 [1800], p. 1.; Henry R. T. BRANDRETH. *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 2006, p. 34.

²⁴¹ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 7-8; FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 20, p. 1220-1221.

²⁴² Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 7-8.

Following his ordination, “Mar Apam”, as Bishop Bennett came to be known, was designated to serve as a missionary bishop for the Western Region. He did not stay there long but returned to Apam where he was stationed until he died²⁴³. Bishop Jones, however, was sent directly north to begin his career as the full diocesan Bishop of Kumasi²⁴⁴.

3.6.2. Bresi-Ando’s uniqueness as an independent African hierarch

Researcher Richard Newman aptly points out Bresi-Ando’s uniqueness. In his opinion, of all the leadership among the various African independent churches (AICs) in his day (other than the Ugandans and Kenyans who had actually joined the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and were thus no longer “independent”), only Patriarch Bresi-Ando and Archbishop Daniel William Alexander of the African Orthodox Church in South Africa (which was linked to McGuire’s “African Orthodox Church”) could claim “valid apostolic succession” for their respective AICs²⁴⁵. Both Alexander and Bresi-Ando combined these “apostolic claims” with “the racial and national identity of a native African”—something which the indigenous leaders of the other AICs could not do²⁴⁶. Unfortunately, due to lack of wider research, Newman held a negative opinion of Bresi-Ando, alleging that he was “a fraud” trafficking “bogus ecclesiastical titles” who lacked clergymen and followers and parishes as compared to Archbishop Alexander in South Africa who “actually had priests and congregations under his charge”²⁴⁷. However, this present research shows Bresi-Ando to have had it all. While Archbishop Alexander ordained many clergy (as did Bresi-Ando), he did not consecrate any bishops as Bresi-Ando did²⁴⁸. In his career as “Patriarch”, Bresi-Ando consecrated four bishops: Harrington and Ward in London in 1935, Jones and Brebi in Accra in 1939²⁴⁹.

²⁴³ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 20, p. 1220; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1537-1538.

²⁴⁴ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 20, p. 1220-1221.

²⁴⁵ Richard NEWMAN. “Archbishop Daniel William Alexander [...],” p. 629 & footnote 59.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 628-629, and footnote 59.

²⁴⁹ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 4, 7-8.

3.6.3. Bresi-Ando as the ecclesiastical lone ranger

Bresi-Ando's consecration of Archbishop Harrington irritated the Syrian Jacobites, sparking the issuance of their rejection reminder notice in 1938. If Bresi-Ando had somehow learned of this notice, he ignored it, as do all the *episcopi vagantes* to down to this day, due to their acceptance of the Augustinian approach to ordination. Valuing the fact that he had been authentically ecclesiastically "tagged" and therefore had "valid" orders and was fully "autocephalous", he maintained that he could *not* be excommunicated by anyone, not even by the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch himself, the head of the "Mother Church"²⁵⁰. As already noted, this ecclesiastical thinking perfectly matched Bresi-Ando's emancipationist Pan-African ideal of *total* independence; yet he lacked a practical understanding of the mutual accountability inherent in Apostolic collegiality.

In fact, Bresi-Ando was so autocephalous, independent and self-ruling that he was *not* even accountable to the very Archbishop Sibley who had consecrated him. Prior to his consecration in March of 1935, Bresi-Ando had given to Sibley a sworn statement that as a hierarch he would not operate ecclesiastically within England, which Sibley considered the domain of his own "Orthodox Catholic Church in England"²⁵¹. However, Bresi-Ando soon broke that promise and consecrated Harrington (who had been one of Sibley's priests) in London on 01 September 1935, setting him up as a bishop within his new British Diocese of St. George²⁵². Sibley retaliated by withholding Bresi-Ando's *Instrumentum Consecrationis*²⁵³. This act did not bother Bresi-Ando, who went on to perform a second consecration in England, that of Bishop Ward, only two weeks later²⁵⁴. However, the withholding of the *Instrumentum Consecrationis* was a worry to the new Bishop Ward who doubted his own "authentic" consecration²⁵⁵. Ward's subsequent visit to Sibley resulted not in obtaining a copy of Bresi-Ando's ordination document but in his own complete re-consecration by Sibley on 06 October 1935²⁵⁶.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 3, 8.

²⁵¹ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 276, 278, 286 & footnote 2.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 279-280; Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 243.

²⁵³ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 286.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 279, 286.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*; Henry R. T. BRANDRETH. *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 2006, p. 43.

When Bresi-Ando was about to leave London for the Gold Coast, and seeing his work in England being undone by Archbishop Sibley, the very man who had ordained him, he thought it best “to make the British Church autonomous and autocephalous” with the name “the Orthodox-Keltic Church of the British Commonwealth of Nations” (known also as “The British Orthodox Catholic Church”)²⁵⁷. It would no longer be a “diocese” under his own new international patriarchate²⁵⁸. Thus, the “British section” of his African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church had lasted only a month, as Bresi-Ando returned to the Gold Coast later in October 1935²⁵⁹. Harrington—as Mar Frederic II, a self-ruling archbishop and primate equal to Bresi-Ando—continued to operate his own very tiny “church” in England, staying in close contact with his African friend, especially when the Ebibirpim Limited company was later formed and started shipping goods to England²⁶⁰.

It is incredibly ironic that the episcopal consecration by Patriarch Bresi-Ando of his friend Metropolitan Archbishop Harrington (and the subsequent establishment of Harrington’s own “autocephalous” “Orthodox” Church) was the *very straw* that finally broke the camel’s back²⁶¹, drawing out from the Jacobite Patriarchate its famous repudiation of Harrington and of all the Vilatte “schismatics bodies”²⁶². The document mentions by name “the so-called Frederic Harrington, ‘Metropolitan’ in the city of London, of 324 Hornsey Road,” and *denies* and *repudiates* “any and every relation whatsoever” with him “and all the sects claiming succession through Vilatte”²⁶³. Furthermore, it reads that “their statements and pretensions” concerning their “alleged relation ‘in succession and ordination’ to our Holy Apostolic Church and her forefathers [...] are altogether without truth”²⁶⁴.

3.7. Determination of who is “inside the line” and who “is not”

In the Gold Coast Colony in 1935, due to his new understanding of “Apostolic Succession,” combined with his new Apostolic understanding of the “Sacraments”, Bresi-Ando now viewed

²⁵⁷ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 4; Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 279, 280 & footnote 4.

²⁵⁸ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 4.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 944.

²⁶⁰ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 4; Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 279.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 279-282.

²⁶² Notice from the Syrian Patriarch of Antioch and All the East, Homs, Syria, 10 December 1938, in Henry R. T. BRANDRETH, *Episcopi Vagantes* [...], 2006, p. 70, Appendix A.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

other churches as having “valid” or “invalid” orders and sacraments²⁶⁵. He believed that “Heretics and Schismatics are not a part of the Historic Church of Christ, and therefore they cannot administer baptism or any of the other sacraments.”²⁶⁶ Rev. Edonu said that his uncle “taught that the other churches did not have ‘valid’ Orders (being ‘outside the line’), so therefore they had no valid sacraments, and thus were to be rejected as ‘outsiders’”²⁶⁷. Converts from churches “outside the line” of Apostolic Succession would need to be re-Baptized. His simple teaching was one based merely on the true line of Succession. Bresi-Ando, convinced of his own “valid” consecration, knew where he stood in the Apostolic Succession (so he thought). He taught that the Anglicans had “fallen from Grace” and the Methodists were “just outside the line” (of the Apostolic Succession)²⁶⁸. Hence, Methodists, Anglicans, and all Protestants, as “outside the line,” would need to be re-Baptized and re-Confirmed *before* Communion could take place²⁶⁹. On the other hand, Roman Catholics were accepted by simple Confirmation since Bresi-Ando viewed them to be only schismatic and therefore “inside the line”²⁷⁰. In practical matters, he treated them as schismatics, when elsewhere in writing he lambasted them as heretics!²⁷¹ Bresi-Ando considered the Eastern (Greek) Orthodox to be schismatics as well, as evidenced in his writing, *The Apostolic Succession*²⁷². However, Deputy Bishop Edonu admits that back in those early days the clergy did not learn anything about the Greek Orthodox Christians from the mouth Bresi-Ando. They only heard him talk about the Coptics in Egypt²⁷³.

3.8. Blind faith and contradictions

Bresi-Ando taught his men that “he has now found the true line” and “his men must copy from him”²⁷⁴. This, Rev. Edonu remembered, they faithfully did, instructing the neophytes on the need for Holy Baptism *before* Holy Confirmation and Holy Communion, and teaching them that they

²⁶⁵ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 8, 15; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1512.

²⁶⁶ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 15.

²⁶⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1512.

²⁶⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1510-1511.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1511-1512.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*; Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 27.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 27.

²⁷³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1512.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1510.

should not be going to any denomination other than their own for Holy Communion²⁷⁵. Rev. Edonu recalled adamantly that Bresi-Ando's priests simply did what they were told, "We just followed blindly"²⁷⁶. However "blind" his followers were, Bresi-Ando's own writings are very clear, showing that he had full knowledge of where he stood, knowing exactly what he had done in England and with whom he had joined (i.e. the Jacobite Monophysites)—*or was convinced he had joined*. He says in his booklet, *The Apostolic Succession*: "All other Churches including the Roman and the Protestant State Churches of England and America embrace all heresies of the East and West [...] They are therefore outside His Body; and have thus not the Valid Faith, Form or Sacraments."²⁷⁷ As "Outside Churches," they were, in his opinion, "Opponents of the True Cause" who bore "false witness"²⁷⁸. In this, he was echoing the centuries-old, hardline Non-Chalcedonian/Monophysite stance which had rejected the 4th Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in AD 451 and saw itself as "*The*" true Orthodox Catholic Church²⁷⁹. Bresi-Ando clearly articulated in writing that prior to the schism which occurred at the Council of Chalcedon, the "Greek, Roman and Protestant Churches" as we know them today "did not then exist"²⁸⁰: "By breaking from the Catholic Church they were guilty of the sin of Schism. [...] The Melkite Sees of Rome and Constantinople therefore commenced their new worldly life as the 'Great Church of the Western Greek Nation' in deliberate sin! [...] They crucified Him afresh it would seem."²⁸¹

Despite all his ecclesiological rhetoric vigorously penned against the official State Church of the Roman Empire and its present-day descendants, by accepting the Baptisms of Roman Catholic converts, Bresi-Ando in practice contradicted his strong anti-Chalcedonian stance found in his *Apostolic Succession* booklet²⁸². This is because Bresi-Ando contradicted himself on this same

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1511.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1510.

²⁷⁷ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 16.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 15, 25.

²⁷⁹ One still meets Non-Chalcedonians today who believe and state this theological position quite frankly. For example, see the comment posted by a reader on the English language Coptic Orthodox blogsite, *Tasbeha.org*, August 2012: "Copts like all Oriental non-Chalcedonian Orthodox (Syrians, Armenians, Ethiopians, etc.) believe we are **THE** Orthodox Church. [...] We are Orthodox in that we uphold the Orthodox faith of the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church prior to the Nestorianizing agenda of the ~~heretical schismatics~~ Bishops who assembled at Chalcedon." (Blogsite discussion board: "Why is Coptic Church Closed to Orthodox Converts?" *Tasbeha.org*, put online August 2012, (page consulted on 29 May 2015), <http://tasbeha.org/community/discussion/13598/why-is-coptic-church-closed-to-orthodox-converts>, Comments Section—emphases exactly as in original. Author's name withheld.)

²⁸⁰ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 25-26.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 15-16, 27.

point in his same writing by stating on page 27 that the Roman Catholics and Eastern (Greek) Orthodox are merely schismatics, not heretics, since in his opinion Chalcedon was all about politics and acquiescing to Imperial meddling and not really about any substantial Christological debate²⁸³. In reality, Bresi-Ando and his men followed this second stance, even though he had written on pages 15 and 16 that the sacraments of “Schismatics” were as useless as that of the “Heretics”²⁸⁴. Perhaps Bresi-Ando and his clergy in practice were following the Roman Catholic distinction between “valid” and “invalid” and “licit” and “illicit” sacraments. Above all, “validity” was the main criterion for these *episcopi vagantes*. Conceivably Bresi-Ando viewed the “schismatic” Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Sacraments of Holy Baptism as being “valid” but “illicit”. Therefore, he would not re-Baptize them but simply make them “lawful” once again by receiving them back “home” into the “Mother Church” of Antioch. Rev. Edonu defended his uncle’s contradiction between theory and practice: “Roman Catholics were received only by Confirmation as their Baptism, to the African Universal Church’s eyes, seemed to be correct.”²⁸⁵ *Seemed to be correct*. No matter how clear in Bresi-Ando’s mind was his theological precision, his clergy lacked sufficient training to completely understand, assimilate and propagate his teachings in their fulness. They followed blindly.

3.9. Bresi-Ando’s ecclesiastical legacy: insufficient theological training for clergy

Despite their lack of higher theological education, certain key concepts instilled by Bresi-Ando stuck. Within the hearts and minds of Bresi-Ando’s adherents, the concept of an “Orthodox Catholic” church with a true “Apostolic” validity remained strong for decades after he had moved to Nigeria (and even after his death in 1970), despite the absolute lack of any connection to any Holy Synod beyond their own “autocephalous” AIC. In those days before the Internet, knowledge of Orthodoxy’s ecclesiastical existence in the world outside of Ghana—either Oriental or Eastern Orthodox—was zero. Ghanaian Protestants would ignorantly mock the claim of the existence of a global Orthodox communion. To defend their claim, after his death, Bresi-Ando’s followers desperately resorted to pointing to a dictionary definition of the word “Orthodox” as proof of the existence of the Orthodox Church²⁸⁶. Not comprehending Bresi-Ando’s pro-Jacobite polemical

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 13, 26-28.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 15-16.

²⁸⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1512.

²⁸⁶ FFN, Godfried K. MANTEY. Larteh, ER, GH, 17 May 1993, Log 7, p. 317.

booklet, *The Apostolic Succession*, his followers had no idea of the theological differences between the Eastern Orthodox and the “Monophysite” Jacobites. Neither did they have any clue that in the eyes of *both* the Oriental Orthodox and the Eastern Orthodox their own status was *uncanonical*²⁸⁷.

Father Kyriakos admitted that he felt isolated in those turbulent days following the departure of his uncle to Nigeria in 1942. In fact, when Bresi-Ando died in 1970, his Ghanaian church was truly “orphaned”, having no affiliation with any outside religious body, much less any Orthodox hierarchy, Eastern or Oriental. Bresi-Ando’s Pan-African thirst for independence from *any outside ecclesiastical body*—his desire to have religious “self-rule” via ecclesiastical autocephaly—had completely handicapped his AIC (his “spiritual nation”) and created an episcopal crisis. There was no bishop to replace Bresi-Ando, nor any Holy Synod to provide a new one. Nor did they have any contacts of names or addresses of sister Orthodox churches to whom to turn for help. By the 1970’s, the term “Jacobite” had long ago lost any meaning to the Ghanaian “Orthodox Catholic” community. Bresi-Ando’s clearly articulated ecclesiological and theological “Monophysite” positions were hiding in his little booklet, out of print, not understood, ignored, and forgotten. In fact, his followers knew very little of the true teachings of the Orthodox Catholic Faith which they claimed to hold. What remained in the 1970’s were about a dozen loyal Ghanaian communities (parishes and mission posts) who stubbornly clung to the *concept* that Bresi-Ando had imparted to them—of belonging to some mysterious global family of “Orthodox Catholic” churches to which they had no link. This crisis ultimately led Bresi-Ando’s followers to search for—and finally embrace—canonical Eastern Orthodoxy. It is a long story, deserving its own book, but the summary is that in the 1970’s, younger members of their church—their “Orthodox Youth Organization”—initiated a desperate search for the truth about their church, looking for a connection to global Orthodoxy²⁸⁸. After finally making contact with the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria in Egypt in 1974²⁸⁹, a process was initiated which led to the canonical reception of Bresi-Ando’s AIC into the communion of that Patriarchate in 1982, through mass Baptism, Chrismation, and (re)Ordination²⁹⁰. Thus, Bresi-Ando’s emancipationist goal of having

²⁸⁷ Mr. Kwame Ayete LABI. Interim Official Report on the Missionary Contacts of the Orthodox Youth Organization, [...], 09 August 1975, p.2, File GR5.134.

²⁸⁸ FFN, Rev. Kwame Joseph Ayete LABI. Accra, GAR, GH, 04 June 1993, Log 7, p. 343.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 345.

²⁹⁰ Deacon Daniel Burford AIDOO. A Brief Report on a Newly Baptized Church: Orthodox Church in Ghana, West Africa, From Wednesday, 15th – Sunday, 19th September, 1982, University of Athens, Greece, November 1982, p. 4, File GR14.339.

an indigenous African church that was historically connected to the early Christian Church of the continent's ancient past, and governed by an autocephalous African-based hierarchy, finally came true fifty years after he had first begun his missionary work on the Gold Coast.

3.10. Organizational structures

Before concluding this portion of the chapter which has been describing Bresi-Ando's ecclesiology, mention must be made of some additional organizational structures that he designed and established in his AIC. Right at the start in 1932 Bresi-Ando formed his own national advisory body, the Ebibirpim Council, which he consulted on a regular basis while he was on the Gold Coast during the 1930's²⁹¹. Chief Adams of Fomena, as the Council Chairman, was assisted by Chief Odatsia of Gomoa Odwobi as Deputy Chairman, and Mr. Thompson as the Council's "Linguist"²⁹². Rev. K. A. Eyitey as a layman served as both Secretary to the Council and personal secretary for Bresi-Ando²⁹³. Other prominent members on the Council were Mr. Pine Swatson of Apam, and Mr. Solomon Manso, a wealthy man from Ajumako Essaman. These respected elders were wise in the ways of the African, but most were illiterate when it came to Western learning²⁹⁴.

Included in Bresi-Ando's church organizational plans—even in the church "Constitution" itself—were embryonic plans for other organizations, some of which never amounted to much in reality, while others were only birthed many years later²⁹⁵. Bresi-Ando became so consumed in trying to bring his commercial venture to life that certain plans remained "on paper only," such as the "Patriarch's Noblemen" and the "Women's League". It would be decades before a vibrant women's organization would finally materialize²⁹⁶. Bresi-Ando's "Youth Council" had difficulty forming in the early years because its prospective members were already very active in the "Ebibirpim Crusaders" group²⁹⁷. And when the "Youth Council" was eventually organized, it remained rather ineffective due to the fact that the illiterate youth of that early era did not want their clergy to be the leaders of the youth, nor even to be among them²⁹⁸. However, many decades

²⁹¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 March 1994, Log 11, p. 625.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 626.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 627.

²⁹⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 423.

²⁹⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 March 1994, Log 11, p. 628-629.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 629.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 628.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

later, another Ghanaian youth organization—the Orthodox Youth Organization (OYO)—was successfully formed by very educated young men of Bresl-Ando’s AIC²⁹⁹. In the 1970’s the OYO rose up to play a critically important role in the history of their church, effectively leading its search for canonical status within global Orthodoxy³⁰⁰.

Even though parts of Bresl-Ando’s over-all grand church planning scheme fizzled, he did put in place various church observances which became part of the Ebibirpim Church’s annual calendar of events that have continued actively down to the present, forming an integral part of this church’s life, even in its more recent canonical days. For example, the “Watch Night” is still held locally on each New Year’s Eve, as the parish communities gather to “pray in” the New Year³⁰¹. However, more worthy of note is the practice of the annual “Camp Meeting” which Bresl-Ando inaugurated³⁰². The entire national church body as a whole (arriving in busloads from each parish) gathers in a camp formation for a weekend within a selected town in order to revive the general worship experience of the Church by coming together for prayer and services³⁰³. Arriving usually on a Friday, the church members fill the weekend’s days and nights with church services, songs, dance, fundraising, plays, and religious lectures. Camp Meetings in Ghana are lots of fun, and have become a major annual event that the Orthodox parishioners in Ghana look forward to each year. Through the decades, Rev. Edonu used the Camp Meetings as a vehicle to “incite and inspire the members,” who grew to love the event as the time to see their church friends living in other towns and villages³⁰⁴. Quite often the Camp Meetings are used to boost up the morale of a struggling parish community whose membership may be dwindling³⁰⁵. Sometimes as a missionary tactic, the Camp Meeting is held in a new town altogether in an effort to plant a fledgling mission station in that location as a result of the weekend-long event³⁰⁶.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁰ Orthodox Youth Organization, Ghana: Constitution, 03 July 1971, p. 1, File GR5.128; Mr. Kwame Ayete LABI. Interim Official Report on the Missionary Contacts of the Orthodox Youth Organization, [...], 09 August 1975, p.1, File GR5.134.

³⁰¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 02 October 1992, Log 3, p. 147-148.

³⁰² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1486.

³⁰³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 02 October 1992, Log 3, p. 145.

³⁰⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1642.

³⁰⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 02 October 1992, Log 3, p. 145-146, and 25 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1486.

³⁰⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1643.

The very first Ebibirpim Church Camp Meeting was held in 1933 in the town of Apam for one entire week³⁰⁷, while the second one was held at the Gomoa Aboso parish in 1934³⁰⁸. Rev. Edonu did not know exactly for what purpose Bresi-Ando had designed the Camp Meeting³⁰⁹. He certainly did not need the Camp Meeting to propagate his church or to open new stations, as his AIC was already spreading “like wild fire” in the early 1930’s³¹⁰. However, after Bresi-Ando’s 1942 exit from the Gold Coast, the Camp Meeting survived through the decades, serving the church well as an annual event that brings physical and spiritual unity to this far-flung Ghanaian church community—helping plant new stations while simultaneously nursing and reinvigorating old ones³¹¹. Initially, Bresi-Ando’s Camp Meetings were not held consistently every year and had no set month, but since 1945 under Deputy Bishop Edonu’s eye they became an annual fixed highlight on their church calendar³¹².

4. His *sacramental and liturgical* reforms

4.1. Non-sacramental beginnings – Protestant foundations

Between 1926 and 1935, Bresi-Ando’s “Ethiopian” AIC—both in Nigeria and the Gold Coast—was just another Protestant institution. It exemplified the “First Wave” AIC, as the concept of the “Orthodox Catholic Church” had not yet arrived on the scene. Rather, since Bresi-Ando himself had come out from Protestant Methodism, the church which he formed was basically still Protestant in teaching and practice³¹³. There was no Roman Catholic-style liturgy, nor a real altar. No use of oils, no candles³¹⁴. “Everything was practical,” remembers his nephew Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu³¹⁵. Church worship was simple: “pray some, sing some, preach some. No uniformity. Every man for himself.” There was no order of service, no designated service book for communion; some Ebibirpim pastors even resorted to using the Methodist communion service

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1642.

³⁰⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1486.

³⁰⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1643.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1642-1643.

³¹² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1486, and 20 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1642.

³¹³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1540-1541.

³¹⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 04 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1548.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*

book³¹⁶. Communion itself was infrequent³¹⁷, and was seen as a mere symbol, not as a Holy Sacrament, and not as the Body and Blood of Christ³¹⁸. Baptism was quite “raw”—the mere pouring of water with no Invocation—nor was there any Confirmation or use of Holy Chrism³¹⁹. Already-baptized Protestants and Roman Catholics were accepted immediately by Bresi-Ando as full members, with no re-Baptism or Chrismation required³²⁰. Similarly, ex-ministers were received as pastors without re-ordination³²¹. In fact, many of the early pastors were not trained clergymen at all, but rather were teachers in Ebibirpim Schools³²². (Short on clergy, Bresi-Ando would often appoint to his mission stations a teacher-catechist, whom he called a “Master”, to head up both the new church and school.³²³) Bresi-Ando’s AIC did not practice intercommunion with its Protestant neighbors, even though she looked and sounded in many ways like one of them³²⁴. And, conversely, due to their theological disagreement with Bresi-Ando on various points, the established European missionary churches did not offer intercommunion to African Universal Church members either³²⁵. To them Bresi-Ando “was an enemy”³²⁶. This fact did not bother Bresi-Ando. He wanted to have nothing to do with the foreign churches anyway, but instead ran his own church as an African for Africans³²⁷.

To bring some order to the Sunday worship, in 1932 Bresi-Ando prepared and published the service book for “Matins and Burial,” known in the Fante vernacular as “Som Yebea” (“Order of Worship”)³²⁸. His musically-trained brother, Rev. Ando-Brew, who could play the organ, prepared

³¹⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 October 1992, Log 2, p. 104.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

³¹⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 11 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1600.

³¹⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 04 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1547, and 10 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1595.

³²⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 04 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1547.

³²¹ *Ibid.*

³²² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 October 1992, Log 2, p. 104.

³²³ FFN, Mercy EWUSE. Gomoa Fomena, CR, GH, 21 December 1992, Log 21, p. 1349.

³²⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 04 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1547.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

³²⁷ *Ibid.*

³²⁸ His Beatitude The Most Rev. Dr. K. N. BRESI-ANDO, O.A., Prince Patriarch of Apam. Liturgical Booklet: *Som Yebea (Martins [sic.] and Burial)*, Orthodox Catholic Church, Diocese of St. Ignatius, Ghana, West Africa, Cape Coast, Grabys Press, [s.d.], 18 p., GR2.82; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU and Rev. Daniel B. AIDOO. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 October 1992, Log 2, p. 102, 104; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1497.

the music for those parishes that could afford a harmonium (a little portable organ)³²⁹. Few parishes actually had a portable harmonium, yet Bresi-Ando would not permit drumming in church (this prohibition was similar to that of the Methodists and all the other European missions who at that time did not yet permit it either)³³⁰. That level of Africanization was too much for his taste, and so drumming had to wait until Rev. Edonu introduced it in 1952³³¹. In addition, the Ebibirpim Church also used the Fante translation of the Methodist Hymnbook³³², plus the many new (to them) inspiring Afro-American Negro spirituals which American missionary Jones had introduced to the system, giving the Ebibirpim/African Universal Church a musical style of its own, different from its contemporaries. Also, right from the very beginning, prior to 1935, the indigenous “Ebibifantsindwim” (“African-Fante-songs”) were used in the African Universal Church’s worship services, before and after the sermon—a modest example of liturgical Africanization³³³. The Ebibirpim choirs of this early period were remembered to have been very good—known and recognized by their local communities to be excellent. By allowing African music in church, alongside Western hymns and American Negro spirituals, Bresi-Ando began to move his religious organization a little farther down the road of independence away from the white man’s religious domination. Thus, in the area of liturgical reform, Bresi-Ando showed some signs of also becoming a part of the “Second Wave” of AICs, which sought Africanization within worship, not simply the attainment of leadership positions among the clergy, which was the hallmark of the “First Wave” of AICs (the “Ethiopian” stage). However, despite Bresi-Ando’s production and dissemination of the popular non-communion service (“Som Yebea”), this early period (1932-1935) was very liturgically helter-skelter, and, totally non-sacramental when it came to baptism and communion.

³²⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 October 1992, Log 3, p. 108, and 30 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1497.

³³⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 October 1992, Log 3, p. 108.

³³¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 October 1992, Log 3, p. 108-110, and 22 September 1994, Log 30, p. 1908.

³³² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 October 1992, Log 3, p. 106.

³³³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 11 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1600.

4.2. Big switch to Sacramental practices (1935 forward)

When Bresi-Ando returned as a “Patriarch” late in 1935 with what looked to his followers like “a new program altogether”³³⁴, he began the second major transition and reformation his AIC. The first had been his embrace of the Garveyite-style repatriation program of the Kofey African Universal Church in 1931. While that emphasis bore the fruit of planting over forty new parishes for Bresi-Ando’s AIC on the Gold Coast and in the northern Asante lands during the 1930’s, the failure of the Afro-American repatriation program disappointed and threatened the existence of his mission, which some had begun to call the “American Church” due to their expectation of the arrival of the American blacks with their “abrofo” (“foreigner”) money³³⁵. Therefore, having traveled to London in 1935, having embraced the Syriac Jacobite Oriental Orthodox Church, and having become a new “world leader” in global “Orthodoxy”—or so he thought—the new “Prince-Patriarch” Bresi-Ando believed that in Orthodoxy he had truly discovered something that would give his followers a more African, more ancient, and more enduring Christian foundation. The “new program” was not “new”, but in fact was centuries old and historical—something which he was convinced would never fail nor fade away.

Thus, in 1935 a huge re-education process began: the transition from being a Protestant AIC to becoming an “Orthodox Catholic” hierarchical and eucharistic community. (In reality, however, Bresi-Ando’s parishes simply morphed into an “Old Catholic” Western-style church.) Bresi-Ando had gathered his men and reported to them that, “After all, the original Church was Orthodox”³³⁶. He explained to them how through his contacts and research in London he had found the original Christianity—by “diving deep into the foundation of Christianity, he got the Orthodox”³³⁷. Therefore, the new “Prince-Patriarch” re-ordained all his clergymen in order to make sure that they were now “inside” the “Orthodox Catholic” line of the “Apostolic Succession”³³⁸.

His new program was completely Sacramental. While he did not re-Baptize his followers, the “Orthodox Catholic” hierarch Bresi-Ando now began to use the Invocation with Holy Baptism,

³³⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1595.

³³⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 04 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1547.

³³⁶ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 06 January 1993, Tape 30, Log 16, p. 927.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 927-928.

³³⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 04 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1547.

along with Confirmation by anointing with Holy Chrism, when receiving new members³³⁹. Holy Communion was now considered to be a real Sacrament, no longer seen as a mere symbol³⁴⁰. There would be no Communing a person until he or she was both Baptized and Confirmed³⁴¹. Newcomers from Protestant churches were re-Baptized (but not Roman Catholics, as their Baptisms were accepted)³⁴². Western Roman Catholic influences in ritual practices became evident. For example, Holy Baptism was done by pouring rather than by full-body triple immersion, as is the norm in the Orthodox East³⁴³. Wafers were used for the Holy Eucharist³⁴⁴. Newly-Baptized children were not immediately Confirmed (i.e. Chrismated) and Communed, as they are in regular Eastern Orthodox practice. Instead, newly-Baptized children had to wait until they were near the age of puberty before being Confirmed and allowed to Commune³⁴⁵.

Altar tables, incense, candles, the use of the Sign of the Cross—all these practices were introduced into the former Ebibirpim/African Universal Church as Bresi-Ando tried to transform his ecclesial organization from a Protestant, non-sacramental church into a Catholic-style Sacramental one³⁴⁶. His ultimate goal was to have a truly apostolic African Eucharistic church community which communed each Sunday. Thus, the “Som Yebea” (the Ebibirpim-era Matins Service—commonly used on Sundays in his parishes) was replaced—at least in theory—with a full Eucharistic Liturgy³⁴⁷. They did not usually refer to it as the “Mass”³⁴⁸, but periodically Bresi-Ando would celebrate the “Pontifical High Mass” in English³⁴⁹.

For the text of the Divine Liturgy, Bresi-Ando opted *not* to introduce any Eastern or Jacobite Orthodox Liturgies, which he reviewed and concluded were *too elaborate* and *difficult* for his clerical purposes among simple tribal folk (taking into account the complicated Orthodox liturgics, his lack of translations, and his poorly-educated clergy, etc.)³⁵⁰. His nephew said of his uncle

³³⁹ *Ibid.*; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1595.

³⁴⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1511.

³⁴¹ FFN, Rev. Daniel B. AIDOO. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1596.

³⁴² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1512.

³⁴³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1595.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁵ FFN, Rev. Daniel B. AIDOO. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1595.

³⁴⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1540-1542.

³⁴⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1498.

³⁴⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1595.

³⁴⁹ Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 243; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1498.

³⁵⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 06 January 1993, Log 16, p. 928.

Bresi-Ando: “As soon as he reached the village of ‘Orthodoxy’, there was an impediment [...] Then he could not choose the Orthodox Liturgy because it was more difficult, but the simplified liturgy is [*in*] the Liberal Catholic Church.”³⁵¹ Thus the new “Patriarch” Bresī-Ando immediately abandoned much of his newly-embraced “Orthodoxy” by adopting the “The Liberal Catholic Liturgy,” which was a simplified, modern, English-language, liturgical academic creation being used by the fake “Old Catholics” in Europe at that time³⁵². The prototype upon which this new text was based was the Latin Roman Mass³⁵³. However, as the “Liberal Catholic Church” itself was modern and theologically extremely liberal (its members were “new age-style” Theosophists!)³⁵⁴, its liturgical text was also very liberal, departing in many places from the text of the Latin Mass by eliminating references to fear of God, wrath, and eternal hell³⁵⁵. For Bresī-Ando, the fact that this service book was simple, short, and in English, seems to be important reasons why he selected it. In addition to it, he also adopted the “Songs of Praise Hymn Book” which he brought back from London in 1935³⁵⁶.

It might seem odd that Bresī-Ando chose to use a service book from a “church” that was so far theologically distanced from the very “Orthodox” “Apostolic” teachings he thought he had embraced by joining the Jacobites. Yet he wanted something that was both readily available in

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*

³⁵² *The Liturgy, According to the Use of The Liberal Catholic Church*, 3rd ed., London, St. Alban Press, 1942, p. 7-17—Bresī-Ando used an earlier edition; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 96, and 06 January 1993, Log 16, p. 928, and 30 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1498.

³⁵³ *The Liturgy* [...], p. 16.

³⁵⁴ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 342-348.

³⁵⁵ *The Liturgy* [...], p. 7-17; Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 348. Concerning the text: *The Liturgy According to the Use of the Liberal Catholic Church*, St. Alban Press, London, 1942, 3rd edition. It was found in the possession of the senior clergymen in Ghana in 1992. Obviously, in 1935 Bresī-Ando was using an earlier edition. This English language liturgical text belonged to the Liberal Catholic Church, which itself came into existence due to an “English re-organization” of the “Old Catholic movement in Great Britain” in 1915-16 which claimed it could trace its “Episcopal Succession” to the Old Catholic Church of Holland (*Liturgy According to the Use of LCC*, p. 7). This “re-organization” was simply the birth of yet another fake “Old Catholic” church, this one straying very far theologically from Orthodox Catholic teachings. It came about in 1915 when “Old Catholic” Archbishop Mathew (whom the real Old Catholics in Holland eventually disavowed) forced out of his communion a group of clergymen in England who had embraced the Far Eastern Hindu and Buddhist ideas of Helena Blavatsky and Annie Besant’s Theosophical Society (Anson, *Bishops at Large*, p. 342-348). These ideas they combined with Freemasonry (Anson, p. 346). These clergy then formed their own “Liberal Catholic Church” to prepare the world for the coming of the “Lord Maitreya”, the re-incarnate “Christ” (Anson, p. 344, 348, 350). They permitted their “new age-style” church members “the widest measure of intellectual liberty and respect for the individual conscience [...] freedom of interpretation of the Scriptures, the Creeds and the Liturgy [...] and” “the freest play of scientific and philosophic thought” (*Liturgy of LCC*, p. 7). Their church officially claimed that it did not proselytize nor dogmatize (*Ibid.*, p. 7-8), but Anson shows the wide global extent to which they actually did seek out and gather converts to their way of thinking, from England to Australia to California (Anson, p. 350).

³⁵⁶ V. Rev. K. EDONU. Letter to Hans Debrunner, 15 August 1958, File GR1.58.

English but also non-Protestant, especially *non-Anglican*. At that time (the 1930's), the Roman Catholics were still commonly using Latin for their Masses (being in the pre-Vatican II era), so their liturgical texts would have been useless for Bresi-Ando's purposes. But the Liberal Catholic liturgical text was basically the Roman Catholic Mass translated into English, somewhat revised and reduced, which text Bresi-Ando deemed suitable for his purposes, even though it was considered by some to be "the baldest Eucharistic rite in Christendom"³⁵⁷. From a missionary perspective, the volume was also highly practical, being a pocket-sized book containing all the usual offices. By opting for this very Western, Roman Catholic-style book with its complete selection of liturgical services (from Baptism to Matrimony to Funeral), one can easily see how Bresi-Ando in 1935—putting all Orthodox rhetoric aside—*de facto* set his re-organized church on a pro-Western, pro-Roman Catholic stance, which often left out the more complete Orthodox aspect and understanding of the sacrament being performed, whether be it from the Eastern Orthodox or Jacobite/Monophysite approach. In many respects, the term "Orthodox" was simply relegated to the letterhead and the signboard. However, when one considers how far Bresi-Ando's denomination liturgically migrated from its former Protestant past only one year before, one sees that indeed it had taken a giant leap towards Orthodoxy by the adoption of the sacramental services, if only as a stepping-stone. Rev. Edonu remembered the growth of Bresi-Ando's Roman Catholic-style AIC during the second half of the decade. By the mid-30's the Roman Catholic churches within the Gold Coast Colony were located primarily in the principal towns and cities. Many of the outlying towns and villages where Bresi-Ando's AIC was flourishing had no Roman Catholic mission, neither had their villagers ever seen anything like it before ³⁵⁸. Thus, instead of being "turned off" by this liturgical, sacramental kind of Christian worship, they rather were attracted by it and thus easily joined Bresi-Ando's "Orthodox-Catholic" church. Even having to get Baptized again, if they were Protestant, was not a deterrent³⁵⁹.

4.3. Incomplete transition (confused mixture of Protestant and Roman Catholic practices)

In the final analysis, while in 1935 Bresi-Ando claimed that he was bringing home from London authentic "Orthodox Catholic" beliefs and practices, in fact, rather, he had brought home a mixed

³⁵⁷ *The Liturgy* [...], p. 16.

³⁵⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 11 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1603.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

bag of Roman Catholic, Syriac-Jacobite, and liberal “Old Catholic” ideas and practices. His implementation of the transition—the spreading of these new teachings and liturgical practices to the average Christian member in the village—was often lacking³⁶⁰. In fact, many of his new practices and teachings never made it out to the parishes until a good ten years or more later when—during another period of “reformation” in the late 40’s—a serious attempt to finish what Bresi-Ando had not completed was launched by the new Deputy Bishop K. K. Edonu³⁶¹. However, until this further attempt to implement Bresi-Ando’s liturgical “reformation” was made, most of the members in the village parishes during the remainder of the decade of the 1930’s were not instructed on the effectiveness and use of the Sign of the Cross³⁶², nor that of holy oil and candles³⁶³, nor did many parishes know the Liturgy “in any form altogether”³⁶⁴.

While Bresi-Ando and some of his priests could and did perform the Liberal Catholic Liturgy in English (in capital city of Accra and in some of the parishes occasionally)³⁶⁵, the Liturgy in the local vernacular was not available for the rest of the general public for a number of years³⁶⁶. It was not until between 1939-1940 that Rev. Edonu, as the new, young priest in the Larteh parish of the Eastern Region, assisted by teacher Labi Odeng, not having anyone else’s vernacular translation of the Liturgy to use, themselves translated the Liberal Catholic Liturgy into the Akan Twi dialect for use on Sunday mornings³⁶⁷. They also translated into Twi the Liberal Catholic “Prime and Compline” services for their daily morning and evening worship in the Eastern Region³⁶⁸. With Rev. Labi Odeng’s constant presence in Larteh over the decades, his parish became very liturgically oriented³⁶⁹. However, the same could not be said for the Fante-speaking Central Region, whose liturgical life remained stunted³⁷⁰.

During Deputy Bishop Edonu’s own liturgical “reformation” of the late 1940’s and early 1950’s, Fante translations of the Liberal Catholic Liturgy and the “Prime and Compline” services were

³⁶⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1541.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 04 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1548.

³⁶² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1540-1542.

³⁶³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 04 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1548.

³⁶⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1498.

³⁶⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 October 1992, Log 2, p. 102.

³⁶⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1498.

³⁶⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 October 1992, Log 2, p. 102, and Log 3, p. 107.

³⁶⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 October 1992, Log 3, p. 107.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 October 1992, Log 2, p. 102.

prepared for the Central Region (the Liturgy was completed in 1946)³⁷¹. Yet this second attempt at liturgical instruction also fell short in that the Central Region parishes did not master the singing of the entire Liberal Catholic Liturgy that Rev. Edonu had translated into Fante for them³⁷². Reason being, the usage of the Fante language “Som Yebea” worship service (left-over from Bresi-Ando’s Protestant 1932-1935 era) was so firmly entrenched as the *main* Sunday morning service, that it was impossible to dislodge³⁷³. There was a shortage of clergy to serve the Liturgy in every parish on every Sunday, and the catechists who ran the parishes on the day-to-day basis in the absence of the circuit-priests were not trained, ordained, nor authorized to conduct the sacramental services³⁷⁴. They could, however, lead the daily morning and evening prayers (“Prime and Compline”). Under these catechists’ leadership on Sundays, most Fantes used Bresi-Ando’s “Som Yebea” and thus sang “Matins” instead of the newer Fante version of the Liberal Catholic Liturgy³⁷⁵. Almost every church member who was literate owned a copy of this older “Som Yebea” service³⁷⁶. The Liturgy was therefore very infrequent in the villages, as the parishioners had to wait for the priest (like Rev. Edonu) to get around the circuit and come to their church³⁷⁷. Thus, despite the availability of Fante translations of the Liberal Catholic services, the more Methodist-style “Som Yebea” (“Order of Worship”) remained in regular use alongside the Liberal Catholic Liturgy for decades, until their church’s Reception into canonical Orthodoxy in the ‘80s, at which time all of Bresi-Ando’s “Old Catholic” practices and Ebibirpim-era Protestant services were finally jettisoned in favor of the canonical Eastern Orthodox ones³⁷⁸.

Conclusion

Bresi-Ando was truly a pro-African emancipationist visionary, and when he founded his AIC to free the African, he felt that God was working with him. As an African bishop running his own

³⁷¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 October 1992, Log 3, p. 106, and 30 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1498.

³⁷² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 October 1992, Log 3, p. 107-108; FFN, Rev. Daniel B. AIDOO. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1595.

³⁷³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 October 1992, Log 2, p. 102, and Log 3, p. 106; FFN, Rev. Daniel B. AIDOO. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1595.

³⁷⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 October 1992, Log 3, p. 107-108.

³⁷⁵ FFN, Rev. Daniel B. AIDOO. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1595; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 October 1992, Log 3, p. 106-107.

³⁷⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 October 1992, Log 3, p. 107.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 October 1992, Log 2, p. 103-104, and Log 3, p. 108.

native church, Bresi-Ando was clearly a classical example of the Ethiopianist “First Wave” of AICs. Providentially, his *theological* emancipationism did not die with the failure of the Garveyite repatriation program that he had inherited when he merged his AIC with Laura Kofey’s black American denomination, the African Universal Church. Rather, it was further enhanced as he tried to ground his young AIC into the non-Western, non-European experience of ancient “Orthodoxy” via his adoption of “Monophysitism” within the Jacobite Eastern Christian world. Not really being a true “Monophysite” himself, and failing to educate his flock on the finer nuances of what it meant to be a “Jacobite”, Bresi-Ando kept himself busy noisily rattling his saber in the direction of both the Greek/Eastern Orthodox and the Roman Catholic adherents of the 5th Century Council of Chalcedon. These he blamed for causing the sins of schism and heresy by “bowing” to Imperial meddling when they had “excommunicated” the “Mother See” of Jacobite Antioch in AD 451. In his view, his Jacobite AIC offered purer Christian liberation in that it was not linked in any way to a civil power, unlike the “Royalist Greco-Romans” (i.e. today’s Roman Catholic and Eastern/Greek Orthodox Churches) of the Council of Chalcedon who had recognized the Empire and became a State church. Bresi-Ando used his new Jacobite theological position to enhance his anti-Imperialist desire that the Anglican and Roman Catholic archbishops in Accra should pack up and return to Europe, along with their white Methodist and Presbyterian missionary counterparts, because now the Gold Coast had a legitimate and canonically “valid” black African hierarch with a historical “Apostolic” church filled with “Apostolic teachings” rooted in Africa’s ancient Orthodox Christian past. He was convinced that his was a concrete road to true emancipation for all Africans. During the 1930’s Bresi-Ando loved the term “Jacobite” and considered it *essential* for salvation, even though in his post-World War II years he dropped everything “Jacobite” and “Monophysite” and apparently sided with the theology of the Eastern Orthodox Chalcedonians, which he always had held in his heart anyway and can be seen in his writing.

Bresi-Ando’s *ecclesiological* emancipation maintained a very wide ecclesiology that was not limited to one colony in Africa, nor just to the continent, but extended to people of African descent living far and wide in diaspora. This was in keeping with Garvey’s understanding of Pan-Africanism as an expression of universal “black internationalism.” However, Bresi-Ando did not recognize a global papacy—neither for himself nor for the Catholic Pope in Rome. Still, he honestly saw himself as a “Patriarch” without borders—*sans frontiers*—the legitimate leader of

an authentic “Apostolic” communion whose God-given purpose was to unify all African Christians on the continent, thereby removing them from the European missions, which he so much despised. This was how he would ecclesiastically achieve part of his over-all emancipationist agenda. He viewed his African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church to be one “nation” belonging to a global family of autocephalous Monophysite/Jacobite churchly “sister nations,” whose common goal was “the Brotherhood of Man in Christ”³⁷⁹. By inviting all schismatics and heretics to come “home” to Jacobite Antioch, Bresi-Ando replaced his failed Garveyite earthly repatriation program with a *spiritual repatriation* program, and expanded his emancipationist desires from the constraints of worldly colonial power into the Kingdom of God on high. However, Bresi-Ando’s desire for complete ecclesiastical independence *via autocephaly* contained an ecclesiological omission which came back to haunt his AIC in the future. His limited, non-fully collegial understanding of autocephaly was his own theological interpretation that shifted his view away from the traditional ancient Orthodox Catholic ecclesiology. As he did not recognize any excommunications coming from outside his own jurisdiction, Bresi-Ando lacked real Apostolic conciliarity and mutual accountability to other Patriarchs. Thus, when he died, his church was left completely orphaned, not tied to any synod of bishops.

In 1935 Bresi-Ando’s Protestant view of the hierarchy transitioned into the traditional Orthodox Catholic multi-leveled ranking of major and minor clergy. Not being a racist nor exclusivist, Bresi-Ando consecrated both whites and blacks. However, his solo consecrations of new bishops were uncanonical yet very typical of the Vilatte-era *episcopi vagantes* with their limited view of ecclesiastical “tag”. Not seeing his own mistakes, Bresi-Ando taught his clergy to determine which Christian communions (i.e. Roman Catholic, Anglican, Methodist, etc.) were “inside the line” of “valid” Apostolic succession and which were “not”, and to treat them accordingly. Throughout the decade of the ‘30s there was a lack of sufficient theological training for his clergy, who admitted that they followed their leader “blindly”, contributing to an ecclesiastical legacy of a confused collection of teachings. However, Bresi-Ando did manage to establish several organizational structures, such as his annual Camp Meeting, which served his AIC well throughout the decades to come.

³⁷⁹ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 3.

After becoming “Orthodox Catholic” in 1935, the new “Prince Patriarch” began his *sacramental* and *liturgical* reforms, attempting to transition his formerly-Protestant and non-sacramental AIC into an Orthodox Catholic-style sacramental church. This reformation proved to be a muddled mixture of Protestant and Roman Catholic practices, as Bresi-Ando actually refused to utilize any Jacobite or Eastern Orthodox liturgies, considering them too difficult for his missionary purposes. His cautious “Africanization” in the arena of liturgical worship (i.e. the use of Afro-American Negro spirituals and the indigenous “Ebibifantsindwim” hymns) had pointed his AIC towards the future “Second Wave” of Zionist/Spiritual AICs. As Bresi-Ando was always a couple of decades ahead of the crowd, so too in his liturgical efforts he was ahead of his time. While the rest of Ghana was busy “Africanizing” its worship in a manner suitable to African culture in the ‘50s and ‘60s, Bresi-Ando had already started doing that in his own AIC back in the early ‘30s. In this we see Bresi-Ando to be a pioneer. His incomplete 1935 transition to “Orthodox Catholic” practices failed to erase these previous liturgical innovations which remained for a long time, providing a partial “spiritual” Africanized “Second Wave” feel to Bresi-Ando’s “orthodox” AIC. Providentially, this helped keep it from losing all its members to the host of “Second Wave” AICs that sprang up in Ghana during the Independence era following World War II.

In summary, within his theology, ecclesiology, and sacramental/liturgical practices, Bresi-Ando’s religious emancipationist efforts, while not perfect by any means, demonstrated at all levels his sincere effort to implement what can be called by no other name than a “Pan-Africanist” vision of attaining a thoroughly emancipated African Christian Church, run by Africans, for Africans, with roots firmly connected to Africa’s ancient Orthodox Christian past.

SECTION THREE: SPECIFIC ANALYSIS OF THE “PAN-AFRICANISM” OF BRESI-ANDO DURING THE 1930’s

CHAPTER 15 BRESI-ANDO’S EDUCATIONAL EMANCIPATION

Purpose

The purpose of this chapter is to answer the question: Did Bresi-Ando try to enact educational emancipation in the Colony of the Gold Coast in the 1930’s? If so, what concrete steps did he take to implement his emancipationist educational agenda, how was it formed, how did it fare, and how did it fail? If such information can be discovered and described, it will be material proof helping to establish the veracity of the hypothesis that Bresi-Ando utilized Pan-Africanism as his guiding vision. We are looking not merely for ideas on paper, but for tangible evidence that Bresi-Ando truly tried to actualize an educational emancipationist program on the Gold Coast in the 1930’s.

Sources

On this particular subject there are very few secondary sources available. However, sufficient primary source material has been gathered in this present research in order to substantiate the claim that not only did Bresi-Ando establish a school on the Gold Coast during the decade of the ‘30s, but he was building an entire nation-wide indigenous school system. The primary sources will show that education was a major plank in Bresi-Ando’s African emancipation platform. Being among the first native Gold Coasters to operate his own African-run schools, this chapter will show that as an African educationalist, Bresi-Ando is one of Ghana’s educational pioneers, becoming an inspiration to future political leaders in this regard.

When Dr. Assimeng wrote about Bresi-Ando in his helpful 1975 journal article, “Methodological Africanism: Bresi-Ando as an Episcopus Vagans,” he unfortunately had little to offer concerning the Prince-Patriarch’s educational efforts. This major component of Bresi-Ando’s multi-faceted emancipation program is introduced and dismissed within a solitary paragraph. Assimeng notes that Bresi-Ando started schools in Apam, Kumasi, Accra, and Cape Coast “for which he solicited funds,” but which schooling efforts “apparently did not yield much rewards”¹. Relying on a few documents, rather than on the eye-witnesses—the teachers and students of those very schools—

¹ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 69.

Assimeng's incomplete presentation does a dis-service to Bresi-Ando's pioneering efforts in Gold Coast educational history by deflating their very existence and historical importance.

Quoting an inspection report by the colonial educational authority—J. S. Dunn's "Official Report on the Apam Abibirpim [*sic.*] Academy" (1934)—Assimeng publishes Dunn's portrayal of Bresi-Ando as a dreamer and rushes to conclude that the bishop's "educational projects were projects on paper, and not of reality"². Assimeng then attempts to solidify this view by immediately quoting from a 15 July 1943 letter written by the new Gold Coast Governor Sir Alan Burns to the new Governor of Nigeria, Sir Arthur Richards³. Gov. Burns wrote of Bresi-Ando: "Nothing was ever heard of the educational work nor of the Academy of learning for which the funds were solicited."⁴ Such a statement leads the reader to the false conclusion that Bresi-Ando's Ebibirpim Academies were nothing, even non-existent. Within a single paragraph, which mixes truth with misinformation while leaving substantial gaps, the reader is drawn to the hasty conclusion that Bresi-Ando's educational efforts were, in the least, non-existent paper pipe-dreams, and at the most, inconsequential. The reader misses the entire historical reality and significance of the educational labours of the Patriarch as he attempted valiant indigenous efforts despite crippling financial limitations. No where does Assimeng mention the witness of the country's first Minister of Education, Mr. Kojo Botsio, who claimed that the African-run modern school system of Ghana's first Prime Minister and President, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, in the 1950's was inspired by Bishop Bresi-Ando's own 1930's Ebibirpim Schools⁵. Listing only four of Bresi-Ando's academies, Assimeng does not provide the names of teachers and students and locations of the many Ebibirpim schools, thus failing to show their true scope.

² Max ASSIMENG. "Methodological Africanism [...]," p. 70 & 77 footnote 19: see J. S. DUNN, Provincial Inspector of Schools, Central Province, "Official Report on the Apam Abibirpim [*sic.*] Academy," handwritten into the School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 22 February 1934 entry, p. 8 & 12, File GR4.

³ Martin WIGHT. *The Gold Coast Legislative Council*, p. 32 footnote 2. Governor Sir Alan Burns succeeded Governor Sir Arnold Hodson in the Gold Coast Colony in 1941, while in 1943 the new Governor of Nigeria was Sir Arthur Richards. See Richard PEEL. *Old Sinister: A Memoir of Sir Arthur Richards, GCMG, First Baron Milverton of Lagos and Clifton in the City of Bristol, 1885-1978*, [s.l.], [s.n.], 1986.

⁴ The GOVERNOR of the Gold Coast. Letter to the Governor of Nigeria, 15 July 1943, Ibadan Archives File CSO.192/41394, African Universal Church and Ebibirpim Ltd., in Max ASSIMENG, "Methodological Africanism [...]," p. 70 & 77 footnote 20.

⁵ FFN, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 15 November 1994, Log 27, p. 1760; "Kojo Botsio is Dead," *GhanaWeb*. Put online 07 February 2001, (page consulted on 08 October 2019), <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Kojo-Botsio-is-Dead-13490>.

This present chapter will utilize research conducted on the ground in Ghana during 1992-1994, in which a number of former Ebibirpim Academy teachers and students were personally interviewed. The research goal to determine the concrete reality and existence of Bresi-Ando's pioneering efforts was achieved. As will be shown in the following pages of this chapter, the original field research conclusively demonstrates that the Ebibirpim school system was a colonial-era *reality* that touched the lives of real people—teachers and students—in many real places. It was not an imagination nor a “paper pipe dream.” To substantiate this, a number of individuals were interviewed in Ghana between 1992-1994 in order to collect the entire Ebibirpim Academy story, from the Fante coast to the Asante hinterlands, and from the capital of Accra to the various regions and districts in-between: Eastern, Central, Akyem, Kwahu, etc.

Several interviews with Bresi-Ando's nephew, Earnest Ando-Brew Jr. (son of Bresi-Ando's elder half-brother Rev. Earnest Ainu Ando-Brew), in Mumford, Central Region, provide valuable insights into Bresi-Ando's educational system as seen from their side of the family. Bresi-Ando's educational emancipationist philosophy was heard and retold in interviews with his nephew and Deputy Bishop, Rev. K. K. Edonu, in Afransi, Central Region. Perhaps politically the most important set of interviews was with Mr. Kojo Botsio, Kwame Nkrumah's “right-hand man,” who was an eye-witness of President Nkrumah's intimacy and rapport with Bresi-Ando.

The history of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy, Bresi-Ando's pilot school in the Colony, is recounted in the “History of Apam,” an unpublished typed manuscript written by the late Rev. Fr. K. D. Nyaako-Adentwi, who was Head Teacher there from April to July 1933, and from 1935-1936, and from 1938-1940⁶. The prime eye-witness of the school is Rev. Kyriakos Edonu, who (as Job Benjamin Edonu) was on the teaching staff in Apam from April 1933 to September 1936⁷. The second key eye-witness is Emmanuel A. N. Adentwi, the younger brother of Fr. Nyaako-Adentwi, who was in Apam during the '30s. Other eye-witnesses to this Apam Academy are three former Ebibirpim school students: Victor Nunoo, C. B. Quansah and J. B. Quansah. Victor Nunoo was a pre-primary student at the Apam Academy right before it closed down in 1946. He is the grandson of Mr. E. B. Quansah, a former stalwart Methodist, whose conversion to the Ebibirpim

⁶ School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 03 April 1933 entry, p. 1; 31 July 1933 entry, p. 2; 08 May 1935 entry, p. 40; 22 September 1936 entry, p. 47; 20 January 1938 entry, p. 52-53; and 09 February 1940 entry, p. 70, File GR4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 03 April 1933 entry, p. 1; and 10 September 1936 entry, p. 46, File GR4.

Church caused quite a local controversy in Apam. C. B. Quansah and J. B. Quansah, the sons of E. B. Quansah and uncles of Victor, were interviewed in Apam as well. As former students of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy, they knew all about the start of the Apam Ebibirpim Church and its school, as well as the local Methodists' intense jealousy, and the switch to the Apam Liberal School (a rival institution which Rev. Nyaako-Adentwi later organized with "us", they said).

The Kumasi Ebibirpim school—Prempeh Memorial Institute—has four eye-witnesses who recount its entire story in their interviews: Emmanuel A. N. Adentwi accompanied his older brother, Teacher Adentwi, to Kumasi in 1933, where the latter taught until mid-1935; Earnest Ando-Brew Jr. (the son of Senior Priest Ando-Brew) was in Kumasi with his father in 1938, at which time he joined the teaching staff of the Institute as a pupil teacher; Elijah K. Johnson (a nephew of Rev. Ando-Brew from the Fante coast) spent time with his uncle in the Kumasi school as a secondary school student in the early 1940's; Rev. John Sarkodie-Aidoo attended Prempeh Memorial Institute in 1937 when it was located in the Hippodrome building in Kumasi. Rev. Sarkodie-Aidoo, the last living priest serving at Ando-Brew's last remaining parish in the Asante Diocese, was also eye-witness of a number of other Asante area Ebibirpim Schools, having attended several himself in his youth.

Multiple interviews with Rev. Edonu provide an eye-witness account of the spread of the Ebibirpim school system into various areas within the Eastern Region: Kankan and the Akyem District schools, Larteh and the Akwapim District schools; Abetifi and the Kwahu District schools; Apam and the Central Region schools, and the Cape Coast Academy. In September of 1936 teacher Edonu was sent from the Apam Academy up to Kankan to help pastor the Akyem District where he saw the Ebibirpim Schools in that area firsthand. In the beginning of 1938, Bresi-Ando transferred Edonu from Kankan down to Accra to help him re-organize and run the Ebibirpim Academy there. In the colonial capital, Edonu's second responsibility—after teaching—was to help his uncle with the new business as an Ebibirpim Limited clerk working on the company books, which is how he came to know the intimate details of the Ebibirpim Ltd.'s commercial saga. Rev. Edonu was also a witness of the Ebibirpim (Abibipem) School in Larteh, in the Eastern Region, when he pastored St. Peter's parish there in the Fall of 1938 and from May 1939 to April 1944. Rev. Labi Odeng, who started his work in Bresi-Ando's organization as a teacher in the Larteh Abibipem School in 1936, also bore witness to that school's existence as he pastored the Larteh

parish for half a century, beginning in April 1944. From Christmas 1938 to May 1939 Edonu took a break from his duties in Larteh to attend Bresi-Ando's new St. Simon of Cyrene Seminary in Accra, becoming a member of its first and only graduating class, before the 1939 earthquake destroyed the venue. Thus he became the prime eye-witness of the tiny seminary. Moving to Abetifi to take charge of the Kwahu District for one year (April 1944 to April 1945), Rev. Edonu witnessed the eight Abibipem Schools in that precinct. Transferring down to the Central Region after Easter of 1945, and staying there for the rest of his life, Rev. Edonu witnessed the gradual end of the Ebibirpim School system in Fanteland, including the closure of the Ebibirpim Academy in Cape Coast in 1945.

The findings of these interviews are substantiated by the primary source on the Ebibirpim Academy, the official *School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy, 1933-1946*, the first of Bresi-Ando's schools in the Colony of the Gold Coast. A copy of this log is located within Anderson's Ghana research Fulbright File GR4. The original is in the archives of the Orthodox Archdiocese of Accra. Inside the *School Log Book* are found comments and signatures of Bresi-Ando himself and those of his Head Teachers, such as Teacher Adentwi⁸. Also included are names of other teachers (such as Teacher Edonu), staffing arrangements, and all the important school dates from its founding on 06 September 1932 to its closure on 30 May 1946⁹. Inscribed within the same volume are three hand-written official signed certified true copies of annual inspection reports by colonial education inspectors, J. S. Dunn, W. J. D. Wadley, and K. J. Dickens¹⁰.

J. S. DUNN. Provincial Inspector of Schools, Central Province. "Official Report on the Apam Abibirpim [*sic.*] Academy," handwritten into the School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy, 1933-1946, 22 February 1934 entry, p. 5-13, 27-28, (Certified true copy), File GR4.

W. J. D. WADLEY. Provincial Inspector of Schools, Central Province. "Official Report on the Ebibirpim Academy, Apam," handwritten into the School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy, 1933-1946, 19 March 1935 entry, p. 32-39, (Certified true copy), File GR4.

⁸ School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 03 April 1933 entry, p. 1; and 24 July 1933 entry, p. 1, File GR4.

⁹ School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, The date of founding—06 September 1932—is found mentioned in the 22 February 1934 entry, p. 6; and the closing date is the 30 May 1946 entry, p. 102, File GR4.

¹⁰ School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 22 February 1934 entry, p. 28; 19 March 1935 entry, p. 39; and 24 October 1938 entry, p. 58, File GR4.

K. J. DICKENS, Provincial Inspector of Schools, Central Province. “Official Report of the Ebibirpim Academy, Apam,” handwritten into the School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy, 1933-1946, 24 October 1938 entry, p. 57-58, (Certified true copy), File GR4.

Concerning secondary sources, valuable information on the educational philosophy and endeavours of the European missions operating on the Gold Coast, especially the Basel Mission, is provided by Dr. Jones Darkwa Amanor, Academic Dean of the International Theological Seminary in Accra, in his 2004 cyberjournal article, “Pentecostalism in Ghana: An African Reformation”, together with Dr. Ebenezer Obiri Addo’s fine book, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Case Study of Religion and Politics in Ghana* (1999). Finally, the renaissance of Eastern Orthodox multilayered mission work (combining evangelism with education and health care) in 20th and 21st Century Africa is a topic so new that information had to be culled directly from a host of contemporary Orthodox missionary websites.

Structure

This *third* chapter of the five analytical chapters comprising Section Three is structured with *seven* separate parts:

- 1) Bresi-Ando’s educational emancipation
- 2) Schools were opened with each new mission
- 3) Minister of Education Kojo Botsio remembers Bresi-Ando was famous
- 4) Rise of Ebibirpim school system on the Gold Coast and in the Asante lands
- 5) Grand schemes and educational pipe-dreams
- 6) Fall of Ebibirpim school system in the Gold Coast Colony and Asante
- 7) Other schooling attempts

Using the testimony of these interviewees, plus the primary and secondary sources, this chapter is structured to carry the reader through the *expansion* and *contraction* of Bresi-Ando’s fledgling Ebibirpim school system. The reader will follow the Patriarch’s concrete actions that he took to implement his emancipationist educational agenda—how it was formed, how it fared, and how it

finally failed. Starting with Bresi-Ando's initial Apam Ebibirpim Academy among the Fante in the south in 1932, the storyline follows the expansion of the indigenous school system north to Ando-Brew's Prempeh Memorial Institute in Kumasi among the Asante in 1933. Then expansion throughout the colony in early '30s is described, including the establishment of the Accra Academy in 1935 and the Cape Coast Ebibirpim Grammar School in 1942. The subsequent decline of these schools is recounted in connection with *both* the suppression of the church's commercial company *and* the internal schisms that began to tear apart the African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church in 1939 and into the early 1940's.

1. Bresi-Ando's educational emancipation

1.1. Educational beginnings

Born in Cape Coast in 1884, young Ebenezer Bresi-Ando lived there for a number of years with his father, the senior Mr. Anderson¹¹. It was there that he and his half-brother, Earnest Bresi-Ando (later, known as Ainu Ando-Brew), attended the foremost secondary institution of that day, Mfantsipim School¹², which had been started by his famous Brew relation, the Gold Coast's greatest Pan-Africanist, Casely Hayford, and John Mensah Sarbah¹³. Bresi-Ando was extremely smart and utilized his prestigious Mfantsipim education to his advantage, continually displaying his absolute mastery of the English language by his excellent speaking and writing abilities¹⁴. For a Gold Coaster with his education living during his time frame—early 20th Century—it would have been very hard for Bresi-Ando to have missed the contemporary shining star of Gold Coast Pan-Africanism, Casely Hayford, nor to have missed reading about the black star of global Pan-Africanism, Marcus Garvey.

1.2. Pan-Africanist inspirations

Garvey was an example of a real Pan-Africanist who believed in the solidarity and unity of all the blacks of the world. Therefore he gave his entire life to work for their freedom—politically,

¹¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1641.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Richard BAGUDU. *Judging Annan*, Bloomington, IN, AuthorHouse, 2007, p. 22-23; F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 140-141.

¹⁴ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1246; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 46, and 07 January 1993, Log 17, p. 1001.

commercially, educationally, socially, and racially¹⁵. Garvey's dream of emancipation for the African was not limited to one sector, but was all-encompassing,¹⁶ as was Bresi-Ando's, not surprisingly. Throughout the 1920's Garvey was widely read by blacks around the world. His Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) attracted many followers in colonial Africa, where the UNIA periodical, the *Negro World*, was mailed and avidly read¹⁷. It is hard to imagine that Bresi-Ando, with his mastery of English, would have not read it. On the contrary, Bresi-Ando's own emancipationist ideology (see below), as heard and retold by his nephew Edonu, rolls out as if Garvey himself had said it. Thus, Bresi-Ando *must* have been reading and absorbing Garvey via his *Negro World* newspaper.

Education for the Negro was a priority for Marcus Garvey, as it was for his immensely popular Gold Coast admirer and follower, Laura Adorkor Kofey. Hailing from the Gold Coast, Kofey told her African-American listeners that she had read Garvey's editorials in his *Negro World* periodical while still in her homeland in West Africa. She reported that Garvey's concepts had appealed to her, motivating her to come to America in order to assist his movement¹⁸.

As a regional organizer for the UNIA in the American Deep South in the late 1920's, Kofey's speeches showed that she had totally embraced Garveyism and its principles¹⁹. After she and Garvey broke company, Kofey launched her 'copy-cat' organization, the "African Universal Church and Commercial League" in 1928²⁰. In it, she continued her Garveyite message, preaching to her crowds of loyal followers "to look to Africa, to give funds for African development, to educate children in the love of blackness and a knowledge of African history, to treat one another as brothers and sisters, and to trust in God"²¹. Education was a priority for Kofey, as "she preached the combination of nationalist religion, Pan-Africanism, education, and enterprise that formed the

¹⁵ Columbus SALLEY. *The Black 100* [...], p. 80-82; Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 21.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. cxlii.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 405 footnote 2.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. xcvi, cxli, 405 footnote 2; J. A. CRAIGEN, UNIA Special Representative. Letter to the Editor of the *Miami Daily News*, 07 April 1928, in Robert A. HILL (Ed.), *The Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, vol. VII, Berkley, University of California Press, 1991, p. 169; Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 131-134; Barbara BAIR. "Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]," p. 38; *Negro World*, 14 May 1925.

²⁰ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. 405 footnote 2.

²¹ Barbara BAIR. "Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]," p. 57.

core ideology of the Garvey movement, reinforcing it with her direct personal knowledge of Africa”²². Princess Laura blended her “Kofey synthesis” of a church organization and Garveyism within her own “African Universal Church”—the brand of Pan-Africanism that Bresi-Ando directly inherited when he took over the religious leadership of her church organization in 1931.

Garvey and Kofey’s Pan-Africanist ideals of black internationalism, racial pride, education and commerce were all manifested within Bresi-Ando’s 1930’s own emancipationist efforts. We see Bresi-Ando as a product of his era—very much influenced by Garvey and deliberately trying to carry on the religious-educational-commercial-racial-repatriation work of Kofey, as he dreamed of the day when Africans on the continent would run their own churches, schools, businesses and countries.

1.3. Basis of Bresi-Ando’s educational philosophy

Following Kofey’s synthesis of a religious organization and Garveyism, Bishop Bresi-Ando’s emancipationist preaching and efforts were based first and foremost upon Jesus Christ’s teaching: that the Son of God makes you completely free²³: “Therefore if the Son makes you free, you shall be free indeed” (John 8:36 NKJV). This Scripture verse summarized all of Bresi-Ando’s emancipationist efforts. With the Christian Gospel proclamation of *freedom in Christ Jesus* as his basis, and viewing God as the Source of everything *good*, Bresi-Ando went on to preach *emancipation* for the black man in all areas of his life—social, cultural, spiritual, religious, educational, commercial, and even political²⁴. He believed firmly that the African was being oppressed by the white man in every aspect of life—especially in religion, in education, in commerce, and in politics²⁵. Hating the white man’s policies and oppression which had come to totally dominate the Africans’ existence²⁶, Bresi-Ando wanted all Africans to come together to be free in all these areas of life—educational matters included²⁷. Rev. Edonu said that his uncle Bresi-Ando had preached as a prophet, because all his dreams later came into reality—religious,

²² *Ibid.*, p. 55.

²³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1516.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1513-1517.

²⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 June 1994, Log 26, p. 1663-1668.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1665-1668.

²⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 419, and 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1513.

educational, commercial, and political freedom²⁸. Years later all would come to pass. The British Government would move away, the local churches would acquire African hierarchs and ecclesiastical self-rule, the national educational program as well as local commerce would come to be led and controlled by Ghanaians themselves. In a sense, then, Bresi-Ando's vision for socio-cultural, religious, educational, commercial, and political freedom—his preaching of total, all-inclusive, African emancipation—was prophetic. All would come to pass in time.

2. Schools were opened with each new mission

Bresi-Ando not only preached “educational emancipation,” he actively tried to bring this “freedom” into reality, often in open disregard for any governmental restrictions²⁹. Thus, in order to begin to effect educational freedom—to have African-run educational institutions—he would immediately set about starting new schools with (almost) each new parish he opened.

2.1. Bresi-Ando starts his Liberty Schools in Nigeria

Bresi-Ando's educational pioneering path had begun in Nigeria in the mid-1920's. Feeling spiritually bound, inwardly restricted, and desiring freedom, Bresi-Ando had resigned from his position as an ordained minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church within the colonial Gold Coast and had moved to mid-western Nigeria. There, in a place called Sapele, he started his first African-run “Liberty School”³⁰. (Note that Marcus Garvey also used the same name “Liberty” for his UNIA headquarters in Harlem—which he called “Liberty Hall”³¹. The term was commonly used as the name of the meeting hall of each local chapter of the UNIA, and thus there were “Liberty Halls” all across the United States at that time³².)

Bresi-Ando later re-located to eastern Nigeria where he continued to open more schools. However, he ran into a problem in that his schools were not recognized by the Colonial government³³. Therefore, in order to gain the legal footing needed in the colonial system to support his growing educational program, Bresi-Ando began his own AIC, “The United Free Church of Africa,” in

²⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 June 1994, Log 26, p. 1663-1664.

²⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1513.

³⁰ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 66.

³¹ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 49.

³² Barbara BAIR. “Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth [...]” p. 43.

³³ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 66.

Warri, eastern Nigeria, on 31 March 1926³⁴. He sent a copy of his AICs founding resolution to the Nigerian colonial authorities in which he promised the “loyal and hearty co-operation in the good but difficult work of *educating* and civilizing the unsophisticated and savage African”³⁵. Professor Assimeng is of the opinion that Bresi-Ando’s usage of such harsh and belittling language for his own brethren might have caused him some “mental agony” since, while trying to tickle the British ear (which he despised) in order to secure the greater goal of having his own legally-approved African-run schools, he also was seeking “authenticity in indigenous institutions”³⁶. Therefore the professor concludes that Bresi-Ando was a “forward-looking revolutionary” who was “selective” concerning which African customs he deemed admirable (and were to be retained) and which needed adaption to modern civilization³⁷. One of the reasons why the work was so “difficult” was that education was so rare in the Gold Coast Colony in those days. Even as late as 1948, only 4% of the population was educated³⁸. The need for schools in Bresi-Ando’s era was immense.

2.2. Copies the Protestant missionary pattern at the time

It was not surprising that Bresi-Ando should opt for such a strong emphasis on Christian education—the “difficult work of educating” the African. This was the very context in which he himself had been raised and educated: the West African Christian mission school. Spreading the Christian Faith *via mission schools* had long been established on the Gold Coast as *the mode of operation*³⁹. Dr. Jones Darkwa Amanor, Academic Dean of the International Theological Seminary in Accra, stated that “the propagation of the Gospel and the promotion of Christianity *through the introduction of western education* were the foremost reason for the arrival of European Missionaries to the shores of the Gold Coast”⁴⁰. It became normal for a Christian mission to have both a church and a school at the same location, working hand in hand: evangelization with, and through, education. The “Pietist” Basel Mission, commonly acknowledged as “the pioneer in Gold

³⁴ E. BRESI-ANDO et al. Resolution establishing the United Free Church of Africa, Warri, Eastern Nigeria, 31 March 1926, Ibadan Archives File CSO. 911/23624, Primitive Apostolic African Church, in Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 66, 67 & 77 footnote 14.

³⁵ *Ibid.*—italics added.

³⁶ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 67.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 176.

³⁹ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 8.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*—italics added.

Coast/Ghana education,” was famous for utilizing this method, making it the standard for all the others to imitate⁴¹. Amanor notes that “[w]herever they went, missionaries always built a mission station with a chapel and a school”⁴². Old timers remembered that in those early days, “any good school had a church, and any good church had a school”⁴³. As their *dual goal* was to bring *both* the “Light” of Christ *and* the “light” of Christian Western civilization to the “un-illuminated” African of the “Dark Continent”, they combined evangelization with education⁴⁴. This dual approach is apparent in Bresi-Ando’s own objective, as he combined church work with the “difficult work of *educating* and *civilizing* the unsophisticated and savage African”⁴⁵.

Honestly desiring “to compensate Africa for the raping of the African continent of its natural and human resources” by European soldiers and merchants, these Basel missionaries tried very hard with the best of intentions to improve the lives of the Africans according to their European standards⁴⁶. This improvement came first by the introduction of Western education and linguistics, but also was extended into the economy (agriculture and trade), architecture, transportation, roads, clinics, hospitals “and general improved standards of living”⁴⁷. Of all these, education was paramount in the twin-goal of evangelizing and civilizing. “[T]he opening of schools is our main task,” wrote Gold Coast Basel missionary Elias Schrenk in 1867, who also admitted that he had “a low opinion of Christians who are not able to read the Bible”⁴⁸. The objective of the Basel missionaries was to empower the Africans to read so that through reading the Holy Scriptures they would come to know the Light of Christ. However, a second benefit was that reading would become the African convert’s doorway into the “enlightened” civilization of the Western man. With this strategy of *evangelization through education*, the schools “became the nursing ground for missions”⁴⁹.

⁴¹ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 126, 128.

⁴² Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 8.

⁴³ RI, C. B. QUANSAH, J. B. QUANSAH, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Tape 81, Log 20, p. 1233.

⁴⁴ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 127.

⁴⁵ E. BRESI-ANDO et al. Resolution establishing the United Free Church of Africa, Warri, Eastern Nigeria, 31 March 1926, Ibadan Archives File CSO. 911/23624, Primitive Apostolic African Church, in Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 66, 67 & 77 footnote 14—italics added.

⁴⁶ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 8.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8-12.

⁴⁸ Elias SCHRENK. *Das Heidenbote*, [s.l.], [s.n.], 1867, p. 63, in J. S. POBEE, *Kwame Nkrumah and the Church in Ghana, 1949-1966*, Accra, Asempa Publishers, 1988, p. 89.

⁴⁹ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 128.

Over time, all the other European missions in the Gold Coast Colony opened schools—the Methodists, the Roman Catholics, and the Anglicans—but they had to run fast to catch up with the Basel Mission, which was the front-runner⁵⁰. By 1874, the Methodist Mission had only a few elementary schools while the Basel Mission “operated a neat, stable and effective educational system of primary, middle, boarding and trade schools with a teacher/ministerial Training College at Akropong-Akwapim”⁵¹. To rectify this, the Methodists launched their Wesleyan High School at Cape Coast in 1876 as the first secondary school in the Colony, which since 1905 has been known as Mfantsipim School⁵². By 1931, of the 568 schools in the Colony⁵³, most were being operated by the missions, with the Basel Mission running 210 schools and the Methodists running 143 day schools, and the other missions handling the rest⁵⁴. By comparison, in 1931 the colonial government only operated 19 primary schools⁵⁵, five technical and trade schools, and one teacher’s training college⁵⁶. However, this was mainly due to British educational policy in the Gold Coast Colony at that time. The authorities chose the most economical path, which was to allow the missions to do the educating in a decentralized program in which government inspections triggered a certain amount of financial aid to those mission schools that were producing the better results⁵⁷.

It was within this colonial mission-school educational context that Bresi-Ando had himself been raised and nurtured. His *alma mater*, the Mfantsipim School, was part of the Wesleyan Methodist mission school system. Therefore, it was not unusual for him, as a former Methodist-trained and ordained minister, to utilize this same approach, combining evangelism with education by opening schools and churches together at the same time. What is notable is that he was the *first* in West Africa to do such in the name of an “Orthodox Catholic” Christian community. After his consecration as “Patriarch”, Bresi-Ando continued to open schools and churches, (e.g. St. Peter’s Abibipem Church and School in Larteh, Eastern Region, in 1936). The fact that he was doing this

⁵⁰ J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa* [...], p. 129, 131-134, 138-144.

⁵¹ “About Mfantsipim,” *Mfantsipim School*. (Page consulted 06 April 2017), https://web.archive.org/web/20170315030329/http://www.mfantsipim.com/?page=cms_page&id=3, par. 2.

⁵² *Ibid.*, par. 3-6.

⁵³ *Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of the Gold Coast, 1931-32, Colonial Reports—Annual*, No. 1602, London, His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1933, p. 45.

⁵⁴ J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa* [...], p. 129, 133, 139.

⁵⁵ *Annual Report* [...], p. 45.

⁵⁶ J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa* [...], p. 129.

⁵⁷ Andrzej MIOTK. “The Collapse of the SVD Togo Mission (1914-1921),” *Annales Missiologici Posnanienses*, 2016, n° 21, p. 121.

as an indigenous Gold Coast bishop put Bresi-Ando two full decades ahead of the Roman Catholics. They did not have the pleasure of seeing one of their local native sons raised to the episcopacy until the mid-1950's⁵⁸.

2.3. Bresi-Ando's educational efforts were decades ahead of the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate

Bresi-Ando's African school movement, which started during his Protestant era (1926-1931), continued during his "Orthodox Catholic" era (1935 and following years). Thus, Bresi-Ando, as an "Orthodox" prelate in Africa (albeit, un-canonical *episcopus vagans*), was establishing "Orthodox Catholic" schools well in advance of the contemporary educational movement currently racing through the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria. Today's Orthodox mission schools—which are popping up all across the continent—are the fruit of a revived missionary consciousness within the Patriarchate that is a phenomenon of the later decades of the 20th Century and early 21st. This missionary renewal is not limited to theology, liturgics and ecclesiology, but is comprehensive, embracing not only the spiritual needs but also the mental and physical requirements of the Africans, by providing schools, clinics, and orphanages. As of 2015 the Orthodox Archdiocese of Kampala and All Uganda had 99 schools, 650 teachers, and 20,000 students, plus 18 clinics and a hospital⁵⁹. The Diocese of Katanga (Congo) has in recent decades grown 70 schools with over 2000 students⁶⁰. The Archdiocese of Central Africa since 1970 has opened medical centers, many schools (1000 students), plus a new university in 2007⁶¹. The Archdiocese of Irinoupolis (eastern Tanzania) now has 9 schools and 10 clinics⁶². The young Archdiocese of Mwanza (western Tanzania) already has two secondary schools, 4 clinics and a hospital⁶³. The Archdiocese of Zimbabwe and Angola has several new mission schools, with 2500

⁵⁸ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. "Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]," p. 5.

⁵⁹ "The Struggle Goes On in Uganda," *Orthodox Missionary Fraternity*. Put online 2013, (page consulted on 01 May 2015), <http://orthodoxmission.org.gr/country/uganda/>.

⁶⁰ MELETIOS of Katanga. "Educational Sponsoring: guarantee of hope," *Orthodox Missionary Fraternity*, put online 17 April 2015, (page consulted on 01 May 2015), <http://orthodoxmission.org.gr/diocese/katanga/>; and, John SANIDOPOULOS. "Pascha in Kolwezi, Congo," *Mystagogy Resource Center*, put online 24 April 2010, (page consulted on 25 September 2019), <https://www.johnsanidopoulos.com/2010/04/pascha-in-kolwezi-congo.html>, par. 3.

⁶¹ "Education: Orthodox University of Congo," *Holy Metropolis of Central Africa*. (Page consulted on 21 April 2015), <http://pa-imka.org/index.php/en/education-en/congo-university-en>.

⁶² Maria VRAKA. "The Children of Tanzania Hope and Wait," *Orthodox Missionary Fraternity*, put online 2013, (page consulted on 01 May 2015), <http://orthodoxmission.org.gr/diocese/irinoupolis/>.

⁶³ "The Diocese of Bukoba, Tanzania," *The Orthodox Church in Tanzania*. Put online 2008, (page consulted on 01 May 2015), <http://www.orthodoxytz.com/bukoba.asp>.

students on scholarships⁶⁴. The Archdiocese of Madagascar, since its first Orthodox missionary arrived there in 1994⁶⁵, in twenty-one years started 35 schools, 22 medical centers, 4 orphanages, 2 old age homes⁶⁶, and in 2015, a brand-new university⁶⁷. Since 2002 the young Diocese of Malawi has also been busy building and opening clinics, nursery schools, and technical schools⁶⁸. The fledgling Archdiocese of Burundi and Rwanda is currently educating over 700 students⁶⁹, while the infant Archdiocese of Brazzaville and Gabon has established several schools with 289 students⁷⁰. Not to be outdone by the others, on the western side of the continent, the modern Archdiocese of Accra has built 7 school buildings since the year 2000⁷¹, while the new Archdiocese of Guinea is operating 3 schools in Sierra Leone with 3500 students, plus a new teacher's college⁷².

The large Kenyan Orthodox Church has dozens of schools within its four dioceses. However, with respect to timing, the Kenyans are an exception. They had a huge head-start, as the earliest Kenyan Orthodox schools were initially formed (non-canonically) in 1929 by Africans in defiance of British colonial authorities⁷³. Knowing that they needed a church organization to sponsor their

⁶⁴ "Zimbabwe Church: Holy Archbishopric of Zimbabwe Website," *Pazzimmo* archived website. (Page consulted on 28 April 2015), <http://web.archive.org/web/20130808040547/http://pazzimmo.org.gr/146007/99500.html>.

⁶⁵ "The Birth of a New Orthodox Mission," *St. Kosmas*, [s.d.], Translated from Greek by G. Isihos, mirrored online on oocities.org in October 2009, (page consulted on 15 May 2015), <http://www.oocities.org/athens/agora/5788/tow/aug98/mission.html>.

⁶⁶ Archimandrite Markos THEODOSI. "His Beatitude Meets with the President of Madagascar," *The official website of Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa*, put online 04 June 2015, (page consulted on 25 June 2015), <http://www.patriarchateofalexandria.com/index.php?module=news&action=details&id=1103>.

⁶⁷ Archimandrite Markos THEODOSI. "The First Orthodox University in Madagascar," *The official website of Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa*, put online 04 June 2015, (page consulted on 25 June 2015), <http://www.patriarchateofalexandria.com/index.php?module=news&action=details&id=1104#prettyPhoto>.

⁶⁸ "His Beatitude Theodoros II Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria and All Africa Biography," *The official website of Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa*. Put online 05 November 2018, (page consulted on 25 September 2019), <http://www.patriarchateofalexandria.com/index.php?module=content&cid=001002>, par. 2.

⁶⁹ Bishop INNOKENTIOS. "Challenges of Mission in Burundi and Rwanda," *Orthodox Mission*, put online 01 May 2015, (page consulted on 18 May 2015), <https://ierapostoli.wordpress.com/category/africa/burundi-rwanda>.

⁷⁰ PANTELEIMON of Brazzaville and Gabon. "Congo-Brazzaville: A year of ministry on the African Equator," *Orthodox Missionary Fraternity*, put online February 2014, (page consulted on 18 June 2015), <https://web.archive.org/web/20160324051301/http://orthodoxmission.org.gr/2014/02/congo-brazzaville-a-year-of-ministry-on-the-african-equator/>.

⁷¹ *Ημερολόγιο 2011, Πατριαρχείον Αλεξανδρείας και Πασης Αφρικής, Ιερά Μητρόπολις Ακκράς*. Alexandria, Egypt, Patriarchate of Alexandria, 2011, p. 37.

⁷² GEORGE, Metropolitan of Guinea. "Pastoral tour in Guinea and Sierra Leone, 23rd May 2013 to 29th May 2013," *Orthodox Missionary Fraternity*, put online July 2013, (page consulted on 22 April 2015), <https://web.archive.org/web/20160317044638/http://orthodoxmission.org.gr/2013/07/pastoral-tour-in-guinea-and-sierra-leone/>; and, "Themistocles (Adamopoulo)," *Orthodox Wiki*. Put online 11 November 2013, (page consulted on 24 June 2015), [http://orthodoxwiki.org/Themistocles_\(Adamopoulo\)](http://orthodoxwiki.org/Themistocles_(Adamopoulo)).

⁷³ Stephen HAYES. "Orthodox Mission in Tropical Africa," p. 387.

large African-run educational system, the Kenyans went searching for a hierarchy, a quest that led them briefly into McGuire's uncanonical "African Orthodox Church," and subsequently, into the Alexandrian Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate in 1946⁷⁴. The Ugandans, who also joined the Patriarchate in 1946⁷⁵, likewise had a head start in building and maintaining their own schools, often with some financial donations from Greeks⁷⁶.

Aside from the Kenyan and Ugandan educational efforts—which were indigenous and not Patriarchate-driven—Bresi-Ando's own educational efforts in Nigeria, the Gold Coast and the Asante Kingdom pre-date the contemporary, laudable Alexandrian Patriarchal educational initiative. Bresi-Ando in his day—1920's and 1930's—had vision and fore-sight. He was an educational pioneer with "Orthodox" leanings, as he mirrored the indigenous efforts of the Kenyans in East Africa to some degree. Bresi-Ando's multi-tiered emancipationist dream of operating a full-package African mission—one that served not only the soul but also the needs of the body and mind of the African—has now only in recent decades been established within the Alexandrian Patriarchate. Eastern Orthodoxy entered the 20th century not doing any indigenous mission in Africa at all. However, in a dramatic revival the same Patriarchate has entered the 21st century setting up missions, schools, clinics, orphanages, hospitals and universities all across the continent. Bresi-Ando's vision for Africa is being fulfilled, and he would be glad.

3. Minister of Education Kojo Botsio remembers Bresi-Ando was famous

As Bresi-Ando's fast-growing church movement spread across the Gold Coast and into the Asante lands after he brought his African Universal Church (Ebibirpim Asore) to the colony in 1932, Bresi-Ando quickly made a name for himself in the area of nationalist African-run education. He caught the eye of the younger generation of mission-trained nationalists, the next cohort that was slated to carry the Gold Coast into the independence movement of post-World War II. They were inspired how Bresi-Ando was starting his own African-run schools at the new mission stations that he opened. His dream was to have a school with each parish.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 387-388.

⁷⁵ Metropolitan Makarios TILLYRIDES. "The Origin of Orthodoxy in East Africa," *Orthodox Research Institute*, (page consulted on 06 November 2010), http://www.orthodoxresearchinstitute.org/articles/church_history/makarios_tillyrides_east_africa.htm, par. 9.

⁷⁶ Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 268.

3.1. Bresi-Ando was famous as a pioneer educationalist on the Gold Coast

The famous former Minister of Education for the Gold Coast, Mr. Kojo Botsio, said of Bresi-Ando: “As an educationist, oh yes, he was very, very well known”; “It is his [*Bresi-Ando’s*] school system he was mainly noted for, it is his school system, yes. He established the schools. Wherever he had the church he established a school.”⁷⁷ Mr. Botsio said that Bresi-Ando was a “‘pioneer’ in the sense that he was establishing schools as an African—starting this initiative.”⁷⁸

3.2. Young teacher Kwame Nkrumah watched Bresi-Ando’s movement with interest

As one of Ghana’s most famous early independence-era politicians, Mr. Kojo Botsio had been called by some the “pen of Nkrumah,”⁷⁹ as such he was uniquely positioned and highly-qualified to offer an opinion concerning Kwamin Bresi-Ando’s influence upon the younger future President. Having held the post of Minister of Education from 1951-1954 and various other ministerial positions (Foreign Affairs Minister, Social Welfare and Labor, etc.) to 1966, Mr. Botsio’s personal witness and contribution to this current history project on Bishop Bresi-Ando is invaluable⁸⁰.

Mr. Kojo Botsio emphasized that Ghana’s most famous politician knew Bresi-Ando very well and in fact took a strong liking to him⁸¹. During the early 1930’s, Kwame Nkrumah was a young teacher working at Elmina and Amissano, only about 50 miles away from Apam where Bresi-Ando had his headquarters at that time⁸². Nkrumah got to know the bishop and began to visit Bresi-Ando in Apam and developed an intimacy with him⁸³. According to Mr. Botsio, Nkrumah loved to research indigenous African movements “whether religious or political or what not”⁸⁴. Nkrumah viewed the Ebibirpim Church and school phenomenon as a “movement” to be admired and watched and learned from. Botsio explained that “in those days [*i.e. 1930’s*] the religious movements were also of a political nature because they were more or less in opposition to the

⁷⁷ RI, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1193.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1194.

⁷⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 17 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1453.

⁸⁰ Emmanuel ASIEDU-ACQUAH. “Kojo Botsio,” *Dictionary of African Biography*, vol. 1, Emmanuel K. Akyeampong and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (Editors in Chief), Oxford & New York, Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 498.

⁸¹ RI, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1188.

⁸² Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 54-55.

⁸³ FFN, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1201-1202.

⁸⁴ RI, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1189.

established religions. So he [*Nkrumah*] was deeply interested in these movements”⁸⁵. Therefore, according to Mr. Botsio, during his visits, Nkrumah—who himself was to lead Ghana’s national movement into independence in the 1950’s—would ask Bresi-Ando how he had started the African Universal Church and its Ebibirpim Academies⁸⁶. Said Mr. Botsio: “he [*Nkrumah*] was deeply interested in the [*Ebibirpim*] movement and how he [*Bresi-Ando*] was doing it”.⁸⁷ When Nkrumah could not visit Bresi-Ando in person, they retained their friendly intimacy via correspondence through the mail as “pencil friends” (pen pals)⁸⁸.

Mr. Kojo Botsio, who himself knew Bresi-Ando personally, remembers that “[n]ationally [...] he was one of the public figures at the time [...] quite a powerful figure, very versatile”⁸⁹. The elder statesman summarized Bresi-Ando: “He was quite widely known as a religious person, as an educationist.”⁹⁰ Maintaining his association with this famous politician, Patriarch Bresi-Ando, during his sole pontifical return visit to his Gold Coast diocese, went to visit Mr. Kojo Botsio in Accra in February 1956 on the eve of Ghana’s political independence⁹¹.

3.3. Kwame Nkrumah took inspiration from Bresi-Ando’s school system

In the Fulbright research interviews, the *most important* statement offered by the ex-Minister of Education is that Mr. Botsio credits Bresi-Ando “as *inspiration* to Dr. Nkrumah” for his own Education Program⁹². In the 1930’s Bresi-Ando had started many schools on the Gold Coast as part of his dream for the educational emancipation of the African. This was a stimulus for Dr. Nkrumah’s own nationalist African-run educational efforts when he later on became the leading politician of the Ghana independence era. While serving as Minister of Education implementing Nkrumah’s educational initiative, Mr. Botsio established nearly 50 secondary schools across the land⁹³.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1190.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1188, 1202.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1202.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1188.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1198.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary of Rev. K. K. Edonu: February 1951-May 1957, 03 February 1956 entry, File GR3.

⁹² FFN, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 15 November 1994, Log 27, p. 1760.

⁹³ “Kojo Botsio is Dead,” *GhanaWeb*. Put online 07 February 2001, (page consulted on 08 October 2019), <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Kojo-Botsio-is-Dead-13490>.

3.4. Bresi-Ando was the 2nd Gold Coast native to mount a national educational effort

There are those in Ghana today who claim that Bresi-Ando's school system represented a remarkable early attempt by Gold Coasters themselves to open and operate their own school system within the Colony, stating that Bresi-Ando was "many years ahead of his time"⁹⁴. For the record, Mr. Botsio stated that he believed that Bresi-Ando was among the first two Gold Coasters to start their own African-run schools within the Colony⁹⁵.

In Ghana's educational history, Bresi-Ando was a "pioneer", but technically not the "first". Actually, a certain Gold Coaster named Rev. Jacob Benjamin Anaman of the Nigritian Episcopal Church had started his own African-run churches and schools in the Colony some years before Bresi-Ando (beginning in 1907)⁹⁶, but his schools had all closed in 1929, at the start of the Great Depression, due to financial difficulties⁹⁷. Many were reopened by Jacob's son, Rev. Amos W. Anaman, in the years following 1939, but they were not functioning within the Colony during most of the 1930's, the decade during which Bresi-Ando was establishing his own indigenous school system⁹⁸. Rev. Edonu insisted that Bresi-Ando's "school system" was bigger than that of the elder Jacob Anaman, and further, Edonu insisted that Bresi-Ando became more renowned for his schools than Anaman⁹⁹. It was Bresi-Ando's Ebibirpim Schools that were spreading like wild-fire in the early 1930's—it was his school system that was operational and thus caught the eye of young Nkrumah at that time.

4. Rise of Ebibirpim school system on the Gold Coast and in the Asante lands

4.1. The initial school opening phase: 1932-early 1935

From 1932 to early 1935, a very minimum of 8 Ebibirpim Schools were opened¹⁰⁰. There probably were many more. By the end of the decade, Bresi-Ando's school system had reached a sizeable magnitude within the Colony, with a very *conservative* figure of twenty known primary schools

⁹⁴ RI, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Tape 81, Log 20, p. 1225.

⁹⁵ RI, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1194.

⁹⁶ Kofi Asare OPOKU. "A Brief History of Independent Church Movements in Ghana since 1862," *The Rise of Independent Churches in Ghana*, Accra, Ghana, Asempa Publishers Christian Council of Ghana, 1990, p. 14-15.

⁹⁷ Abamfo O. ATIEMO. "Nigritian Episcopal Church Founder: Jacob Benjamin Anaman (d.1939)," *Encyclopedia of New Religious Movements*, Peter Clarke (Ed.), London, Routledge/Taylor and Francis Ltd., 2006.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1476.

¹⁰⁰ List of Schools, File GR20.

and one seminary—all credited to Bresi-Ando's church movement. (The twenty-first primary school was opened at Cape Coast in 1942.) In later decades a few more schools were attempted, bringing the total to 24 primary schools, 1 secondary school, and 1 seminary, for a grand total of 26 Ebibirpim educational institutions¹⁰¹. There certainly were *more* schools than this in the original number, yet their names have been forgotten as they closed long ago. For the greatest historical accuracy possible, *only* the number of *known* Ebibirpim schools is given here—those found in writing (log books, diaries, etc.)—or those remembered by name in the memory of eye-witnesses.

Convinced of his righteousness in demanding African-run education for the African, and, having had previous experience opening similar schools in Nigeria, Bresi-Ando spent the decade of the 1930's in the Gold Coast Colony opening schools for his new parishes, frequently in plain disregard of any governmental restrictions¹⁰². To staff his new academies, Bresi-Ando would often simply locate a "scholar" to head up both the new church and fledgling school¹⁰³. Thus the "Ebibirpim" Church, as the African Universal Church was locally known, with its "Ebibirpim" schools, as a *movement* began to spread rapidly, often by itself. It seemed that almost every new mission station opened a new school alongside it, as was remembered by Mr. Kojo Botsio¹⁰⁴. It might have appeared to him and others that there was a one-to-one correspondence between school and parish, but in reality there seems to have been more of a one-to-three ratio, with one new school for every three new parishes¹⁰⁵. At least, this is the conclusion based on the number of Ebibirpim parishes and schools that the present field research unearthed. However, there is always the chance that well-intentioned tiny schools died in infancy very quickly from lack of material backing, as indeed did many parishes. It was very hard to keep the new schools running.

Rev. Edonu bore witness that wherever the village elders accepted and worked faithfully and energetically for the up-building of the church, that is where the church remained to stay. But where there was no determined hardworking anchorman available to hold the church, then that

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1513.

¹⁰³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 3, Log 2, p. 55.

¹⁰⁴ FFN, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1193.

¹⁰⁵ Parish List, and List of Schools, File GR20.

station would vanish after a while—the church and its fledgling school would die on the vine¹⁰⁶. Or, alternatively, a school might die quickly, while the mission station continued a life of its own for a while. This might explain the discrepancy in numbers of schools versus numbers of parishes which came to light during the field research. Rev. Edonu admitted that unfortunately Bresi-Ando loved to open schools without financial backing and without a suitable staff. He would just open them and leave them in the hands of the town elders to run¹⁰⁷. Bresi-Ando's heart was in the right place, but he lacked the financial resources. However, he had a grand commercial scheme in mind with which he planned to support his growing school system—a venture that took several years to launch. It was a potentially huge entrepreneurial initiative that he hoped would give his Ebibirpim/African Universal Church and school system the stable financial foundation that it needed to survive. Known as “Ebibirpim Limited,” its colossal collapse in 1939 spelled the doom of any financial backbone for the Ebibirpim school system. Without funds, these schools—with the exception of one—all faded away, or were taken over by the government to run.

Prof. Max Assimeng, in his article on Bresi-Ando, “Methodological Africanism: Bresi-Ando as an Episcopus Vagans,” the only scholarly work up to this present one on the subject, dismisses Bresi-Ando's educational efforts far too easily. Assimeng summarizes the colonial Provincial Inspector of Education, Mr. J. S. Dunn, whose 1935 opinion was that Bresi-Ando's schools were “projects on paper, and not of reality”¹⁰⁸. Such was not the complete truth. Yet, the colonial governor of the Gold Coast echoed the inspector's opinion when he wrote to his counterpart, the governor of the Colony of Nigeria on 15 July 1943 concerning Bresi-Ando and his Ebibirpim schools, saying: “Nothing was ever heard of the educational work nor of the Academy of learning for which the funds were solicited”¹⁰⁹. Standing by themselves—out of context and taken at face value—these few statements leave the uninformed reader with the impression that Bresi-Ando's school system was just a mere pipe dream for which he attempted to solicit funds. The true story—when studied

¹⁰⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 969.

¹⁰⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 04 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1550.

¹⁰⁸ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 70 & 77 footnote 19: see J. S. DUNN, Provincial Inspector of Schools, Central Province, “Official Report on the Apam Abibirpim [*sic.*] Academy,” handwritten into the School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 22 February 1934 entry, p. 8 & 12, File GR4.

¹⁰⁹ The GOVERNOR of the Gold Coast. Letter to the Governor of Nigeria, 15 July 1943, Ibadan Archives File CSO.192/41394, African Universal Church and Ebibirpim Ltd., in Max ASSIMENG, “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 70 & 77 footnote 20.

in the field in greater detail—is revealed to be much bigger, more encouraging, more hopeful, yet at the same time, more disheartening, more tragic, more human, in our fallenness.

Bresi-Ando's educational emancipation was more than a dream—it was a Pan-Africanist educational reality in its very formative stages. Indeed, throughout the decade of the 1930's the Ebibirpim Academies were showed to be real schools, involving the lives of real people, real teachers, real students—as shall be described below. Unfortunately, these institutions were crippled by real poverty, real earth-shattering events, real family discord, and the real opposition of whites whose anti-emancipationist intrigue contributed to the schools' ultimate very real failure. Yet in their day, the Ebibirpim churches and schools were a movement, and there were those who were observing from afar, being very inspired. Professor Assimeng's publishing of the opinions of the governor and the colonial educational inspector has done an injustice to the truth about the pioneering efforts of Bresi-Ando which were being observed by none other than Ghana's future President himself. To be fair to Professor Assimeng, he was simply going by a few letters and a couple of statements made by colonial authorities, not by interviews with former Ebibirpim staff and students. Assimeng acknowledged his gap in information, a hole that he believed could be filled by field interviews¹¹⁰. This breach was researched in 1992-1994 during interviews with old Ghanaian men who had in their youth either taught at or had been students in one of the many real live Ebibirpim Academies. Bresi-Ando's schools were not simply mere “projects on paper”, nor were they imaginations of which “nothing was ever heard.” They stood, lived and died as a witness of an indigenous quest for educational emancipation—a pre-mature child born before its due time—a tragic tale that holds its own historical ground.

4.1.1. Apam Ebibirpim Academy opens in 1932

The immediate negative attitude of the Apam Methodist mission in 1932 towards their new local competition—the Ebibirpim/African Universal Church (AUC)—had a beneficial effect in one respect. It helped start the first school of Bresi-Ando's ensuing large school system. When the local Methodist minister in Apam kicked out of his mission school some Methodist school boys who had been frequenting Bresi-Ando's new church, Bresi-Ando simply used this as his opportunity to gather together these very students, forming a school of his own for them. Thus the

¹¹⁰ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 61.

Apam Ebibirpim Academy came into existence¹¹¹. The date of the first staffing arrangement is 06 September 1932¹¹², so thus the school must have begun then or near that time. It is interesting to note that years later, locals in Apam still remembered Bresi-Ando's new church and school with the nick-names, "American Church" and "American School," most likely due to the Kofey African-American Repatriation Plan which had ignited the hopes of many local converts to Bresi-Ando's cause¹¹³.

Born in 1907 in Sekondi, in the Western Region, it was to this new Apam Ebibirpim Academy that the 26-year-old Kweku Kurafi Edonu (AKA Job Benjamin Edonu)¹¹⁴, a Methodist school teacher in Elmina, Central Region, was invited by his uncle, Mr. Thompson Kobina Yedenu, the "linguist" of Bresi-Ando's new "Ebibirpim Council," to come and work¹¹⁵. Young Edonu moved to Apam and on 03 April 1933 officially joined the staff of the Academy, thereby getting himself involved in the work of the indigenous church that he would *never* leave¹¹⁶. As an ordained Eastern Orthodox clergyman and the leading priest in Ghana until the day he died in 2002, he was known as the Very Rev. Protopresbyter Kyriakos Kweku Edonu¹¹⁷. He was Bresi-Ando's successor in the work of the church, and he served as the chief informant for this present research project. Young "J. B." (as Rev. Edonu liked to be called during his school years) was actually by blood a first-cousin once-removed (on his father's side) to Bresi-Ando¹¹⁸. According to usual Ghanaian custom, J. B. would commonly call Bresi-Ando, "uncle", and Bresi-Ando in turn would refer to him as "nephew"¹¹⁹. Little did the "nephew" know then what lay before him, what critically important leadership role he would play over the next seventy years in helping hold together the AIC that his "uncle" Bresi-Ando had founded in order to deliver the African.

¹¹¹ FFN, C. B. QUANSAH. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 19, p. 1213.

¹¹² J. S. DUNN, Provincial Inspector of Schools, Central Province. First staffing arrangement, 06 September 1932, in "Official Report on the Apam Abibirpim [*sic.*] Academy," handwritten into the School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 22 February 1934 entry, p. 6, File GR4.

¹¹³ FFN, Victor NUNOO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 29 June 1993, Tape 80, Log 19, p. 1207.

¹¹⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 941. Rev. Edonu's DOB is 12 April 1907. He was born in Sekondi (actually born in the close-by fishing village of Ekwasi), Western Region, Gold Coast Colony.

¹¹⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 40.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 40-41.

¹¹⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 941-942. Rev. Edonu died on 05 February 2002, at the age of 94, two months before his 95th birthday.

¹¹⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 961.

¹¹⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1476.

Just one month prior to the hire of Teacher Edonu, another ex-Methodist school teacher also joined the staff of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy (on 02 March 1933)¹²⁰. Known then as Mr. Charles Adentwi Selby Junior (1909-1974)¹²¹, and later as Rev. Fr. K. D. Nyaako-Adentwi¹²², he was by blood a first cousin once-removed to Ando-Brew, through his mother, on the Brew side of the family¹²³. This other “nephew” of both Ando-Brew and Bresi-Ando also became a very central, important figure in the ongoing life of the African Universal Church. As a certified teacher he immediately became the headmaster of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy and eventually served as the Education Secretary for the Ebibirpim/African Universal (O-C) Church¹²⁴. For the record, Principal Teacher Adentwi was not blood-related to Rev. Edonu, but was a “shirt-tail cousin” to him through marriage—yet they always called each other “brother”, according to African custom¹²⁵.

When young J. B. Edonu arrived at the school in Apam on 3 April 1933 to meet “Uncle” Bresi-Ando and “brother” Adentwi, he also met the absence of both Missionary Jones and “Uncle” Ando-Brew. Somewhere between 1932 and April 1933, Jones had been transferred for a while to the new mission station of Fomena to begin there his work as an “Industrial Missionary.” There—

¹²⁰ FFN, Emmanuel A.N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1584; J. S. DUNN. Fourth staffing arrangement, 02 March 1933, in “Official Report on the Apam Abibirpim [*sic.*] Academy,” [...], p. 6, File GR4.

¹²¹ FFN, Visit to Ebibirpim Cemetery, Apam, CR, GH, 29 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1647. The tombstone read: “Rev. K. D. N. Adentwi, Born 1909-1974, (19/10/74), Rest in Peace.”

¹²² Rev. K. D. NYAAKO-ADENTWI. History of Apam, [unpublished typed manuscript], [s.d.], p. 14, File GR1.19.

¹²³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 961.

¹²⁴ School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 18 October 1939 entry, p. 68, File GR4.

¹²⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 961. Here is an explanation of the family relationship between Rev. Edonu and Rev. Adentwi: Old Mr. Anderson, Bresi-Ando’s father, married twice. His son Bresi-Ando was born to one wife, and his other son, Ando-Brew, was born to another wife (who was a Brew). Adentwi was blood-related to Ando-Brew on a maternal line (first cousins once-removed—through Ando-Brew’s mother, Ekuwa Brew). Edonu was blood-related to Ando-Brew and Bresi-Ando through a paternal line (first cousins once-removed—through old Mr. Anderson). Thus, strictly speaking, using a very modern, Western, legalistic definition of the term “cousin”, which requires a *common* blood ancestor, Adentwi and Edonu were not cousins, nor related by blood, because they did not share a common ancestor. (As a relative by marriage, the Western nickname is “shirt-tail cousin”.) However, within their own proper African culture, not only were they considered “cousins”, but according to the accepted custom, they commonly referred to each other as “brothers” and treated each other as the same. (In West Africa, cousins commonly call each other “brother” and “sister”.) Having passed away in 1974, it was Rev. Adentwi’s actual younger brother, Emmanuel A. N. Adentwi, who provided much valuable history for this research project, via interviews in Apam, along with key documents and important contacts. See: FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 961; and, FFN, Emmanuel A.N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1581.

when he was not traveling out and about with Bresi-Ando opening new parishes—Jones planted a sugar cane farm and lived until he returned to base himself in Apam the following year, in 1934¹²⁶.

More importantly, however, during this same time period (of late 1932 to early 1933), Rev. Ando-Brew was sent north into the Ashanti Region to open it up as a new mission field for the church¹²⁷. By the time our live witness, young teacher Edonu, arrived at his school in Apam in April of 1933, “Uncle” Ando-Brew was already in the city of Kumasi, a new missionary to the Asante people¹²⁸. With Rev. Ando-Brew’s departure to the Ashanti to expand the outreach of the African Universal Church to the north, the growth of the church advanced even faster. Bresi-Ando remained headquartered in Apam where he was busy training and ordaining new clergymen, after which he would assign them to the new mission stations in his rapidly growing AIC¹²⁹.

During this same time period (1932-1935), Bresi-Ando and Ando-Brew opened at least 8 schools (that can be identified and remembered by name or are found listed in records). Most of these schools were limited to the lower primary grade levels, but three included the upper primary levels: the Apam Ebibirpim Academy, the Prempeh Memorial Institute in Kumasi, and the Orthodox Church School in Dunkwa-Kyekyewere. This number—by a most conservative count—would later grow to 24 primary schools, 1 secondary school, and a seminary¹³⁰. There were certainly many, many others. Mr. Botsio remembered Bresi-Ando’s initiative and bore witness stating: “Wherever he had the church he established a school [...] As an educationist he was very, very well known.”¹³¹ The longest lasting of these schools were later turned over to the government to be run by the Local Authority and are still in existence today as local public schools¹³². However, most of these schools have long since vanished, many without a record or a memory or a trace—and thus not even their names can be listed because of the scanty records.

Between 1932-1935 Ebibirpim schools were opened in: In Central Region: Apam (’32), Gomoa Aboso (’32/’33), Agona Abodom (’33). In the Eastern Region, Akuapem District: Mepom (1933).

¹²⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1640.

¹²⁷ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1245, 1247.

¹²⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1096.

¹²⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1640.

¹³⁰ List of Schools, File GR20.

¹³¹ RI, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1193.

¹³² *Ibid.*

In the Akyem District (ER): Kankan ('34/'35). In the Akyem Kotoku District (ER): Akyem Adosena ('34?). In Ashanti Region: Kumasi ('33), and in Sekyere District (AR): Akrokyere ('34)¹³³. (See Appendix B for the list of Ebibirpim schools opened between 1932-1942.)

4.1.2. Kumasi's Prempeh Memorial Institute opens in 1933

The tale of the establishment of an Ebibirpim academy in the Asante capital up north deserves a special focus. It is a witness of the indigenous Asante desire for African-run education. Bresi-Ando—through his church—and with the assistance of his half-brother, helped meet that need.

Late in 1932 (or very early in 1933), Rev. Earnest (Ainu) Ando-Brew had been sent by his brother Bresi-Ando to open the Ashanti (Asante) branch of their African Universal Church¹³⁴. While the Fantes are the primary tribal group located within the coastal Central Region, the Asante people are the inland tribal group just to the north of them. Their dialects are similar—being within the larger Akan tribal and linguistic group—and normally the two can understand each other. On his missionary venture to the north, Ando-Brew's first stop—and first mission station—was at the village of Senfi (near the town of Bekwai), in the Ashanti Region¹³⁵. After opening a mission station there, Ando-Brew then advanced into the huge main city of Kumasi, home of the powerful Asante “king”—the Asantehene (the highest chief of all chiefs in the entire Asante tribal area). Bresi-Ando's church and educational efforts attracted the attention of none other than the great “king” of the Asante, Prempeh II.

Since his election to chieftaincy in 1931 upon the death of his uncle, Prempeh I, the new young Asantehene, Prempeh II, was technically only being called the “Kumasihene” (chief of the city of Kumasi), due to British Colonial politics¹³⁶. However, the young Prempeh II grew to be admired by the British authorities as being a modern type of ruler and a lover of education and thus was

¹³³ List of Schools, File GR20.

¹³⁴ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1243, 1245, 1247; FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 20, p. 1219.

¹³⁵ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW and Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1245, 1255.

¹³⁶ “Prempeh I,” *A Dictionary of World History*. 3rd ed., Anne Kerr and Edmund Wright (Eds.), Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000, put online 2015 (page consulted 27 September 2019), p. 152, <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199685691.001.0001/acref-9780199685691-e-2976?rskey=8IG9ZJ&result=3031>.

quickly granted permission to resume his ancient tribal title of “Asantehene” when the British restored the Asante Confederacy in 1935¹³⁷. His court of clan chiefs, elders, and advisors changed its name from the “Asante Confederacy Council” to the “Asanteman Council” in 1950¹³⁸. Prempeh II himself had an earnest interest in education with a great passion to educate his Asante people. He would spend much of his life promoting that goal, and therefore during his 39-year reign, many schools were constructed in the Asante Kingdom¹³⁹. His love of education and his desire to help the Africans run their own schools brought Ando-Brew and him together. Although they were of traditional enemy tribes—Asante and Fante—their common subjection to the white foreigner and a common Pan-Africanism in the area of education linked them together.

When Ando-Brew arrived in Kumasi, a well-to-do local, one Pa Sraha (the father-in-law of the known Asante palace administrator Mr. I. K. Agyeman) gave Ando-Brew a place to stay and got involved helping him establish the African Universal Church and school in the capital¹⁴⁰. According to one report, the Kumasihene/Asantehene Chief Prempeh II and his Asante tribal elders became interested in Ando-Brew’s indigenous educational attempt (quite possibly learning of it through the Sraha/Agyeman family connection, since Mr. I. K. Agyeman was an educated palace administrator working as associate registrar for the Asantehene himself)¹⁴¹.

Very much interested, and thirsting for more information as to the seriousness and viability of this new African-run educational venture, Chief Prempeh II and his advisors sent I. K. Agyeman and Pa Sraha down to Apam on the seacoast to investigate Bresi-Ando’s activities and aims, especially his school system¹⁴². The two Asante visitors attended one of Bresi-Ando’s Synod meetings in

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*; T.C. McCASKIE. “Writing, Reading, and Printing Death: Obituaries and Commemoration in Asante,” *Africa’s Hidden Histories: Everyday Literacy and Making the Self*, Coll. “African Expressive Cultures,” Karin Barber (Ed.), Bloomington, IN, Indiana University Press, 2006, p. 345-346.

¹³⁸ “The Ashanti Confederacy/Asanteman Council,” *Manhyia Archives*. (Page consulted 02 May 2011), https://web.archive.org/web/20120408123107/http://www.manhyiaarchives.org/ashanteman_council.php.

¹³⁹ “Asante Kings Of The Twentieth Century—Sir Nana Osei Tutu Agyeman Prempeh II (1931-1970),” *Manhyia Archives*. (Page consulted 02 May 2011), <https://web.archive.org/web/20130117181121/http://www.manhyiaarchives.org/page.php?id=17>.

¹⁴⁰ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1247; FFN, Emmanuel A.N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1588; FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1683.

¹⁴¹ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1274, 1285; FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1588; and, T.C. McCASKIE. “Writing, Reading, and Printing Death,” p. 346.

¹⁴² FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1274; FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1588.

Apam in 1933 and learned everything they needed to know of Bresi-Ando's pro-African education program. They saw that Bresi-Ando was serious and "meant business," so the report that they brought back to Prempeh II was very favorable¹⁴³. Thus, Ando-Brew's school in Kumasi gained the critically-important backing and sponsorship of the powerful Asante tribal leadership¹⁴⁴. In return, he named his school, the "Prempeh Memorial Institute"—instead of the generic "Ebibirpim Academy"—as an obvious honor to the memory of the previous Asantehene, Chief Prempeh I, whose memory Prempeh II very much wanted to keep alive¹⁴⁵.

Ando-Brew opened his new school in Kumasi's "Fante New Town" district in a rented two-storey house in 1933 with I. K. Agyeman as one of his Institute's trustees¹⁴⁶. With all the interest coming from the Asantehene and his council, it is easy to understand how Bresi-Ando, on 31 July 1933¹⁴⁷, immediately transferred one of his best teachers, Charles Adentwi, from Apam up to Kumasi to help run the newly-founded Prempeh Memorial Institute, which at that time consisted of the lower and upper primary grade levels (10 classes, Kindergarten-9th, see footnote for explanation)¹⁴⁸. Arriving in Kumasi, Teacher Adentwi found the Institute already in progress¹⁴⁹. (He stayed there for a couple of years until he took sick and was transferred back to Apam in May 1935¹⁵⁰.) Emmanuel A. Nyaako Adentwi was an eye-witness of the existence of the Prempeh Memorial Institute in 1933, since he accompanied his elder brother—Teacher Charles Adentwi—to Kumasi and lived with him there for two years¹⁵¹. With his Prempeh Memorial Institute school students,

¹⁴³ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1274.

¹⁴⁴ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1588.

¹⁴⁵ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1271, 1276; FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1281.

¹⁴⁶ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1683; FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 20, p. 1219; FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1273; FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1276.

¹⁴⁷ School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 31 July 1933 entry, p. 2, File GR4.

¹⁴⁸ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1582. In those days, a British colonial-era elementary school consisted of 10 grades (K-9), divided into Lower Primary and Upper Primary. Lower Primary consisted of three Infant classes (K, 1st, 2nd): known as "Infant" i, ii, iii; and three Junior classes (3rd, 4th, 5th): known as "Standard" I, II, and III. Upper Primary was also called "Senior" school (not to be confused with "Senior Secondary" which is High School, whose grade levels were known as "Form"). Upper Primary/Senior elementary school consisted of four classes (6th, 7th, 8th, 9th): known as "Standard" IV, V, VI, VII.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*; School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 08 May 1935 entry, p. 40, File GR4.

¹⁵¹ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 6, p. 302, and 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1582; FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1281, and 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1685.

Ando-Brew then started his Kumasi parish, which apparently was never very numerous, as there were many other churches in the city already¹⁵².

In addition to Emmanuel A. N. Adentwi, three other eye-witnesses of the Ebibirpim schools in the Asante north were Earnest Ando-Brew Jr. (the son of Ando-Brew), Elijah K. Johnson (a nephew), and the Rev. John Sarkodie-Aidoo, an Ebibirpim student who grew up to be a priest. Earnest Junior was both a student and then later a teacher at his father's Prempeh Memorial Institute. As a young teenager, he entered his Standard III year at his father's school in 1933¹⁵³, and after completing senior school elsewhere he returned in 1938 as an 18-year-old brand-new teacher to work at the Institute for two or three years¹⁵⁴. As a teenage school student, eyewitness John Sarkodie-Aidoo traveled with Missionary Jones, singing in his youth choir and attending the openings of new northern mission stations. 1934 was the year that he himself began attending the Akrokyere Ebibirpim Elementary School and began his work traveling with Jones' choir¹⁵⁵. Born 05 February 1921, Rev. Sarkodie-Aidoo started his education late—at age 13—in 1934, and continued in the Akrokyere Ebibirpim School (a village near Kumasi) through 1936, before transferring to Ando-Brew's school in Kumasi¹⁵⁶. He attended the Prempeh Memorial Institute (in the Hippodrome building) in 1937¹⁵⁷. Thus he was old enough to be a reliable witness of what he saw concerning Jones' missionary efforts and the Ebibirpim schools in the Asante during his teenage years. Even though eyewitnesses could not state all the names, the African Universal Church with its schools was “big news” in the north. The “Ashanti embraced the church more than the coast,” remembers Elijah K. Johnson, a nephew of Rev. Ando-Brew from the Fante coast, who spent time with his uncle in Kumasi as a secondary school student in the early 1940's¹⁵⁸. During 1933, 1934, 1935 church and school growth escalated all across the Colony and the Asante north, with more than 44 parishes being opened in the first three and a half years of the church's existence on the Gold Coast¹⁵⁹.

¹⁵² FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1248-1249.

¹⁵³ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1276.

¹⁵⁴ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1241, 1271.

¹⁵⁵ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1130, 1141.

¹⁵⁶ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 28 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1646.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ RI, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Tape 82, Log 20, p. 1252, 1271, 1281, and 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1680.

¹⁵⁹ Parish List, File GR20.

4.2. The second phase of school growth: late 1935-1939

Aside from the loss of the repatriation plank in his platform and his theological move away from Protestantism, the other aspects of Bresi-Ando's emancipation program continued just the same as he—the new “Patriarch”—re-tooled his former Protestant AIC into an “Orthodox Catholic” ecclesiastical organization with a Non-Chalcedonian (“Jacobite”/“Monophysite”) orientation. Throughout the remainder of the decade (1930's), Prince-Patriarch Bresi-Ando continued to open new parishes and launch more schools (though at a much slower rate). From late 1935-1939, along with the 22 new stations were added about 12 more schools. Therefore, by the close of the decade, a conservative total of 66 parishes had been opened since 1932. Despite a few losses (6 closures), there were at least 61 stations in operation early in the fateful year of 1939. This is the most conservative figure¹⁶⁰.

Concerning the *specific* number of Ebibirpim schools in the Asante lands during the late 1930's—again, an exact count is very minimal, relying only on the names of specific schools that Rev. John Sarkodie-Aidoo actually remembered seeing and *attending* as a young man. In addition to the Akrokyere Ebibirpim Primary School, Rev. John was an eye-witness of several other Orthodox schools. He attended Prempeh Memorial Institute in Kumasi in 1937¹⁶¹. In 1938 he attended the Ebibirpim School in Nsuta-Chebi (not the more well-known Akyem Kibi)¹⁶², and in 1945 he was a student at the Ebibirpim School in Dunkwa-Kyegyewere, which opened in circa 1939¹⁶³.

From mid-1935 to 1939, twelve new Ebibirpim (and Abibipem) schools were opened in: Accra ('36). In the Eastern Region, Akuapem District: Larteh ('36), Akuapem Aborodiem ('37). In the Kwahu District (ER): Abetifi (opened somewhere between '35-'37), Pepease ('35-'37), Nkwatia ('35-'37), Twendruase ('35-'37), Kwahu Praso ('38?), Asubone Kokrumpe ('38?), Nkawkaw ('38). In the Ashanti Region, Nsuta District: Nsuta-Chebi ('38), Dunkwa-Kyegyewere ('39?) in

¹⁶⁰ Parish List, and List of Schools, File GR20.

¹⁶¹ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 28 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1646.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1145-1146.

the Denkyere area (on border of Asante and Central Regions)¹⁶⁴. Additionally, St. Simon of Cyrene Seminary opened in Accra in 1939¹⁶⁵.

4.2.1. Accra Academy opens in 1936, while the Apam Academy struggles

With Bresi-Ando's return from London in late 1935 and his subsequent re-location to Accra, the Accra Ebibirpim Academy was opened in 1936 at his new Accra Patriarchal headquarters¹⁶⁶. In that same year Bresi-Ando's church was brought to Larteh, in the Eastern Region, and an Abibipem School was opened there, as usual¹⁶⁷. The headteacher was Mr. Michael Abradu Amoah, with Mr. L. K. Odeng (Gregory Labi Odeng) and Mr. Ofori as staff teachers¹⁶⁸. Labi Odeng and his cousin Abradu Amoah would factor greatly into the church's future¹⁶⁹.

Also in 1936, teacher Job Benjamin Edonu was seen working at the Ebibirpim Academy in Apam along with teacher Charles Adentwi, who had been transferred back down from Kumasi to the Apam Academy to be its Principal Teacher as of May 1935 after the Apam school had received its second poor inspection result in two consecutive years¹⁷⁰. The colonial Provincial Inspector of schools for the Central Province, W. J. D. Wadley, demanded a "complete change" in its mode of operation, and refused to consider the Academy for any governmental financial assistance¹⁷¹. He seemed quite perturbed that the school was "in very much the same condition as it was last year, and practically no notice seems to have been taken of the comments and recommendations made in the last report" (by Inspector J. S. Dunn in February of 1934)¹⁷².

¹⁶⁴ List of Schools, File GR20.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ Ebibirpim Limited: Memorandum And Articles of Association, Incorporated The 8th Day of May, 1938, Accra, Gold Coast Colony, p. 23, File GR1.25; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 29-30.

¹⁶⁷ FFN, Rev. Gregory Labi ODENG. Larteh, ER, GH, 11 April 1994, Log 8, p. 409.

¹⁶⁸ FFN, Rev. Gregory Labi ODENG. Larteh, ER, GH, 12 January 1993, Log 21, p. 1329, and 11 April 1994, Log 8, p. 409.

¹⁶⁹ FFN, Rev. Gregory Labi ODENG. Larteh, ER, GH, 11 April 1994, Log 8, p. 416.

¹⁷⁰ School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 08 May 1935 entry, p. 40, and 30 March 1936 entry, p. 44, File GR4.

¹⁷¹ W. J. D. WADLEY. Provincial Inspector of Schools, Central Province. "Official Report on the Ebibirpim Academy, Apam," handwritten into the School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 19 March 1935 entry, p. 32-39, File GR4.

¹⁷² W. J. D. WADLEY. "Official Report on the Ebibirpim Academy, Apam," [...], 19 March 1935 entry, p. 39, File GR4.

Teacher Edonu left the Apam Academy in September of 1936 when Missionary Rev. Jones called him up to Kankan to help pastor the cocoa-farming Akyem District, as he had too many new parishes to handle by himself since he was very busy church-planting in the Eastern Region and the Asante Kingdom¹⁷³. Edonu was in Akyem throughout all of 1937. Thus he was present during the first half of the Cocoa Crisis of 1937-1938, which set the stage for the 1938 inauguration of Ebibirpim Limited, the hoped-for financial savior of Bresi-Ando's emancipationist program.

4.2.2. Eyewitness Edonu and the new St. Simon of Cyrene Seminary

By early 1938—after the start of the Cocoa Crisis in the fall of the previous year—Bresi-Ando was fully engaged with his major commercial emancipation effort, preparing to launch his long-awaited church-run company, “Ebibirpim Limited,” later that year. Taking all the necessary legal steps to open his business in 1938, a very busy Bresi-Ando summoned our chief witness of these events, J. B. Edonu, down from Kankan at the beginning of the year to help him re-organize and run the Ebibirpim Academy in Accra¹⁷⁴. With the transfer of Edonu, Missionary Jones returned to Kankan and married a local woman there¹⁷⁵. From Kankan Rev. Father Jones would go out to visit his usual circuit of parishes, including Asante stations such as Akrokyere¹⁷⁶.

Meanwhile, down in Accra, Edonu's second responsibility—after teaching—was to help his uncle with the new business as an Ebibirpim clerk working on the company's books¹⁷⁷. With his jobs and his intimate family connection with his uncle, 31-year-old Edonu was in the best position to watch the ensuing Ebibirpim Limited drama unfold.

It was in Accra in mid-1938 that J. B. Edonu made the “official” switch to the ranks of the clergy, embracing a role that would carry him to leadership heights in Bresi-Ando's organization. On 24 July 1938 Patriarch Bresi-Ando ordained him to the diaconate and thus he began to sign his name as Deacon Kweku Kurafi Edonu¹⁷⁸. In September of 1938 the new deacon was briefly sent to the

¹⁷³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1508.

¹⁷⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 419.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1147-1150.

¹⁷⁷ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1594.

¹⁷⁸ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Certificate of Ordination to the Diaconate for Kweku Kurafi Edonu, Diocese of St. Ignatius of Antioch, The African Universal Church, Orthodox Catholic, Accra, Gold Coast Colony, 24 July 1938, File GR1.26.

mountain-top town of Larteh in the Eastern Region to take over the local Ebibirpim parish there (St. Peter's Parish). However, lacking a seminary training, he found himself back in Accra by Christmas of 1938 to start attending Bresi-Ando's newest educational institution of the African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church—the St. Simon of Cyrene Seminary¹⁷⁹. Located at his Accra headquarters on New Cromer Road, Bresi-Ando's new seminary had Fr. Yaw Nkansa Kyerematen as its Rector¹⁸⁰. Reportedly only three students ever passed through this school—which—due to unfortunate circumstances—was only in operation in 1939. Its students were: Deacon Kweku Kurafi Edonu, Deacon Brebi (Roland Bennett Jr., son of Mar Kofi Brebi Bennett Sr., who had served as Bresi-Ando's representative in Nigeria for most of the 1930's), and Deacon N. D. Bortey Pilenn¹⁸¹.

On 14 May 1939, having completed his short course of studies, Deacon Edonu was ordained a priest by Bresi-Ando and sent back to Larteh to serve as the pastor there for the next five years¹⁸². His occasional visits to see his uncle in nearby Accra during the rest of the 1939 year afforded him the opportunity to continue witnessing the unfolding saga of the demise of Ebibirpim Limited.

4.2.3. Kumasi Prempeh Memorial Institute saga

Meanwhile, up in the Asante, terrible trouble was brewing. Ever since his planting of the African Universal Church in Kumasi ('32/'33), Rev. Ando-Brew had trouble with the elementary school that he had launched, Prempeh Memorial Institute. Several of his early teachers had

¹⁷⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1815.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 April 1994, Log 9, p. 458.

¹⁸¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1815. Concerning a fourth seminarian at St. Simon of Cyrene Seminary: It is hard to say if we should count Fr. Gregory Labi Odeng among the seminary classmates. Already in 1938 he had been visiting Bresi-Ando for four days at a time to take religious clerical training. He did not sit in classes in Spring of 1939 with Edonu, Brebi, and Bortey Pilenn. But Labi Odeng continued going to Bresi-Ando in Accra for private lessons off and on throughout the second half of 1939 and all of 1940 and 1941. Then he went to Bresi-Ando at Cape Coast for a three-week training course in early 1942 when the Cape Coast Departure Synod decided to examine and ordain three catechists to be subdeacons (Labi Odeng, Rockson, and Baiden) just prior to the Patriarch's departure to Nigeria. The new Subdeacon Labi Odeng was assigned to far away Abetifi (Kwahu District, ER) but only lasted there six months due to poor treatment by locals there. He returned to Larteh, where in Bresi-Ando's absence, "Deacon" status was "conferred" upon him at the Bobikuma Synod (by Osamdadzi, Eyitey, and Edonu) and he was assigned to pastor Nkawkaw and the entire Kwahu District. He stayed there for about two years, before returning to Larteh in 1944 to start his life work as the pastor of St. Peter's Parish, beginning at Easter of 1944. (FFN, Rev. Gregory Labi ODENG. Larteh, ER, GH, 11 April 1994, Log 8, p. 408-410.)

¹⁸² Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Certificate of Ordination to the Priesthood for Kweku Kurafi Edonu [...], 14 May 1939, File GR1.27; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 11 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1604.

misappropriated funds (others did this—not the good and honest Teacher Adentwi)¹⁸³. Staffing and financial problems had led to a total re-organization of his school in 1934 with a new name, “Ashanti National School,” under the sponsorship of one merchant Dadzi who had a passion to see the school continue operating¹⁸⁴. This arrangement had provided some stability for a few years. In January of 1935 Bresi-Ando transferred J. S. Djorgee, the Apam Academy senior department headmaster, up to Kumasi to help Teacher Adentwi¹⁸⁵. Djorgee then became Kumasi’s headmaster while Adentwi, due to sickness, returned to the Apam Academy and re-organized it after it miserably failed its March 1935 education inspection and had to drop its upper primary classes (Standards IV-VII) for a while¹⁸⁶. Life at the school in Kumasi was stable throughout 1936; however, circa 1937, the new Headmaster Djorgee took over the Kumasi school as his own, at the same venue, which action forced Ando-Brew to leave its management entirely¹⁸⁷. The undaunted Ando-Brew went out to start his own primary school all over again, this time at his newly-acquired property, the former Hippodrome Cinema in Kumasi’s Fante Newtown district¹⁸⁸. The structure had suffered fire damage, so Ando-Brew was able to buy it cheaply for 150 pounds sterling in 1937 and repaired it as a site for his church and school¹⁸⁹. He even bought an organ for it, which he used to play during the church services¹⁹⁰. For this his third educational attempt in Kumasi, Ando-Brew reverted back to the earlier name—“Prempeh Memorial Institute”¹⁹¹. Rev. John Sarkodie-Aidoo is an eye-witness of this re-started primary institution, having attended this school in the cinema house in 1937¹⁹². In 1938, another eye-witness of the school, Mr. Earnest Ando-Brew Jr., the son of Rev. Earnest (Ainu) Ando-Brew, joined the teaching staff of the Institute as a

¹⁸³ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1285.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1280-1281.

¹⁸⁵ School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 24 January 1935 entry, inscribed and signed by Bresi-Ando himself, p. 29, File GR4; J. B. QUANSAH. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 19, p. 1210.

¹⁸⁶ School Log Book [...], 08 May 1935 entry, p. 40, File GR4; and, W. J. D. WADLEY. Provincial Inspector of Schools, Central Province. “Official Report on the Ebibirpim Academy, Apam,” handwritten into the School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 19 March 1935 entry, p. 32-39, File GR4.

¹⁸⁷ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1690.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1690-1691; FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 28 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1646.

¹⁸⁹ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW and Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1248, 1259; FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1683-1684.

¹⁹⁰ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW and Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1248.

¹⁹¹ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1253; FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1271; FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON and Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1690-1691.

¹⁹² FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1130; FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 28 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1646.

pupil teacher, being a young man, fresh from school himself¹⁹³. The school was already functioning when he joined, having other teachers on staff¹⁹⁴.

Hearing about the purchase of the Hippodrome, but unfortunately not having all the facts straight, Bresi-Ando falsely accused his older brother Ando-Brew of misappropriation of funds—specifically, that he had used money from the church to buy the Hippodrome for himself, using his own name¹⁹⁵. This tragic misunderstanding led Bresi-Ando to drive up to Kumasi and de-frock his brother—and action which divided them for years before it was healed¹⁹⁶.

His dismissal by Bresi-Ando did not stop Ando-Brew nor his educational institutions. It rather simply alienated many Asante Ebibirpim church members from the younger Bresi-Ando whom many had never met anyway¹⁹⁷. Many parishioners were loyal to Ando-Brew, who had “the lion’s share” of the followers in the Asante¹⁹⁸. Bresi-Ando’s counter action of ordaining Jones a bishop and assigning him to the Asante to replace Ando-Brew had little effect in many northern towns and villages, as the new bishop opted to lay low and avoid open confrontation with his older brother-by-adoption Ando-Brew¹⁹⁹.

Meanwhile, not threatened by the new Bishop Jones, the unstoppable Ando-Brew continued his work among those Asante parishes that were still open and remained loyal to him²⁰⁰. In Kumasi, his parish school improved greatly. A certain E. Osafroadu Amankwatia (d. 1975), an Asante royal and favored son of the Asante people, who later became a famous Asante lawyer (not to be confused with more famous Chief Amankwatia), finished his secondary studies in Accra in 1939 and returned to Kumasi as a fully-trained teacher looking for a job²⁰¹. He was hired by Ando-

¹⁹³ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1271; FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1253. Earnest Jr. began teaching at PMI in the Hippodrome in 1938, prior to leaving for the army in 1941 at the age of 21.

¹⁹⁴ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1271.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1259-1260.

¹⁹⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 83, and 12 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1604-1605, and 16 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1703.

¹⁹⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1469.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*; FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1264.

¹⁹⁹ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 11, p. 651; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 84-85.

²⁰⁰ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1264.

²⁰¹ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON and Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1690.

Brew to be the Principal for his school in 1940 (this was before Amankwatia went abroad to England to study law after WWII)²⁰².

Amankwatia's presence as a "royal" headmaster for the school drew in more attention from the Asantehene and his Asante Confederacy Council, who consequently started to play a greater role in the sponsorship of the school²⁰³. In fact, Ando-Brew had deliberately returned to the name "Prempeh" in order to invite the attention of the Asantehene and gain a fuller backing from his Council²⁰⁴. It worked. The school became broader-based as the Asantehene brought in his people to be the executives for the school, basically taking over the school's committee²⁰⁵. The new Headmaster Amankwatia's good educational training helped elevate the school to secondary level status in 1941, and with the backing of the Asantehene's executives on the committee, the school's name was changed to "Prempeh High School"²⁰⁶. Ando-Brew's nephew, Elijah K. Johnson, as a fourth eyewitness of Ando-Brew's educational efforts in Kumasi, remembers that secondary students up to Form IV were enrolled in Prempeh High School²⁰⁷. He himself attended this school as a brand-new Form I secondary student in early 1941 and remained through the end of 1942²⁰⁸. He said that during those two years of high school he got to know Headteacher Amankwatia, an Asante native son, very well²⁰⁹.

The Asantehene, as previously mentioned, was very interested in promoting education throughout his land, and Ando-Brew's latest school attempt had gained his increased attention. As a school it was unique in that it was not run by a foreign mission, but by locals themselves. When it was subsequently upgraded to become a secondary institution, Ando-Brew's Prempeh High School

²⁰² J. A. BRAIMAH, H. H. TOMLINSON, and Osafroadu AMANKWATIA. "History and Traditions of the Gonja," *African Occasional Papers*, n° 6, November 1997, Peter L. Shinnie (Ed.), Calgary, University of Calgary Press, 1997, 124 p., put online [s.d.], (page consulted 11 January 2012), p. 1, <https://web.archive.org/web/20080331035054/http://www.ucalgary.ca/ucpress/1-895176/1-895176-38-7.html>; FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1588-1589; FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON and Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1690-1691; Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1272.

²⁰³ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON and Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1690-1691.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁵ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1277-1278.

²⁰⁶ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON and Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1690-1691; Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1271, 1277.

²⁰⁷ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1271.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1271-1272, 1281, and 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1680, 1685.

²⁰⁹ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1272.

could boast that it was the *first of its kind* in all the Asante land²¹⁰. Its competition was Ashanti Collegiate (today known as Osei Kyeretwie Secondary School), which hails as the very first secondary school started in the Asante. However, that school was started in 1937 by a Sierra Leonean—a foreigner—the Rev. James T. Roberts, and not by a Gold Coaster²¹¹. On the other hand, Ando-Brew's school could claim the distinguished fame of being the *first* secondary school in the Asante to be entirely started and operated by Gold Coasters *themselves*, not by foreigners. This is the opinion of eyewitness Elijah K. Johnson²¹². Thus, the Asante nation was becoming more interested in Ando-Brew's school because it was the first of its kind—an indigenous Asante high school run by a native Gold Coaster. It was a real Pan-African educational first.²¹³

5. Grand schemes and educational pipe-dreams

5.1. Great dreams

Bresi-Ando desired educational emancipation for the black African. He admired the work of African-American Booker T. Washington who had founded the famous black university in Alabama, the Tuskegee Institute, and had put the famous black scientist George Washington Carver on staff²¹⁴. With his mind racing and his dreams flying high, Bresi-Ando wanted to have the same on the Gold Coast. Thus, he drafted the Apam Ebibirpim School prospectus which stated that the school was “to be run on lines similar to those of the world renowned Tuskegee Institute in the U. S. A., under competent presidency and assisted by a qualified teaching staff of international fame”²¹⁵. In addition to reading, writing and arithmetic, Bresi-Ando desired to

²¹⁰ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW and Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1272, 1277.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

²¹² FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1271-1287.

²¹³ In the late 1930's, J. T. Robert's Asante Collegiate was the only other secondary school operating in the entire Asante. Years later, by the mid-1950's, there were still only a handful of secondary schools in all of the Ashanti Region—Ashanti Collegiate (private—started in 1937), Prempeh College (Presbyterian/Methodist/Government—started 1949), Opoku Ware School (Roman Catholic—started 1952), and Asanteman Secondary School (private—started 1954). (“Asanteman Senior High School—History,” *Asanteman Senior High*. (Page consulted on 15 December 2011), <http://asantemanseniorhigh.com/about-us.html>; GHANAIAN CHRONICLE. “Contribution of the Methodist Church to Education in Ghana,” *Modern Ghana*, put online 15 November 2010, (page consulted on 10 January 2012), <<http://www.modernghana.com/news/304531/1/contribution-of-the-methodist-church-to-education-.html>>.)

²¹⁴ “Tuskegee Institute,” *National Park Service*. (Page consulted on 18 March 2016), <http://www.nps.gov/tuin/index.htm>, par. 1.

²¹⁵ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. School Prospectus for the Apam Ebibirpim Academy, [s.d.], quoted in J. S. DUNN, Provincial Inspector of Schools, Central Province, “Official Report on the Apam Abibirpim [*sic.*]

empower his African students with life skills. This is the same goal that previous Pan-Africans had in mind, like Blyden and Casely Hayford, Marcus Garvey and Laura Adorkor Kofey. Therefore Bresi-Ando hoped to open classes for carpentry, tailoring “and Farming on Scientific Lines,” despite his lack of qualified instructors²¹⁶. Bresi-Ando’s dreams were handicapped only by the slowness of reality to catch up to them. Even his own most loyal clergy years later would complain how their leader had “big schemes without material background”²¹⁷.

Not only did his own men find his dreams difficult and exasperating, so did the colonial school inspectors, who penned similar words into their inspection reports. As part of the colonial system, Bresi-Ando’s schools were subject to official inspection by the Provincial Inspector of Schools, as they were applying for government aid. Barely into its second year, the Apam Academy failed its first government inspection miserably. A careful reading of the inspector’s report displays the abject poverty of the school which underscored the need for financial assistance from the up-and-coming Ebibirpim Limited company. Inspector J. S. Dunn on 22 February 1934 identified Bresi-Ando’s desire for educational expansion as hurried and ambitious, not having “good management nor sound educational policy”, desperately grabbing unqualified teachers, whom he calls “rolling stones”²¹⁸. Inspector Dunn complained that “The present staffing contravenes the Education Rules in a most flagrant way and government cannot consider granting assistance until the staffing arrangements are very much better”²¹⁹.

The rapid expansion of classes showed the inspector that “the elementary principles of sound education have not been grasped”²²⁰. The fact that there were only “two-and-half blackboards for seven classes” of more than 60 senior students who also had to share 16 dual-desks was “another example of lack of foresight” in the category of “Building & Equipment”²²¹. Quite damning is the description of the Senior School which “is accommodated in the upper storey of a very

Academy,” handwritten into the School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 22 February 1934 entry, p. 8, File GR4.

²¹⁶ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Letter to the Provincial Inspector of Schools, Central Province, Gold Coast [s.d.], quoted in J. S. DUNN, Provincial Inspector of Schools [...], p. 12, File GR4.

²¹⁷ FFN, Rev. Gregory Labi ODENG., Larteh, ER, GH, 11 April 1994, Log 8, p. 413.

²¹⁸ J. S. DUNN. Provincial Inspector of Schools, Central Province. “Official Report on the Apam Abibirpim [sic.] Academy,” handwritten into the School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 22 February 1934 entry, p. 7, File GR4.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9

²²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

uncomplete building. There are no doors or windows and the verandah is dangerous as there is no floor to it, leaving a drop of 12 feet or so to the ground. The classrooms are approached by means of a ladder”²²².

In the Apam Academy’s first year Bresi-Ando had bravely and hurriedly opened ten classes—from Infant i to Standard VII—attempting to put in place a complete elementary school all at once, with both lower and upper primary levels (consisting of Grades K-9)²²³. He certainly had no problem soliciting a positive response from among his Apam neighbors. Many people were thirsting for educational emancipation, and Bresi-Ando wanted to deliver it to them. The trouble was that among his six teachers, only one of them was certificated²²⁴. Despite the unsettling deficiency of qualified staff and the constant want of money, Bresi-Ando had no lack of students. He had 119 pupils for his 10 classes and 6 teachers²²⁵. The exasperated inspector wrote that “The Bishop has many large and spacious ideas”—an honest description of Bresi-Ando ²²⁶. Yet for such grand ideas to take root in reality, they needed “material backing,” especially when one has over 100 students.

The Bishop has many large and spacious ideas. Unfortunately they have no material backing and are rendered ineffective by lack of foresight and inadequate preparation. This has been seen in matters of staff, numbers of classes, buildings and equipment; it is no less so in the matter of curriculum.²²⁷

The educational officer complained that “subjects are added to the curriculum with a total disregard as to whether facilities exist for their teaching, or even whether it is advisable to teach them”²²⁸. He went on to say that:

The Management would do well to make sure of a little solid achievement before indulging in such extravagant and grandiloquent ideas. The spadework, the slow and patient effort needful to build up a sound educational institution, appears to have [*been*] forgotten in the glory of high-sounding phrases.²²⁹

²²² *Ibid.*

²²³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*

Bresi-Ando had great hopes and boundless ambitions, but he was a man going a little too fast. He wanted it all and thought he could attain it all—*now, right now*—in anticipation of the fact that his beloved Ebibirpim Limited commercial enterprise would soon burst into existence and finance away all these material problems of staff and equipment and buildings. Such was his hope, his dream, his plan. Inspector Dunn bore witness to the speed and size of Bresí-Ando's desires by writing the following into his 22 February 1934 inspection report: (note that the school had *not* even concluded its second academic year)

The following is a quotation from a letter received from the Manager [*Bresi-Ando*], "I have pleasure to inform you that we have added to the school this year, branches for instructions in carpentry [*sic.*], Tailoring and Goldsmithy, and arrangements are being made to add also Blacksmithy and Fitting [*sic.*] as well as Bricklaying and Farming on Scientific Lines." These branches of instructions may have been added, but unfortunately they have not yet functioned as no qualified instructors are available [...] The school does not even possess even a garden. The Bishop hopes eventually to extend activities to include a Secondary School, and a Training College for Teachers, Dispensers and Ministers of Religion.²³⁰

The heart of the bishop was in the right place, but in his ardent desire to bring his all-African educational emancipation dream to fruition as soon as possible, he was running ten steps ahead of himself. Thus his Apam Academy received the harshest judgment at its first inspection. Inspector Dunn finished his report with the following words: (See the *full* text of his report in Appendix E.)

In a school with such a poorly qualified staff and where class supervision is virtually non-existent, work is bound to be backward. The amount done is very small and the standard could scarcely be worse.

Conclusion: The school is very definitely not worth assistance, nor will it be worth it for a long time, unless indeed there is a very complete change in the way the school is run and in the observance of the Education Ordinances and Rules.

The only sound advice educationally that can be offered to the Manager is that he should make haste slowly, and that the school should be reduced to infant classes only.

These should be properly staffed, and their work consolidated, and when, and only when, they can be classed as efficient should expansion be attempted.²³¹

²³⁰ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Letter to the Provincial Inspector of Schools, Central Province, Gold Coast [s.d.], quoted in J. S. DUNN, Provincial Inspector of Schools [...], p. 12, File GR4; and J. S. DUNN (in the same), p. 12-13, File GR4.

²³¹ J. S. DUNN. Provincial Inspector of Schools [...], p. 27-28, File GR4.

The colonial government refused to offer any funding to the Apam Ebibirpim Academy until the day that the “Government is assured of the stability of the Mission and of its capacity to run efficient schools on sound lines”²³². The inspector urged a plan of carefully managed educational growth: that Bresi-Ando “should make haste slowly” operating only infant classes for the time being. But Bresi-Ando did not want to take baby-steps. He wanted quick expansion, but to do so desperately required funding. Without a large injection of capital, qualified teachers and proper facilities and equipment would elude Bresi-Ando for years. Funding failure would eventually guarantee the shut-down of his educational dream for the Gold Coast.

5.2. Hopes were pinned on Ebibirpim Limited

Indeed, there was little capital to run the Ebibirpim Schools. As seen in the reports by the Inspector of Schools, their condition was very much under-par. Therefore, every hope was pinned on the desired—better yet, *the expected*—success of the church’s hoped-for commercial side. In faith all the Ebibirpim clergy and teaching staff excitedly looked forward to the day when their church’s commercial side would become a financial reality. They were *very firmly* convinced—remembers Rev. Edonu—that when the day of financial self-sufficiency arrived, then their Ebibirpim/African Universal (O-C) Church would become a fully emancipated self-supporting entity²³³. The money would flow in, and as a result, all the other grand plans in Bresi-Ando’s over-all emancipation package would be financed into reality²³⁴. Pan-African commercial freedom would liberate them from the white man’s educational rule, ushering in Pan-African educational freedom as well. Already the many Ebibirpim Schools which dotted the countryside were in desperate need of funding from the hoped-for commercial venture. Additionally, as the times were hard during the Great Depression of the 1930’s, this financial hope was very desirable. Bresi-Ando and his men firmly believed that a church-run company would enable their AIC to survive financially, rather than relying so heavily upon the donations of the membership, most of whom were poor²³⁵.

²³² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²³³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1504.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*

²³⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 29.

6. Fall of Ebibirpim school system in the Gold Coast Colony and Asante

Then 1939 crashed onto the scene, the year of earthquake and war. The shock wave of Ebibirpim Limited's "commercial earthquake"—its mid-1939 failure to ship and sell cocoa—tore through the Ebibirpim/African Universal (O-C) Church and schools when its members, farmers, town chiefs and elders "found that following the church commercially, it could not go farther. The church started to dwindle. Members quit, parishes collapsed, schools were closed as a result. It was the failure of the commercial side that started to put a check to the spreading of the church," reported Rev. Kyriakos Edonu²³⁶. This was the *beginning of the end* for nearly all of Bresi-Ando's emancipationist dreams for his homeland. It began to shatter his fond educational expectations. Although he desperately tried to keep optimism alive by switching to cassava exportation, that too was obstructed by the British in 1941²³⁷. Thus, Ebibirpim Limited ceased to function as a business within the Gold Coast Colony. With its demise went the hope of ever funding an indigenous school system. The sun had now begun to set on Bresi-Ando's emancipationist efforts for the Gold Coast and the Asante. However, the decline of the Ebibirpim school system was not simply linked to the failure of the church company. It was also intimately intertwined with the ecclesiastical schisms that started in 1939 and continued into the early '40s, as clergyman after clergyman had a falling out with Patriarch Bresi-Ando. The resulting impact on their parishes and schools was tremendous and this led to many more closures of both.

6.1. Accra Academy closes in 1939

1939 was the year of the BIG earthquake in Accra. A rift between the two Bresi-Ando brothers led to a shocking schism between the Asante and Gold Coast Ebibirpim church communities. In the same vein, the collapse of Ebibirpim Limited's cocoa venture was an "earthquake" to the small African Universal (O-C) Church: shaking the ground, shaking hearts, shaking dreams, braking everything—dashing their hopes of commercial and educational emancipation. The 1939 earthquake that followed on June 22nd not only destroyed Bresi-Ando's Accra headquarters on New Cromer Road, ruining his Accra Ebibirpim Academy building and jolting his Accra school to a sudden undignified end, but it became a symbol for the Ebibirpim/African Universal (O-C)

²³⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 966.

²³⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, Log 23, p. 1527.

Church of the year's destructive events, as well as a harbinger of future disasters that were soon to follow²³⁸. Unfortunately, similar fates were in store for the Apam and Kumasi academies as well.

6.2. Apam Ebibirpim Academy closes in 1946

The 1939 year of break-ups within the African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church continued to flow unabated, right into 1940. Bresi-Ando, by defrocking his brother, paid a high price. He lost control of one of his best academies, Prempeh Memorial Institute, which continued for a while to flourish in Kumasi under Ando-Brew and Headmaster Amankwatia. In the south, history quickly repeated itself. In 1940 Bresi-Ando lost his grip on his original Apam Academy when he suspended its Principal Teacher, Charles Adentwi.

Back in 1935, star teacher Charles Adentwi had returned from the Kumasi school early due to sickness and on May 8th took up the position of Principal Teacher/Headmaster of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy with the goal of guiding the school through some required changes²³⁹. The school was drastically in need of some reform, according to an official report by the colonial educational authorities, and as a result the school's operational status was downgraded to that of Standard III, ceasing its senior primary classes²⁴⁰. The school had failed for a second year in a row and the new inspector, repeating verbatim the words of the previous year's inspector, demanded that "[t]here must be a complete change in the way the school is run"²⁴¹.

Principal Teacher Adentwi worked hard to improve the school, but lacked trained teachers. Two of his "teachers" (Richard A. Aikins and Samuel A. Simpson) were not certified, not having finished elementary school²⁴². These two were then dismissed as per a letter from the Provincial Inspector on 12 May 1936, reducing the staff down to two²⁴³. Adentwi and teacher Edonu soldiered on. However, with Edonu's September 10th transfer from Apam to Kankan to become a

²³⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1830.

²³⁹ School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 08 May 1935 entry, p. 40, File GR4.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁴¹ W. J. D. WADLEY. "Official Report on the Ebibirpim Academy, Apam," [...], 19 March 1935 entry, p. 39, File GR4.

²⁴² School Log Book [...], 30 March 1936 entry, p. 44, File GR4.

²⁴³ School Log Book [...], 12 May 1936 entry, p. 45, File GR4.

catechist, Adentwi was left as the only remaining teacher²⁴⁴. Not being provided the promised replacement certified teaching staff, a discouraged Adentwi then submitted his own resignation on 22 September 1936²⁴⁵. The Academy limped along through 1937 with a variety of teachers until Adentwi returned on 20 January 1938, cancelling his resignation and resuming his Headmaster position²⁴⁶. (He also at that time Africanized his name to K. D. Nyaako-Adentwi²⁴⁷.)

Even though the Apam Academy failed its third inspection (by K. J. Dickens, Provincial Inspector of Schools, Central Province) in October of 1938²⁴⁸, Principal Adentwi increased his commitment to the institution, simultaneously taking on a second role as the school's Manager, beginning on December 16th 1938²⁴⁹. By January 1939, Adentwi had also been ordained a priest by Patriarch Bresiano Ando, who needed a pastor for the Apam parish²⁵⁰. Stationed in Apam as parish priest, Rev. Adentwi was rising to higher levels of national church leadership. While still serving as the Headmaster of the Apam Academy, by 18 October 1939 he became the "Education Secretary" for the entire African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church²⁵¹. For three weeks in November '39 he toured all the Ebibirpim Schools in the colony to inspect and evaluate their condition, which was certainly financially precarious²⁵².

1939 had been an extremely hard year financially for the Ebibirpim organization—with all the difficulties rising from the failure of its cocoa business. Therefore the national church could not fulfill its dream of being able to properly financially sponsor its schools, like the one in Apam. Teachers in Apam were not getting properly paid and started to resign²⁵³. For reasons that are not

²⁴⁴ School Log Book [...], 10 September 1936 entry, p. 46, File GR4. The entry states that "Mr. J. B. Edonu, 43/35, has resigned through ill health. (signed) C. Adentwi, P.T." Illness removed Edonu from the school; obedience took him to Kankan.

²⁴⁵ School Log Book [...], 22 September 1936 entry, p. 47, File GR4.

²⁴⁶ School Log Book [...], 20 January 1938 entry, p. 52-53.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁸ K. J. DICKENS, Provincial Inspector of Schools, Central Province. "Official Report of the Ebibirpim Academy, Apam," handwritten into the School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 24 October 1938 entry, p. 57-58, File GR4.

²⁴⁹ School Log Book [...], 16 December 1938 entry, p. 58.

²⁵⁰ Rev. K. D. NYAAKO-ADENTWI. History of Apam, [unpublished typed manuscript], [s.d.], p. 14, File GR1.19; and, School Log Book [...], 19 January 1939 entry, p. 59—here he signs his name for the first time into the School Log Book as "Rev. K. D. N. Adentwi." Always before it was "C. Adentwi."

²⁵¹ School Log Book [...], 18 October 1939 entry, p. 68.

²⁵² School Log Book [...], 07 November 1939 entry and 30 November 1939 entry, p. 68.

²⁵³ School Log Book [...], 11 September 1939 entry, p. 66; FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 20, p. 1226.

specifically known, but perhaps connected to these teacher resignations, on 09 February 1940 the Patriarch decided to suspend his nephew, the “Education Secretary,” as the Headmaster of the Apam Academy²⁵⁴. Feeling that this suspension on the part of his uncle was “unlawful”, and fearing that it would adversely affect his future career as a teacher, Rev. Adentwi turned around and submitted his resignation, for a second time²⁵⁵.

In his manuscript “History of Apam,” Adentwi wrote that when “autocracy” had “started to reign in the Orthodox Catholic Church in the Gold Coast,” he and Bresi-Ando parted ways²⁵⁶. The Apam Ebibirpim Academy’s Log Book states that Rev. Adentwi was suspended “as an order from the Patriarch of the Church”²⁵⁷. The cause of suspension was not mentioned, but the nuance is that Patriarch Bresi-Ando was becoming to “autocratic” in how he was handling the affairs of his AIC. Therefore, Adentwi left Bresi-Ando’s organization and inaugurated a rival school and church of his own²⁵⁸. March 1st 1940 is the date on which he resigned (“relinquished his appointment”) and went “out” to open his own educational institution—the Apam Liberal School—using the same venue and students that had belonged to the Ebibirpim Academy²⁵⁹. With these loyal students, such as C. B. Quansah and J. B. Quansah, he also opened his own new church in Apam, the “Liberal Catholic Church,” taking the name from the liturgy book which Bresi-Ando had brought back with him from Europe in 1935 and had introduced into the Ebibirpim liturgical usage²⁶⁰. Adentwi claimed that the Liberal Catholic Church authorities in Britain had given him “a mandate to run the school for the Church”²⁶¹.

To the students in the new Apam school, the transition from the Ebibirpim Academy to that of the Liberal School seemed flawless—just a change in name only²⁶²—from the “American School” (as

²⁵⁴ School Log Book [...], 09 February 1940, p. 70.

²⁵⁵ Minutes of the Minor Synod of the African Universal (O.C.) Church, Formina [*sic.*], 13-14 May 1950, p. 5, File GR1.43.

²⁵⁶ Rev. K. D. NYAAKO-ADENTWI. History of Apam [...], p. 14, File GR1.19.

²⁵⁷ School Log Book [...], 09 February 1940, p. 70.

²⁵⁸ Rev. K. D. NYAAKO-ADENTWI. History of Apam [...], p. 14, File GR1.19.

²⁵⁹ Rev. K. D. NYAAKO-ADENTWI. History of Apam [...], p. 14, File GR1.19; School Log Book [...], 09 February 1940 and 01 March 1940 entries, p. 70, and 15 April 1941 entry, p. 71; FFN, C. B. QUANSAH, J. B. QUANSAH, and Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 20, p. 1230-1231.

²⁶⁰ *The Liturgy, According to the Use of The Liberal Catholic Church*, 3d ed., London, St. Alban Press, 1942, p. 7; FFN, C. B. QUANSAH, J. B. QUANSAH, and Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 20, p. 1230-1233.

²⁶¹ Rev. K. D. NYAAKO-ADENTWI. History of Apam [...], p. 14, File GR1.19.

²⁶² FFN, J. B. QUANSAH. Apam, CR, GH, 06 July 1993, Log 20, p. 1230.

the Ebibirpim Academy had been nick-named by the locals) to the “Liberal School”²⁶³. Bresi-Ando, however, was not going to lose his Apam parish and Academy without a fight. He needed to find someone who could replace Adentwi as both headmaster and priest in Apam. It took some time, yet the Patriarch was able to re-organize his efforts, gather some students and re-open his beloved Apam Ebibirpim Academy *one year* later, on 15 April 1941, with a new school manager—Rev. Fr. K. N. Rogers Osamdadzi—and a new certified Headmaster—Mr. J. Grant-Denteh—who doubled as the new “Pastor-in-Charge” for the much-reduced Apam Ebibirpim parish²⁶⁴.

The re-organized Ebibirpim Academy was terribly plagued with troubles, especially regarding staffing. It limped along through the World War II years, gradually decreasing its student population, unable to compete with the better run rival Liberal School of Adentwi. Students created an exodus out of Bresi-Ando’s school and into Adentwi’s. By 29 May 1946 the Ebibirpim Academy student body had bled down to zero, as the last two students were granted their requests for transfer certificates in order to switch to the Liberal School²⁶⁵. Although the Ebibirpim Apam church elders—like old Pine Swatson—were not of the opinion to close down the school but rather stubbornly cherished the hope of finding *yet another* new certified teacher in order to keep their educational dream alive, it was in fact now dead²⁶⁶. Inspector K. M. North of the Colony’s Provincial Education Office visited the school on the following day, 30 May 1946, but found no students. There was nothing to inspect. His log book entry proved to be the book’s final inscription²⁶⁷. Unlike his predecessors’ lengthy reports, Mr. North’s was one simple sentence: “Visited the school, but found no children in attendance. K. M. North, E.O.”²⁶⁸ This was the last nail in the coffin for Bresi-Ando’s Apam Ebibirpim Academy. After 14 years of existence, it was officially dead and closed.

Fr. Adentwi’s own Liberal Catholic School flourished for a while but did not live very much longer either. Adentwi wrote in his “History of Apam” that “[t]he Liberal School became a wonder school and was accorded full approval on 11th October, 1945. It was a fully-fledged school by 1947.”²⁶⁹

²⁶³ FFN, Victor NUNOO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 29 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1207.

²⁶⁴ School Log Book [...], 15 April 1941 entry, p. 71, and p. “D”.

²⁶⁵ School Log Book [...], 29 May 1946 entry, p. 102.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁷ School Log Book [...], 30 May 1946 entry, p. 102.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ Rev. K. D. NYAAKO-ADENTWI. History of Apam [...], p. 14, File GR1.19.

Then the colonial government took action. Fearing that African school managers were possibly mishandling the colonial educational financial assistance being granted to qualified institutions, an act was passed which took more control over the private primary schools. They either became government Native (Local) Authority Schools, or were transferred into the care of one of the bigger, well-established mission school systems.²⁷⁰ A new provincial inspector of schools—a certain Mr. John Wilson—was of the opinion that “an African could not run a school”²⁷¹. Thus, Rev. Adentwi “was forced to transfer the School to the [*Roman*] Catholic Education Unit” in May of 1949²⁷². His Liberal Catholic Church in Apam closed as a result. Coming to live for a while in the town of Afransi (CR), Rev. Adentwi was personally reconciled to Rev. Edonu (his cousin/“brother”) but not officially—not in formal ecclesiastical matters—which would have involved an official pardon and reinstatement from Patriarch Bresi-Ando.²⁷³ According to a former Liberal Catholic School student, Mr. Victor Nunoo of Apam, this ironically is how the Roman Catholic parish got planted in Apam²⁷⁴. Taking over the Apam Liberal School, and using the very same premises, a Roman Catholic parish eventually grew out of this newly adopted school²⁷⁵. Thus, local education in Apam transitioned from “Orthodox Catholic” to Liberal Catholic to Roman Catholic, and finally, to the government. Rev. Adentwi concludes this entire story in his “History of Apam”: “The Apam Secondary School was opened by J. E. de Graft Johnson in 1953 for the Government in the wake of the Ebibirpem [*sic.*] Academy.”²⁷⁶

6.3. Kumasi Prempeh Memorial Institute closes in 1942

Humans reap what they sow. After his de-frocking, Ando-Brew had taken the Kumasi academy and had operated it for himself—no longer in the name of Bresi-Ando’s organization. With Amankwatia’s able assistance, in 1941 it became a secondary institution²⁷⁷. However, behind Ando-Brew’s back, Principal Amankwatia planned a coup to take over Prempeh High School and

²⁷⁰ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW, Elijah K. JOHNSON and Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1287.

²⁷¹ Rev. K. D. NYAAKO-ADENTWI. History of Apam [...], p. 14, File GR1.19.

²⁷² *Ibid.* Date of transfer was 12 May 1949.

²⁷³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Log 2, p. 90-91.

²⁷⁴ FFN, Victor NUNOO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 29 June 1993, Log 19, p. 1207-1208.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁶ Rev. K. D. NYAAKO-ADENTWI. History of Apam [...], p. 14, File GR1.19.

²⁷⁷ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON and Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1690-1691; Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1271, 1277.

run it for himself, without Ando-Brew. It was a secret maneuver designed to remove the presence of the “outsider” from the management, since Ando-Brew was a Fante tribesman, not an Asante native²⁷⁸. The game plan was simple: “Keep the school—remove the Fante.”²⁷⁹ “It was a complete coup d’état,” remembers Elijah Johnson, Ando-Brew’s nephew who was attending the high school at that time²⁸⁰.

Its execution was easy. In 1942 Amankwatia resigned from Prempeh High School, taking some of the staff and most of the students (except Ando-Brew’s own family member students) to a new location where he operated the school under a new name—“Asanteman School”²⁸¹. The same Asante Council members and power-brokers who had formerly backed Ando-Brew, when they saw what Amankwatia did, switched their allegiance from Ando-Brew to Amankwatia, since he was, after all, their favorite *and* an Asante royal²⁸². For example, I. K. Agyeman, the Asantehene’s associate registrar and original trustee of Ando-Brew’s Prempeh Memorial Institute, was also a big supporter of Amankwatia. Thus, he reportedly backed Amankwatia’s action, left Ando-Brew, and became a trustee for the new Asanteman School²⁸³.

Left without students (except for his family members) and without a teacher capable of serving as his headmaster, Ando-Brew was forced to cease operating his Kumasi school—after nearly ten years. The end of 1942 was the end of Prempeh High School, and its earlier format—Prempeh

²⁷⁸ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON and Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1691; FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW and Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1273, 1278-1279.

²⁷⁹ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1274, 1279.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁸¹ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW and Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1276, 1284-1285.

²⁸² FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1691.

²⁸³ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1273. This Asanteman School of Amankwatia is not to be confused with the current Asanteman Senior High School in Kumasi which began in 1954. Allegedly, Amankwatia’s own school was later re-organized to become the foundation of the now famous “Prempeh College,” an elite secondary school located in Kumasi which was started by the Asantehene Prempeh II in 1949 in collaboration with the Colonial government, the Ashanti Royal Kingdom, and the Methodist and Presbyterian Protestant missions, apparently after Amankwatia had travelled abroad to study law in the U.K. following WWII and was no longer in Kumasi to run his high school. (J. A. BRAIMAH, H. H. TOMLINSON, and Osafroadu AMANKWATIA. “History and Traditions of the Gonja,” p. 1; “Asanteman Senior High School—History,” Asanteman Senior High. (Page consulted on 15 December 2011), <http://asantemanseniorhigh.com/about-us.html>; FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW and Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1273, 1279, 1280; FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1285.)

Memorial Institute²⁸⁴. His brother's educational emancipationist dream had grown up and flown away into the arms of the Asante locals who were more than happy to embrace it. Ando-Brew was left with nothing but an empty building. Having lost his school and his main source of income, Ando-Brew resorted to renting out the Hippodrome²⁸⁵.

Young nephew Elijah Johnson left Kumasi in early 1943 and returned to his native Central Province to continue his schooling which had been interrupted by the Prempeh High School closure²⁸⁶. Since Elijah had been serving as Ando-Brew's chapel-keeper, upon his departure, Ando-Brew's Kumasi parish closed as well²⁸⁷. By this time it had been reduced down to a mere "family church" with no members other than family, as the friction between the two Bresi-Ando brothers had driven the confused parishioners away²⁸⁸.

However, like his younger brother, who was not easily defeated, Ando-Brew too had some fight left in him. He continued his pastoral visits to his outlying Kumasi-area parishes—not retiring until 1955²⁸⁹. Nor was he done with running schools. During the post-World War II period (1946 time-frame onwards), Ando-Brew did attempt to run another secondary school, privately—not in the name of his church—as a means to earn some money²⁹⁰. It was located near Kumasi, at a place called Oforikrom²⁹¹. Rev. John Sarkodie-Aidoo is an eye-witness of this school, having applied there but was not admitted. An ex-Methodist minister surnamed Aidoo joined with Ando-Brew in this private business deal and ran the school until it eventually closed with Aidoo's sudden death—(not sure when)²⁹². On a personal note, the Kumasi Prempeh Memorial Institute story had a happy ending. Prior to his death on 17 July 1958²⁹³, Ando-Brew had a heart-warming reunion and loving

²⁸⁴ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1278-1279, and 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1685.

²⁸⁵ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1250.

²⁸⁶ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Log 20, p. 1281, and 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1685.

²⁸⁷ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1685-1686.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁰ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON and Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1687-1688.

²⁹¹ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1142, 1144.

²⁹² *Ibid.*; FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON and Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1687-1688.

²⁹³ FFN, Earnest ANDO-BREW. Mumford, CR, GH, 03 August 1993, Tape 82, Log 20, p. 1251.

brotherly embrace with Bresi-Ando in January of 1956, during the Patriarch's only return visit to the Gold Coast²⁹⁴.

6.4. Cape Coast Academy opens in 1942 and closes in 1945

Blocked from cocoa exportation in 1939 and facing bankruptcy, Bresi-Ando desperately tried to export dried cassava starch powder in order to keep his company—and his emancipation dream—alive. However, with the colonial government's successful blockage of any further exports by Ebibirpim Limited, in 1941 Bresi-Ando's company, though legally alive, ceased to do business on the Coast²⁹⁵. The commercial emancipation dream in its Gold Coast context was now officially over for Bresi-Ando. It would have to be continued elsewhere—in Nigeria.

As there was no longer any reason to live in Accra—since the earthquake had destroyed his church, school and headquarters, the government had shut down his business, and his seminary had closed—late in 1941 Bresi-Ando relocated to his native Cape Coast where he set up another Ebibirpim church and school, the “Ebibirpim Grammar School”²⁹⁶. His good friend, the famous lawyer and politician Kobina Sekyi, helped him secure a three-story building to rent for his church, office and academy²⁹⁷. The school was up and running in early 1942 under Headteacher G. O. Quano²⁹⁸. This proved to be a last-ditch effort. At that same time Bresi-Ando was being summoned adamantly by his Nigerian flock who was demanding his presence after an absence of a full decade. Thus, between January and February of 1942, the Patriarch held a Departure Synod at Cape Coast with all his clergy, during which he informed them of his plans to leave and settle issues in Nigeria and then to “return”²⁹⁹. Rev. Fr. Osamdadzi was named as the Deputy Bishop and was placed in charge of the Gold Coast Diocese³⁰⁰. In reality, the Prince-Patriarch's self-exile

²⁹⁴ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 27-28 January 1956 entries, File GR3; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 960.

²⁹⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 April 1994, Log 9, p. 459.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 24 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1482.

²⁹⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 24 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1482.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 April 1994, Log 9, p. 459-460, and 01 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1538.

³⁰⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 April 1994, Log 9, p. 459-460.

had just begun as he closed the chapter on his ten years of hard labor on the Gold Coast and set his sights on a re-invigorated emancipationist effort in Nigeria.

6.5. Other school closures

Bresi-Ando left the Gold Coast for Aba, Nigeria, arriving there by March 1942 for a “short” stay that was to last for the rest of his life³⁰¹. His educational emancipationist dream for the Gold Coast and the Asante was basically dead, just like his commercial dream for his homeland. In fact, it was the death of Ebibirpim Limited’s commercial activity on the Gold Coast that put the lid on the coffin for the Ebibirpim school system: no money, no schools. On top of this lack of material backing were the internal clergy squabbles. In the “time of troubles” that ensued during the early 1940’s, Bresi-Ando’s clergy began to break away and create schisms within his Gold Coast African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) organization. Many remaining schools and churches collapsed as a result. For example, in 1945 when Rev. Edonu moved down south into Fanteland to protect the parishes in his native Central Region from schism—which he did successfully—his replacement in the Kwahu District failed the task and quit, and the entire Kwahu District collapsed as a result—9 parishes and 7 schools completely closed at once³⁰². That same year when Rev. Osamdadzi left Bresi-Ando’s Gold Coast church for Liberia, the Cape Coast parish and its Ebibirpim Grammar School collapsed as well³⁰³.

6.6. Dates of closure of Ebibirpim/Abibipem Schools

In total, the diaries, log books, and memories of eyewitnesses have unearthed the names of 21 primary schools and 1 seminary that Bresi-Ando started on the Gold Coast and in the Asante Kingdom between 1932 and 1942. No doubt there were many more. Most eventually closed, but a few still run under different names and administrations. The following is a *list of Ebibirpim Schools*, with dates of openings and closings. (See also Appendix B for this list of Ebibirpim Schools, and see Appendix C for maps showing their locations.)

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*

³⁰² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1488, and 03 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1546, and 22 July 1994, Log 30, p. 1898.

³⁰³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 April 1994, Log 9, p. 460, and 21 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1475, and 24 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1482.

Schools in the *Central Region*: Apam Ebibirpim Academy (opened 1932-closed 1946), Gomoa Aboso Ebibirpim Infant Primary School (an old Nigritian School that transferred to Ebibirpim in 1932/'33-closed 1946), Agona Abodom Ebibirpim School (opened 1933-closed 1935/36), Cape Coast Ebibirpim Grammar School (opened 1942-closed 1945).

Schools in the *Eastern Region*, Akuapem District: Akuapem Aborodiem Abibipem School (opened 1937-closed 1939), Larteh Abibipem School (opened 1936—taken over by the government circa 1956/57 and still open today), Mepom Abibipem School (opened 1933-closed early '40s). In the Akyem District (ER): Kankan Ebibirpim School (opened between 1934/'35-closed by early '50s). In the Akyem Kotoku District (ER): Akyem Adosena Ebibirpim School (opened 1934?-closed by 1950). In the Kwahu District (ER): Abetifi Abibipem School (opened between 1935/'37-closed 1945), Pepease Abibipem School (opened 1935/'37-closed by 1944), Nkwatia Abibipem School (opened 1935/'37—transferred to the Roman Catholics in 1944, who still operate it and have added a secondary school), Twendruase Abibipem School (opened '35/'37-died immediately), Kwahu Praso Abibipem School (opened 1938?-closed 1945), Asubone Kokrumpe Abibipem School (opened 1938?-closed 1945), Nkawkaw Abibipem School (opened 1938-closed 1940's, but a government school still uses the building).

Schools in the *Ashanti Region*: Kumasi Prempeh Memorial Institute (opened 1933-closed 1942). In the Sekyere District (AR): Akrokyere Orthodox School (opened 1934-closed 1944, but Presbyterians took over the empty building circa 1945 and still operate a school there). In the Nsuta District (AR): Nsuta-Chebi Orthodox School (open in 1938-closed?), and in the Denkyere area: Dunkwa-Kyekyewere Orthodox School (opened 1939?-closed 1945/'46)³⁰⁴.

Schools in the *colonial capital* of Accra: Accra Ebibirpim Academy (opened 1936-closed 1939). The St. Simon of Cyrene Seminary (opened 1939-closed 1939). The total number of identified educational attempts made during Bresi-Ando's decade of labor on the Gold Coast (1932-1942) is twenty-two (22).

³⁰⁴ List of Schools, File GR20.

7. Other schooling attempts

7.1. Schools started by Bresi-Ando's faithful clergy

In Bresi-Ando's absence, his faithful clergy did make a few more educational attempts on their own. When Rev. Edonu moved to the Kwahu District in 1944, he opened a school in Kwahu Sadan, which looked promising in that it had the backing of all the locals (the "oman"), as it was the first school in their town. Sadly, it promptly closed a year later, along with all the other Kwahu Abibipem Schools, when Rev. Edonu transferred down to the Central Region at Easter of 1945³⁰⁵. The other failure was at the parish of St. Stephen's in Bobikuma which took place before that community quit Edonu's group to join the Anglicans in 1973. In 1962 the Bobikuma parish started a school and the enrollment looked positive, but according to information supplied by the former Headteacher Isaac Mensah, it closed in 1967³⁰⁶.

A couple of successful schooling attempts originated out of the Larteh parish of St. Peter's in the Eastern Region. Somewhere between 1947 and 1949 Larteh parishioners set up an Abibipem School (primary) in their cocoa farming village of Domeabra (ER). It was associated with their newly-established mission church in Domeabra (est. circa '45-'47). The school was eventually turned over to the government and functioned for decades as a Local Authority school³⁰⁷. It is still functioning and currently re-associated with the Orthodox Church of Ghana after Metropolitan Panteleimon of Accra constructed a new school building there in the early 2000's³⁰⁸. The second success born in Larteh is St. Peter's Business College, which was opened on 11 May 1967 by Samuel Larbi and Godfried Mantey and remains to this day. In 1978 the church gave the school over to Headmaster Samuel Larbi to run as a private individual with the church's name, which he faithfully did, training hundreds of students over the years for their "O" level exam³⁰⁹.

³⁰⁵ Kwahu Sadan school card, School Cards, File GR20.

³⁰⁶ Bobikuma School Card, School Cards, File GR20; FFN, Isaac Mensah of Nkoransa, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 June 1994, Log 25, p. 1649.

³⁰⁷ Domeabra school card, School Cards, File GR20.

³⁰⁸ Ημερολόγιο 2011, Πατριαρχείον Αλεξανδρείας και Πασης Αφρικης, Ιερά Μητρόπολις Ακκράς, Alexandria, Egypt, Patriarchate of Alexandria, 2011, p. 37.

³⁰⁹ Samuel LARBI. Principal of St. Peter's Business College, Larteh, Ghana. Letter to Mr. Andrew J. Anderson, 03 Feb 1995, File GR16.491; Larteh/St. Peter's Business College School Card, School Cards, File GR20.

7.2. Schools started by Bresi-Ando's break-away clergy

After the failure of Prempeh High School in 1942, as already noted, Bishop Ando-Brew started his own secondary school in Oforikrom (in the greater Kumasi area) as a private business venture, partnering with an ex-Methodist minister named Rev. Aidoo (unclear how long it lasted)³¹⁰.

Rev. Abradu also opened a couple of schools. When he moved to Ankyease (ER) in 1945 after failing to take control of the Larteh parish, he opened his own primary school there. He built real classrooms, and the school was still operational in the 1990's (at time of the field research). It had been given over to the government to run as a Local Authority school³¹¹. Abradu also ran his "American Orthodox College" in Nkawkaw (ER). Its start date is uncertain, but Rev. Labi Odeng said it was opened by Abradu when he was pastoring Nkawkaw between 1938-1939, and that it died away in the 1940's³¹². Its physical premises were visited by Rev. Edonu in June of 1951. He recorded in his diary that the college was located "1 ½ miles away from Nkawkaw township" and that the priests were discussing how to "solve the problem of teachers for the Nkawkaw College"³¹³. It had classrooms and a name, but no teachers, so it probably was not functioning at that time. However, it might have had a second life, as Rev. Abradu's son Solomon said that at one time it was called "McGuire Orthodox College"³¹⁴, a name which only arrived in 1955 when Abradu and Jones joined McGuire's "African Orthodox Church."

Bishop Jones also ventured into the business of education. Rev. John Sarkodie-Aidoo remembered that Jones—on his own and not as a part of Bresi-Ando's organization—opened two "Orthodox Secondary Schools": one in Peki (Volta Region) in the early 1950's until the mid-1970's³¹⁵, and one in Wamaso, near Kumasi, from 1967 (or 1972) to his death in 1975, after which time it

³¹⁰ FFN, Elijah K. JOHNSON and Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Mumford, CR, GH, 05 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1687-1688; FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1142, 1144.

³¹¹ Ankyease school card, School Cards, File GR20.

³¹² Rev. Gregory Labi ODENG. Larteh, ER, GH, personal communication sent to A. Anderson, 06 June 1994; Nkawkaw "American Orthodox College" school card, School Cards, File GR20.

³¹³ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 07 June 1951 entry, and 09 June 1951 entry, File GR3.

³¹⁴ Solomon Otu ABRADU. Accra, GAR, GH, 18 June 1994, Abradu file, p. 2, File GR20.

³¹⁵ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 22 July 1953 entry, File GR3; and, FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1150-1151. Solomon Otu Abradu was of the opinion that this secondary school still existed in the early 1990's, having been transferred to the government and renamed (see Peki school card, School Cards, File GR20).

continued under new management and name until it too died circa 1985³¹⁶. Solomon Abradu said that after his father's death in 1975, the Peki secondary school became a government institution and still existed (in the 1990's) under a different name as a training college³¹⁷.

Conclusion

Using the testimony of eye-witnesses (former Ebibirpim teachers and students) as well as primary source documents (i.e. "School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy, 1933-1946" and the colonial education inspectors' reports contained within it), this present chapter has attempted to put flesh on Bresi-Ando's educational initiative in a quest to gather concrete proof that indeed the Prince-Patriarch was being guided by a Pan-Africanist vision which he was trying to birth into reality. It has been shown, in much detail, that the lives of real men—the teachers—interacted those of real live students. Bresi-Ando's Ebibirpim Academies were indeed neither phantoms of imagination nor pipe-dreams. Opening at least 21 elementary schools and one seminary in ten years' time (1932-1942), Bresi-Ando tried his best to follow the status quo mission policy of the West African mission context in which he had been raised. Like the German Basel missionaries before him on the Gold Coast, Bresi-Ando married evangelization *with* education. He stuck to their pattern of planting schools and churches *simultaneously*. In imitation of the Basel missionaries, Bresi-Ando wanted to use education to "civilize" his people and to improve their lives in every way, especially through education. He was bringing into reality both Laura Kofey and Marcus Garvey's dream of educating the Negro and he was decades ahead of the kind of comprehensive mission work (involving church, school and clinics) that the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria would launch in the latter end of the 20th century (the Kenyan and Ugandan Orthodox indigenous experience being the exceptions).

Bresi-Ando's visionary drive to provide his African brothers and sisters with educational emancipation—while inspiring the future President of Ghana—was successful in that it pioneered indigenous-run education within the Colony, enduring both the Great Depression and a difficult imperialist colonial context. It was a success in that real African students, like Fr. John Sarkodie-

³¹⁶ Wamaso school card, School Cards, File GR20; FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1150-1151.

³¹⁷ Solomon Otu ABRADU. Accra, GAR, GH, 18 June 1994, Abradu file, p. 2, File GR20.

Aidoo and Elijah K. Johnson, were educated by real African teachers, like Rev. Edonu, Rev. Labi Odeng, Rev. Nyaako-Adentwi, and Earnest Ando-Brew Junior, most of whom were interviewed as eye-witnesses for this research study. However, the Ebibirpim school system was a failure in that it was unable to stay alive, due to the sad schisms, the financial disaster, and the resulting staffing problems. However, some Ebibirpim Schools survived every trial and tribulation until new government policies were enacted that caused them to be handed over to the government's educational Local Authority³¹⁸, with the exception of St. Peter's in Larteh, which remained for years as the sole school continuing in the name of the church.

While Prince-Patriarch Kwamin Bresi-Ando truly had huge—at times, unrealistic—dreams of expanding and improving his existing schools, all the necessary funding for his educational agenda was supposed to come from his other ambitious and large African initiative: his church-run company, the commercial side of his AIC. Ebibirpim Limited was birthed to underwrite the Ebibirpim Academies, while also freeing the African farmers from the clutches of the European cocoa exporters. The subsequent failure of the church-run company destroyed the hopes of the Ebibirpim Academies from ever prospering. In fact, the obstruction of the company by the colonial business establishment sounded the death knell of these schools. Had the Europeans not interfered, maybe the new Governor in 1942 would have written his letter differently, instead of saying: “Nothing was ever heard of the educational work nor of the Academy of learning for which the funds were solicited.”³¹⁹ The ultimate failure of Bresi-Ando's daring indigenous educational agenda to “yield much rewards” was not so simple³²⁰. Rather, its collapse was intertwined with the challenges of its political and commercial and ecclesiastical contexts which hampered the growth of Bresi-Ando's AIC and his emancipationist dream itself. As his AIC broke apart through internal schisms, with his clergy being suspended, defrocked, resigning, quitting, retiring, and abandoning their posts, many schools and parishes closed down as a result. Just the same, this chapter's conclusion is that Patriarch Bresi-Ando did in fact make the effort and took many historic concrete steps in his valiant attempt to start real indigenous-owned and operated educational emancipation on the Gold Coast and in the Asante during the 1930's. He was not merely dreaming

³¹⁸ RI, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1193.

³¹⁹ The GOVERNOR of the Gold Coast. Letter to the Governor of Nigeria, 15 July 1943, Ibadan Archives File CSO.192/41394, African Universal Church and Ebibirpim Ltd., in Max ASSIMENG, “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 70 & 77 footnote 20.

³²⁰ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 69.

of “projects on paper”³²¹. As a Ghanaian educational pioneer, Bresi-Ando did try his hardest to birth his schools into reality. His four main academies—Apam, Kumasi, Accra, and Cape Coast—when aggregated together, provided nearly *30 years’ worth of education* to the inhabitants of the Colonial Gold Coast and the Asante. The witness of Mr. Kojo Botsio has revealed how important these Ebibirpim Academies were to the future of the nation. Bresi-Ando, as an “educational pioneer” who was well-known in his day, was an inspiration to the younger Nkrumah, especially when the latter came to power and was able to bring indigenous-run education into reality within Ghana. Therefore, after studying the histories of these very real Ebibirpim Schools, students, teachers, and witnesses, there can be no other conclusion drawn than one: Bresi-Ando’s very real pioneering efforts in the area of African-run education are themselves *material proof* of the existence of his over-all *guiding vision* for Pan-African emancipation.

The following chapter—Bresi-Ando’s *Commercial* Pan-Africanism—will describe in detail how British colonial-era imperialist economic policies and political intrigue rose up against the Prince-Patriarch. These prevented Bresi-Ando from personally making his goal of educational emancipation a permanent experience on the Gold Coast, but the younger generation—men like Nkrumah and Botsio—were watching him. In their day they were able to turn this component of Bresi-Ando’s over-arching African emancipationist dream into a lasting reality for the modern nation of Ghana. Bresi-Ando in his grave in Apam would be proud.

³²¹ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 70 & 77 footnote 19: see J. S. DUNN, Provincial Inspector of Schools, Central Province, “Official Report on the Apam Abibirpim [*sic.*] Academy,” handwritten into the School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 22 February 1934 entry, p. 8 & 12, File GR4.

SECTION THREE: SPECIFIC ANALYSIS OF THE “PAN-AFRICANISM” OF BRESI-ANDO DURING THE 1930’s

CHAPTER 16 BRESI-ANDO’S COMMERCIAL EMANCIPATION

Purpose

The climax and means to fulfill all of Bresi-Ando’s 1930’s multi-tiered emancipation dream for the Gold Coast was the implementation of his long-awaited program for the commercial liberation of the African. Concretely, this was the organization and incorporation of his church-run business, Ebibirpim Limited. The purpose of this chapter is to answer the following questions: What was Bresi-Ando’s vision for the commercial emancipation of the African? How exactly did Bresi-Ando go about organizing his company? When was his moment to galvanize a massive following of participants behind this movement? What was the reaction of the competing European business community and British colonial authorities? What was the final outcome of this commercial adventure and how did it affect Bresi-Ando, his AIC, and all his related emancipation dreams for the Gold Coast? The effort of Africans to take a hold of their economic resources and thus manage and control their own financial destiny is a pure Garveyite Pan-African theme. Marcus Garvey himself launched his “Black Star Line” towards this goal, as was described in Chapter 5. The underlying objective of this chapter is to show how Bresi-Ando actually tried to implement a similar commercial emancipationist effort for the African. If this can be shown to have been reality, not just a flight of imagination, then this chapter will have provided another argument supporting the thesis, that Bresi-Ando used Pan-Africanism as his guiding vision—that it is the key to help one understand Bresi-Ando, his goals, his dreams, and his actions.

Professor Assimeng, in his article, “Methodological Africanism: Bresi-Ando as an Episcopus Vagans” (1975), and church historian Peter E. Anson, in his book, *Bishops at Large* (2006), provide the initial clues to this puzzle, but offer little more. They simply establish the fact that Bresi-Ando did indeed have a church-run business with a branch store operating in London in the 1930’s. However, the entire story behind this clue is left a complete mystery. Thus, in order to solve this mystery, eye-witnesses and primary source legal documents needed to be located.

Sources

Lengthy interviews in Ghana between 1992-1994 with several old Ghanaians provided ample missing facts. Bresi-Ando's nephew and Deputy Bishop, Rev. K. K. Edonu, in addition to his early role as an Ebibirpim school teacher, also served as the book-keeper for Bresi-Ando's new company, Ebibirpim Limited, which was incorporated on 08 May 1938 and immediately began collecting cocoa for export. Edonu was in Accra from the beginning of 1938 until autumn of that year and was therefore a key witness to the organization and launching of the new company. In the fall he did spend a few months away as a new deacon in the nearby Eastern Region town of Larteh, but he returned to Accra at Christmas of '38 and remained in the capital until mid-May 1939, right up to the time when Ebibirpim Limited was forced out of the cocoa export business by the expatriate white companies. Edonu was on hand to see the obstruction of his uncle's efforts and, equally as important, he heard his uncle speak his mind on the matter. Returning to parish work in nearby Larteh after being ordained priest on May 14th, Fr. Edonu would periodically visit his uncle Bresi-Ando in Accra throughout the remainder of 1939. In this way, he served as a continuing witness to the aftermath of the collapse of the Ebibirpim cocoa venture. He saw Bresi-Ando's second commercial attempt in full swing—cassava powder milling and exporting.

In support of Edonu's eye-witness account is the valuable testimony of a second key eye-witness, that of his Fante "brother", Emmanuel A. N. Adentwi (who was in reality the younger brother of Teacher Charles Adentwi and a shirt-tail cousin to Rev. Edonu). Like Edonu, Emmanuel was a nephew of Bresi-Ando (but on Ando-Brew's side of the family). In 1938 and 1939 Emmanuel was living in Accra with his uncle, Bresi-Ando. This put this second nephew in the strategically important position of being a witness of the colonial establishment's interference into Bresi-Ando's business attempt. In addition, Emmanuel's testimony fills in the gap in Edonu's story, when the latter was temporarily out of Accra during the fall of 1938. Like Edonu, in 1939 Emmanuel saw hundreds of bags of rotting Ebibirpim cocoa which the white-owned shipping companies had refused to ship.

Most of the Ebibirpim cocoa was from the Asante cocoa fields. It was the cocoa farmers who had trusted Bresi-Ando with their product for export, and thus it was among the Asante that the failure of Ebibirpim Limited was felt the hardest. Therefore, our witness from those Asante fields is Fr.

John Sarkodie-Aidoo, an Asante native. In 1994 he was the last living priest of Bresi-Ando's former Asante diocese. Growing up in the Asante Kingdom in the 1930's and attending Ebibirpim schools there, Rev. Sarkodie-Aidoo was perfectly situated to be an eye-witness of the negative effect of the Ebibirpim cocoa export failure upon Bresi-Ando's Asante parishes.

To support the testimony of the three interviewees, Rev. Edonu made available several important primary sources documents from the archives of the former African Universal Orthodox Catholic Church in Afransi, Ghana. These provide substantial proofs of his story, and more precisely, the dates of the important facts. For this research he allowed photocopies to be made of the following:

Ebibirpim Limited, Memorandum And Articles Of Association, (articles of incorporation), Gold Coast Colony, 08 May 1938. Copy located in Anderson's Ghana research Fulbright File GR1.25.

Building Permit, No. 293, 18 February 1938, Gold Coast Building Regulations, for African Universal Church in Apam, for School Building of 38,000 square feet. Copy located in Anderson's Ghana research Fulbright File GR1.24.

Deaconate ordination certificate, 24 July 1938, The African Universal Church, Orthodox Catholic, for Kweku Kurafi Edonu, at Christ Church in Accra. Signed by Prince Patriarch Bresi-Ando. Copy located in Anderson's Ghana research Fulbright File GR1.26.

Priesthood ordination certificate, 14 May 1939, The African Universal Church, Orthodox Catholic, for Kweku Kurafi Edonu, at Christ the King Church in Accra. Signed by Prince Patriarch Bresi-Ando and Mar Dutton (Bishop Jones). Copy located in Anderson's Ghana research Fulbright File GR1.27.

School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946. Copy located in Anderson's Ghana research Fulbright File GR4. It provides dates and confirms the time-line.

Another useful, but incomplete primary source is the protest pamphlet attributed to Bresi-Ando:

The Gold Coast Cocoa Farmer. *Some Reasons for the Cocoa Crisis, 1937*, [s.l.][s.n.], quoted in Max ASSIMENG, "Methodological Africanism: Bresi-Ando as an Episcopus Vagans," *CONCH*, vol. VII, n° 1 & 2, 1975, p. 61-62.

Helpful secondary sources, in addition to those of Anson and Assimeng (quoted above), include the history book written by Ghanaian scholar, Kofi Nyidevu Awoonor, *GHANA: A Political*

History, (1990). Pieces of wider Gold Coast context and history, such as general cocoa facts, were found there. To establish the dates and circumstances of the famous Gold Coast Cocoa Hold-Up is the scholarly article by Rod Alence in *African Economic History*, N° 19, (1990-1991), entitled, “The 1937-1938 Gold Coast Cocoa Crisis: The Political Economy of Commercial Stalemate.” Finally, the research work of Oxford historian Martin Wight, *The Gold Coast Legislative Council* (1947), covers the decades of the 1920’s, ‘30s, through the mid-‘40s, and thus serves as an excellent window through to view important colonial personalities and matters during the time frame of Bresi-Ando’s commercial emancipation efforts on the Coast.

Structure

This very detailed *fourth* chapter of the five analytical chapters comprising Section Three is structured with *eleven* separate parts:

- 1) Fulfillment of the Garvey and Kofey Pan-Africanist commercial vision
- 2) The Rise and Fall of EBIBIRPIM LTD.
- 3) London 1935: laying the foundation of a future church-run business
- 4) The golden opportunity: the Cocoa Crisis of 1937-1938
- 5) Ebibirpim Limited is finally incorporated—08 May 1938
- 6) Colonial legislature discusses Bresi-Ando’s business strategy
- 7) The obstruction of Ebibirpim Ltd. begins
- 8) Forced out of the Cocoa business
- 9) Nephew defends uncle’s honor
- 10) After-effects of collapse of cocoa venture
- 11) No more “Bread to eat for the body”

This most important climax chapter to Bresi-Ando’s over-all emancipation dream for the Gold Coast is structured historically, taking the reader through the rise and fall of Ebibirpim Limited. Bresi-Ando is shown in comparison to both Garvey and Kofey. He is seen as being a visionary

pioneer doing all-inclusive mission strategy when compared to the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Africa at that time. The historic flow of the tragic saga of Ebibirpim Limited starts with Bresi-Ando's visit to London in 1935, and traces his subsequent efforts, such as his seizing of the critical moment to garner wide-spread grass-roots support during and after the Cocoa Crisis of 1937-1938. Eye-witnesses to his company's incorporation in 1938 are established. The downfall of Bresi-Ando's commercial efforts in 1939 is given in much detail, including his desperate and short attempt to keep his company alive by switching to the exportation of a new product, cassava powder (tapioca). The devastating after-effects of the commercial failure upon his church membership, especially among the Asante farming community, is related. The resulting near failure of his entire 1930's effort to bring about multi-faceted all-African emancipation is manifested. Commercial emancipation on the Gold Coast was abandoned by Bresi-Ando, with far-reaching effects upon his AIC. Had it not been for the loyal efforts of his priests Edonu and Labi Odeng, even the few remaining parishes of the African Universal Orthodox Catholic Church would have been lost and Bresi-Ando's pioneering footprints would have been washed completely off the Coast.

1. Fulfillment of the Garvey and Kofey Pan-Africanist commercial vision

As an African hierarch, Bresi-Ando envisioned a comprehensive approach to his efforts. He had founded his AIC to emancipate the African, and that liberation was to embrace all areas of life. Thus, Bresi-Ando sought to "elevate" his brother and sister Africans to the "equal status with the white races of the world" (a Garvey battle-cry)¹ by providing for both their spiritual needs (salvation, Holy Communion), and physical needs (food, finances, education), all of which would come through his Africanized African-run church (the Kofey synthesis). To highlight this central theme of his mission which sought to address both the spiritual and physical needs of a person, Bresi-Ando had inscribed on the wall behind the pulpit of his church facility in Apam the saying: "Eternal life for the soul, and bread to eat for the body. Look for them here."²

¹ "Garvey and the 'Garvey Movement,'" *Opportunity: A Journal of Negro Life*, vol. 16, January 1928, p. 4-5, in Robert A. HILL (Ed.), *The Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, vol. VII, Berkley, University of California Press, 1991, p. 122-123.

² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 15 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1701.

Marcus Garvey had cried out for the blacks of the world to have equality with the whites, especially in government, industry and commerce. He said:

The black peoples of the world are entitled to a country and government of their own where they can develop their own culture, industry and commerce, and elevate themselves to an equal status with the white races of the world.³

In order to take practical steps for blacks to “elevate themselves to an equal status with the white races,” Garvey took a huge plunge into the world of commerce. He actively tried to bring large-scale Negro-owned and operated commercial business into reality by starting his own shipping company and buying actual ships—thus creating his Black Star Line. He even had sent a crew of “technical experts” to Liberia, West Africa, as repatriated colonialists in his own “Back-to-Africa” plan. Although both Pan-African efforts failed miserably, Garvey had made the very real attempt⁴. These were practical, very real steps. Thus, it was not entirely fair of Kwame Nkrumah in his autobiography to so harshly criticize Marcus Garvey and his earlier generation of Pan-Africanists as “merely idealists contenting themselves with writing theses but quite unable or unwilling to take any active part in dealing with the African problem”⁵. While it is true that Garvey did write and philosophize abundantly, and while it is true that he did not personally lead any political revolutions, he did actually start a black-run shipping company and attempted a repatriation program. Those were major attempts which impacted and inspired others, like Kofey and Bresio-Ando.

Gold Coast Garveyite disciple, Laura Adorkor Kofey, believed in the principles of Marcus Garvey so much so that when she broke with him and started her copy-cat organization, she kept commerce as a major theme. The denomination which she started in Florida in 1928 she named the “African Universal Church and Commercial League” (AUCCL), borrowing the Garvey association’s name “Universal”, as well as stealing his UNIA motto: “One God, One Aim, One Destiny”⁶. Garvey’s emphasis on black commerce was high-lighted by the fact that Kofey put that concept right into the new name: “and Commercial League”. She also tried to continue Garvey’s failed repatriation

³ “Garvey and the ‘Garvey Movement’ [...], p. 122-123.

⁴ Robert A. HILL (Editor in chief). *The Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, vol. X, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2006, p. lxxxiii—lxxxv.

⁵ Kwame NKUMAH. *Ghana* [...], p. 53-54.

⁶ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. 405 footnote 2.

plan, by announcing her own plans to generate funds to secure ships in order carry African-Americans back to Africa⁷. Her repatriated “industrial missionaries” were similar to Garvey’s repatriated “technical experts,” and their responsibility was to establish African business cooperation between Africa and the AUCCL members in the United States, while also prepping for the mass exodus of American blacks back to Africa⁸. After her death, Kofey’s followers formed an “Industrial and Commercial Bank” so that AUCCL members could invest money in Africa and facilitate the development of joint economic ventures between Africa and the AUCCL⁹. Like Garvey before her, Kofey and her followers took deliberate steps to put their Pan-Africanist ideas into motion. The major difference between the two is that Kofey synthesized her church denomination with a social/commercial organization, while Garvey adamantly refused to marry the two. UNIA Assistant President-General John Dawson Gordon wrote in Garvey’s *Negro World* newspaper in 16 July 1921 their official policy: “the U.N.I.A. is not a church, and it does not intend to be one”¹⁰. This policy drove Chaplain McGuire to resign from the UNIA later that same year¹¹. His view (that the two should be one) was echoed seven years later in the Kofey synthesis of a black church with commerce and social action—a perspective that also pushed Laura Kofey out of Garvey’s UNIA.

Bresi-Ando inherited the Kofey version of the Garveyite principle. Although the Kofey repatriation plank broke off Bresí-Ando’s wide emancipationist platform in 1935, and even though Garvey’s own shipping company had long before already sunk into financial failure, the Gold Coast’s Prince-Patriarch was personally very highly motivated to mount his own counter-attack against racially exploitative commerce, earnestly desiring to take practical steps towards finally establishing commercial liberation for the Africans of the Gold Coast in their quest to commandeer their own financial destiny.

⁷ J. A. CRAIGEN, UNIA Special Representative. Letter to the Editor of the *Miami Daily News*, 07 April 1928, in Robert A. HILL (Ed.), *The Marcus Garvey [...]*, vol. VII, p. 169; Kip VOUGHT. “Racial Stirrings in Colored Town [...]” p. 68.

⁸ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 69; “Adorkaville Founders: Eli B’usabe Nyombolo,” *Adorkaville-An International Heritage Trail*. (Page consulted on 06 November 2010), <http://www.adorkaville.com/founders.html#elinyombolo>, par. 1-2.

⁹ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey [...]*, vol. X, p. xcix.

¹⁰ Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion [...]*, p. 89.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

2. The Rise and Fall of EBIBIRPIM LTD.

Through his preaching of economic emancipation, Bresi-Ando had planted the seed of his future company, EBIBIRPIM LIMITED. His goal was that Africans would be economically independent, free, and self-sustaining. In order to achieve this high goal, they would have to come together and unite in their commercial efforts. This was Bresi-Ando's dream—a *promise* to himself and to his followers—that he would someday start an African-run company in order to make his lofty ideal of economic emancipation a concrete reality¹². His dream became a hope which he could almost taste. His company's very Garveyite goal was for Africans themselves to be able to sell and ship raw materials to overseas markets in order that their African land should be free from the suppression by the whites and their European firms (which were practically running the colony's entire economy)¹³.

2.1. Everything was hanging on the success of the church's cocoa export business

In the late 1930's, when Bresi-Ando's real commercial plans actually began to take shape, this financial hope grew into a very firm *belief*, which was openly spoken about by all the Ebibirpim clergy and the Prince-Patriarch himself, remembers Rev. Edonu. With this strong faith, they all eagerly anticipated the day when their church's commercial component would become a financial reality. When that day would come to pass, then their beloved Ebibirpim/African Universal (O-C) Church would be transformed into a real self-supporting entity, fully liberated from any dependency upon the white man and his imperial commercial and mission systems. From their own export and sale of their cocoa directly to Europe and America—by-passing the European merchant middlemen—money would fill their treasuries, and as a result, all the other grand plans in Bresi-Ando's over-all emancipation package would be financed into reality¹⁴. Already the expanding Ebibirpim School system *desperately* needed funding from the hoped-for commercial venture to pay the salaries of teachers, to buy books, and to construct new school buildings. Furthermore, as this was the time of the Great Depression, the financial hope that Ebibirpim Limited offered was very desirable for the masses. The farmers would get richer, receiving a better

¹² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 419.

¹³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 29.

¹⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1504.

price for their cocoa than what was currently being offered to them by the white exporters/exploiters. Finally, Bresi-Ando and his loyal followers were firm in their conviction that a church-run company would help their church to survive and thrive financially, giving it a solid support structure so that they would not have to lean so heavily upon the donations of their mostly-poor membership¹⁵.

2.2. “Orthodox” all-inclusive mission pioneer in Africa

Integrated multidimensional Christian mission work, which included economic concerns along with evangelical goals and educational objectives, was the context in which Bresi-Ando had been raised. The famous Pietistic Basel mission and its evangelical counterparts had given the Gold Coast not only schools, translations, and linguistics, but also a variety of improvements in agriculture, economy, trade, and medicine¹⁶. Bresi-Ando was simply following their well-marked mission trail when he desired to set up commercial and educational components to his AIC. However, what was unique was his Garveyite determination which drove him to desire to accomplish all of this by his own African hand, in union with the black hands of the “thousands of Africans” (i.e. the “ebibirpim”) together with the blacks of North America. As a Garveyite, Bresi-Ando desired that the Negroes rise up as *equals* to the whites in all things, as “masters” and no longer as the “mates”¹⁷. Commerce was no exception. Furthermore, what made Bresi-Ando stand out as exceptional was that he, as with his educational program, was accomplishing this comprehensive style of mission work in the name of the “Orthodox” Church, decades and decades ahead of the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria. This point has already been made in the preceding chapter (15) concerning education. The width and scope of the current (late 20th/early 21st century) renaissance in Orthodox Christian missionary initiative on the continent is much wider than simply the founding of church-run African schools. In its contemporary missionary response, the canonical Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate is now setting up not only churches, monasteries, schools and universities all across Africa, but it is also starting vocational-technical schools, hospitals, clinics, old age homes, and feeding programs for the very poor in countries such as Sierra Leone, Zimbabwe, Uganda, Tanzania, and Madagascar. Much of this

¹⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 29.

¹⁶ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 9-13.

¹⁷ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 2, Log 2, p. 45.

work is very new—within the last three decades. Although he was uncanonical, “Patriarch” Bresi-Ando had a vision that “Orthodox Catholic” Christian mission work in Africa should include *all* these components, and more. In this (and in his attempt to *realize* it) he was years ahead of the modern-day mission work of the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate in Africa. In this regard, the Orthodox Christian population on the continent today can honor Bresi-Ando, not only as a pioneering African national (as Assimeng stated in his 1975 letter to Rev. Edonu)¹⁸, but also as a pioneering forerunner, showing what later Orthodox mission work would be doing across Africa.

3. London 1935: laying the foundation for a future church-run business

Since Bresi-Ando’s liberal Africanization policy had welcomed the chiefs into the bosom of his AIC, his church’s commercial plan therefore also had his tribal chiefs’ support and backing¹⁹. Thus, when Bresi-Ando traveled to London in 1935, he carried with him certain gift items which he had received from his chiefs—the traditional orange/gold colored “Kente” cloth—which were to be used as proof to show the white entrepreneurs living abroad that a number of Gold Coast chiefs were supporting Bresi-Ando in all his plans—religious and commercial²⁰.

While in London studying “Orthodox” Christianity with his new “Old Catholic” *episcopi vagantes* friends, Bresi-Ando began to actualize his promised economic plans. He informed his new British contacts that his African followers were solidly behind him, ready to do business²¹. Of course, the exportation of cocoa was the business that Bresi-Ando mainly had in mind, as it was the Gold Coast’s major export at that time²².

3.1. Cocoa export was the business of choice

The whole economy of the Gold Coast Colony was married to cocoa, which was grown and exported for the production of chocolate. Despite their famous, historical gold trade, by the 1930’s, the growing of cocoa for export as a cash crop had become the Colony’s major financial support.

¹⁸ J. M. ASSIMENG. Letter to Bishop K. Edonu, 10 June 1975, File GR16.463.

¹⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 420, 423.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 421.

²² *Ibid.*; Shashi KOLAVALLI and Marcella VIGNERI. “Cocoa in Ghana: Shaping the Success of an Economy,” *Yes Africa Can: Success Stories from a Dynamic Continent*, Punam Chuhan-Pole and Manka Angwafo (Eds.), Washington, D.C., World Bank, 2011, p. 202.

In fact, the country had become a “one-crop country,” and its economy was completely dependent upon each year’s successful harvest and sale of cocoa²³. By 1927 cocoa was 84% of the Colony’s total export²⁴. In the 1800’s the Basel Mission had promoted “legitimate” forms of trade, such as cocoa, coffee, and palm oil, to replace the “illegitimate” and morally wrong trade in slaves, liquor and guns²⁵. Tetteh Quarshie, a former Basel mission employee, succeeded in establishing the first real successful cocoa farm in the colony in 1879, which began the transformation of the “gold” coast into the “cocoa coast”²⁶.

3.2. Background on cocoa farming in Ghana

Cocoa is made from the beans (seeds) of the pods of the cocoa tree, which grows nicely in middle and southern Ghana. The South Asante Uplands—near Kumasi—produce huge amounts of cocoa, as does the Akyem area in the Eastern Region²⁷. This geography factors into Bresi-Ando’s cocoa venture, as these were the locations of many of his parishes. Promoted by the Basel missionaries²⁸, with some encouragement from the British Colonial authorities as well, the farming of cocoa became wide-scale, at the grass roots level, grown by African farmers who owned land, as well as by share-cropping laborers and peasants²⁹. Since the average-size cocoa farm was only 7 acres, anybody and *everybody* could *easily* get into the business, plant a cocoa farm (really, an orchard) for himself, harvest the pods from the trees each year, remove and dry the cocoa beans, and then sell them to the foreign chocolate concessions (such as Cadbury) for export³⁰. Although much other food—yams, cassava, citrus, etc.—was grown for domestic consumption, cocoa became *the* country’s *cash* crop for export. They were so successful that soon the Gold Coast became a major

²³ J. J. COOKSEY and Alexander McLEISH. *Religion and Civilization in West Africa* [...], p. 128.

²⁴ Shashi KOLAVALLI and Marcella VIGNERI. “Cocoa in Ghana [...],” p. 202.

²⁵ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 9-10.

²⁶ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 119; Sir Gordon GUGGISBERG and A. G. FRASER. *The Future of the Negro* [...], p. 67-68.

²⁷ Shashi KOLAVALLI and Marcella VIGNERI. “Cocoa in Ghana [...],” p. 202.

²⁸ R. H. GREEN and S. H. HYMER. “Cocoa in the Gold Coast: A Study in the Relations between African Farmers and Agricultural Experts,” *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 26, n° 3, September 1966, p. 303.

²⁹ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 106; Sir Gordon GUGGISBERG and A. G. FRASER. *The Future of the Negro* [...], p. 67; Shashi KOLAVALLI and Marcella VIGNERI. “Cocoa in Ghana [...],” p. 202.

³⁰ “Cocoa Farmers in Ghana Experience Poverty and Economic Vulnerability,” *International Cocoa Initiative*. Put online 01 December 2017, (consulted on 16 October 2019), <https://cocoainitiative.org/news-media-post/cocoa-farmers-in-ghana-experience-poverty-and-economic-vulnerability/>, par. 1-6.

supplier of the world's cocoa!³¹ From 1910 to 1914 the Colony led the world in cocoa production³². To this day, Ghana competes diligently to stay near the top of the world's cocoa production, often coming in second behind its western neighbor, Ivory Coast³³. The Cadbury chocolate bar company in the UK still relies heavily upon Ghanaian cocoa beans, importing 70% of its cocoa beans from Ghana³⁴. Cadbury has been in Ghana for over 100 years (as of 2008), and plans to stay, claiming that the Ghanaian cocoa bean gives their chocolates their special flavor³⁵. The famous Nestlé chocolate company also has a subsidiary located right in Ghana—known as “Nestlé Ghana Limited”³⁶.

Cocoa—as the major export product of the Colony's economy—fit squarely into the British Empire's imperialistic colonial system, in which raw materials were produced cheaply in the colonies for export back to the homeland of England to support the British man's economic well-being. “Imperialism” is defined as “the creation and/or maintenance of unequal economic, cultural, and territorial relationships, usually between states and often in the form of an empire, based on domination and subordination”³⁷.

It was to the Empire's advantage that tons of cocoa be purchased at low prices from the African farmers. Therefore, price controls were established by Cadbury and Fry and a conglomeration of

³¹ Sir Gordon GUGGISBERG and A. G. FRASER. *The Future of the Negro* [...], p. 67; “Cocoa's Bittersweet Bounty—200 Years in Charts,” *Winton*. Put online 11 July 2017, (page consulted 16 October 2019), <https://www.winton.com/longer-view/cocoas-bittersweet-bounty>, par. 4, and charts 1, 3, & 4.

³² Shashi KOLAVALLI and Marcella VIGNERI. “Cocoa in Ghana [...],” p. 202.

³³ Miklos MATTYASOVSKY. “Top 10 Cocoa Producing Countries,” *WorldAtlas*, put online 28 September 2018, (page consulted on 16 October 2019), <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/top-10-cocoa-producing-countries.html>, par. 10.

³⁴ Jonathan SIBUN. “Cadbury to Protect Ghana's Cocoa Industry,” *The Telegraph*, 27 January 2008, (page consulted 15 October 2011), <https://web.archive.org/web/20170311042621/http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/newsbysector/retailandconsumer/2783373/Cadbury-to-protect-Ghanas-cocoa-industry.html>, par 4.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, par.11.

³⁶ “Nestlé Ghana Limited,” *Ghana Business Index*. (Page consulted on 15 October 2011), https://web.archive.org/web/20071012105820/http://business.everythinghana.com/index.php?option=com_mtree&task=viewlink&link_id=48&Itemid=26, par. 1.

³⁷ Ronald John JOHNSTON, Derek GREGORY, Geraldine PRATT, and Michael WATTS (Eds.), *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, 4th ed., Oxford, Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 2000, p. 375.

AWAM³⁸ foreign merchant companies (UAC, UTC, CFAO, SCOA, etc.)³⁹, together with the cooperation of the many Syrian, Lebanese and Indian merchants who had businesses within the Colony⁴⁰. Their price controls were given a “nod” from the colonial authorities who officially followed the laissez-faire “hands off” policy of New Imperial capitalist economics. The British Colonial government did not want to place controls on the merchants from foreign countries, lest the restrictions drive them and their capital away⁴¹. The Victorian Imperial policy was simple: “release private enterprise from the dead hand of the state”⁴². Their “gospel” was the combination of “restricted government and free trade”⁴³. This policy favored and “protected” the expatriate firms, giving them “near-absolute control” over the Colony’s natural resources and market prices⁴⁴. It allowed the cabal merchants to literally get away with financial “murder” in their ability to control the pricing of imports and exports in their favor. Add to this the fact that these same white merchants also controlled the shipping side of the industry—all sea-borne shipping and over-land transport (except for the government railroads)⁴⁵. Representatives of these foreign business and mining companies were legally represented by having their own company men sitting on the Colony’s Legislative Council. Together with the British government civil servants, they helped guide the policies for the Colony to their advantage⁴⁶. In reality at that time, the British Crown and the British companies cooperatively ran the Gold Coast. The only industry fully in the hands of the locals was agriculture, particularly the growing of the cocoa beans themselves⁴⁷. For an African, like Bresi-Ando, to dream of breaking into this highly lucrative, foreign-controlled cocoa export business was to set himself up as a potentially huge financial threat to the entire colonial imperialistic commercial system within the Gold Coast’s economy, which depended largely upon

³⁸ AWAM = Association of West African Merchants, consisting of big foreign companies, such as the United Africa Company Ltd. (UAC), and the Union Trading Company (UTC), along with the huge French companies of Compagnie Française de l’Afrique Occidentale (CFAO) and Société Commerciale de l’Ouest Africain (SCOA), and others.

³⁹ P. T. BAUER. *West African Trade: A Study of Competition, Oligopoly and Monopoly in a Changing Economy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1954, p. 67; F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 169.

⁴⁰ Francis K DANQUAH. “Sustaining a West African Cocoa Economy: Agricultural Science and the Swollen Shoot Contagion in Ghana, 1936-1965,” *African Economic History*, n° 31, 2003, p. 50.

⁴¹ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 123.

⁴² Ronald ROBINSON, John GALLAGHER, and Alice DENNY. *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism*, 2nd ed., London, Macmillan Press, 1981. p. 1.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁴⁴ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 123.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 108.

⁴⁷ Francis K DANQUAH. “Sustaining a West African Cocoa Economy: Agricultural Science and the Swollen Shoot Contagion in Ghana, 1936-1965,” *African Economic History*, no 31, 2003, p. 50.

cocoa. What Bresi-Ando hoped to do would have widespread financial implications if he was successful. If the Gold Coast farmers would take control of their own cocoa product and form their own cocoa export business, they could by-pass the European export middlemen and would stand the chance of being able to name their own price for the cocoa bean. Thus, they could enjoy—to a greater degree—the fruit of their labor, rather than being taken advantage of by the whites who dictated low prices for the cocoa bean.

Bresi-Ando, with his Garveyite vision of black commercial emancipation, had the firm conviction that he and the African farmers could—and should—accomplish this locally-owned, African-operated cocoa company plan. Through it, if they all worked together, they could bring the British to their financial knees and gain economic liberation from the despised foreign, white-controlled colonial economic monopoly. It was another way to fulfill Garvey's dream of sending the whites back home to Europe—a way for the Africans to take Africa back for themselves. As Garvey had said: "Africa for the Africans!"

It was a brilliant plan on paper, but sadly flawed in reality. Bresi-Ando intended to incorporate a properly licensed company in order to play the British game of cocoa exportation according to British rules. His goal was to get into the match and win—to beat the British at their very own game of big business, fair and square⁴⁸. Bresi-Ando thought that he could succeed if he simply played by the white man's official rules. He expected the British—as men of "honor"—to play fair, and not to cheat. Sadly, Bresi-Ando apparently did not fully take into account the depth of the passions of greed and selfishness which dictate the desires in the hearts of men, especially of those who control large amounts of money and industry. In the 1930's, the colonial British were not easily going to allow the Africans to swallow such a huge share in their lucrative cocoa industry profit-taking. Bresi-Ando, as he prepared his lofty business plans back in England, did not foresee

⁴⁸ This aspiration was echoed in a comment made by a Ghanaian following a televised defeat of the British by the Ghanaians in a soccer match. He said, "The British taught us how to play the game of football, and now we have beaten them at their own game." They had carefully followed the rules and beat the British at their own game. The occasion for the remark was the 17 March 1993 victory of Ghana over England (2-1), in the televised Semi-Final round of the 1993 FIFA Under-20 World Cup, held in Sydney, Australia. ("Tournaments: FIFA U-20 World Cup, Australia 1993," *FIFA.com*. (Page consulted on 15 October 2011), <https://web.archive.org/web/20120825175253/http://www.fifa.com/tournaments/archive/tournament=104/edition=191252/overview.html>; Government official, Ministry of Architecture, Accra, Ghana, 17 March 1993, conversation with researcher Andrew J. Anderson following the 1993 game.)

the underhanded tactics and negative capabilities of the economic giants with whom he was going to do battle in a few years' time.

3.3. Opening of church "headquarters" in London

Meanwhile, with dreams in mind for a large-scale cocoa export business in the future, Bresi-Ando opened his church "headquarters" in London at 86 Caledonian Road, N.1., and placed his friend and colleague, Archbishop Harrington, in this church office as his direct representative⁴⁹. Indeed, this establishment would later serve mainly as the London *branch office* for their business venture⁵⁰.

When Bresi-Ando later incorporated his church-run business, "Ebibirpim Ltd.," in the Gold Coast Colony in 1938, he used the Caledonian Road church office as his business' London branch office, with Archbishop Harrington assisting with the transactions there, receiving the shipments of African goods⁵¹. "Ebibirpim Limited," headquartered in Accra, Gold Coast, was known in England in English as the "African Churches Stores Ltd."⁵². This was a simplification of its legal name in the Colony which was taken from the Fante name of Bresi-Ando's AIC, "Ebibirpim Asore", meaning, "the Church of the Thousands of Africa," or most simply: "the African Church". Hence, the simplified English name for the company: "African Churches Stores Ltd." This store in England claimed to be "importers of African produce and other commodities; exporters of European and other foreign manufactures; gold and other mineral concession transactors"⁵³. A visitor noted that it looked like "one of the many 'fish and chips' shops which abound in that district"⁵⁴. It was a humble establishment with big hopes and large dreams.

Thus, according to Rev. Edonu, when Bresi-Ando was in London during his long 1935 stay, he already had in mind plans and dreams for a future church-run business⁵⁵. Therefore, with his friend

⁴⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 940-941, and 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 422; Max ASSIMENG. *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 271 footnote 32.

⁵⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 940-941, and 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 422.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 278.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 278-279.

⁵⁴ A report on a visit to the Headquarters of the African Universal Church, Ibadan Archives File CSO.192/41294, in Max ASSIMENG, "Methodological Africanism [...]," p. 59 and 76 footnote 4.

⁵⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 422.

Archbishop Harrington, he was able to lay the groundwork for some future financial arrangements⁵⁶. However, Rev. Edonu explained that his uncle had not selected a qualified individual back home to be his direct representative responsible for setting up similar financial arrangements within the Colony. Additionally, he went on to say that Bresi-Ando found it hard to impart all his grand financial plans to his Gold Coast followers from such a long distance; therefore he came to the conclusion that he would have to return home in order to go about organizing everything at that end by himself⁵⁷.

3.4. Gov. Hodson, the court case, and the photo

Before he left London, Bresi-Ando found himself dragged before a British judge over a minor matter, being accused of purportedly missing an installment payment for a piano⁵⁸. In the courtroom he found himself against no less a person than the Governor of the Gold Coast himself, His Excellency, Sir Arnold Hodson, a veteran British civil servant who was to serve as the Governor of the Gold Coast Colony from 1934-1941⁵⁹.

In order to prove who he was and to establish his credibility in the court as a *bona fide* native of the Gold Coast, Bresi-Ando had stated for the record that he indeed was a leader of a wide-spread church community which was known throughout the Gold Coast Colony and the Asante, and that he had the support of chiefs behind his church-related ventures⁶⁰. To verify his story, the judge summoned Governor Hodson to court (he happened to be vacationing in London at that time) in order to ascertain from him whether he had ever heard of Bresi-Ando and his African church⁶¹. In reply, the governor denounced Bresi-Ando as not being a good representative of the Gold Coast

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 422-423.

⁵⁸ The GOVERNOR of the Gold Coast. Letter to the Governor of Nigeria, 15 July 1943, Ibadan Archives File CSO.192/41394, African Universal Church and Ebibirpim Ltd., in Max ASSIMENG, "Methodological Africanism [...]," p. 71 and 77 footnote 22; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 April 1994, Log 8, p. 424, and Log 10, p. 544-545.

⁵⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 April 1994, Log 8, p. 424, and Log 10, p. 545; Martin WIGHT. *The Gold Coast Legislative Council*, p. 31 footnote 4.

⁶⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 April 1994, Log 8, p. 424, and Log 10, p. 544-545.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

and denied his claim of having the backing of chiefs. In fact, the governor denied having any previous knowledge of the bishop and his church altogether⁶².

Sir Arnold told the judge that he could not recognize Bresi-Ando as knowing him from anywhere, nor did he ever remember meeting or seeing him in the Gold Coast at all⁶³. This testimony, however, was not the truth, and Bresi-Ando knew it⁶⁴. In fact, he had tangible proof that the Governor was either lying or at least was very forgetful. Bresi-Ando had in his possession a photograph that he had taken with Governor Hodson when the latter had recently visited Apam⁶⁵. Bresi-Ando was always very careful to collect such valuable photos with VIPs whenever the chance arose. Therefore, knowing ahead of time that the new Governor was scheduled to visit Apam on some official business, Bresi-Ando had quickly scheduled a synod gathering of his own clergy and had timed it perfectly⁶⁶. He had all of his priests waiting in Apam in order to welcome Governor Hodson to town when he arrived. Then, seizing the carefully crafted photo opportunity, Bresi-Ando had asked the Governor to pause and stand with the Ebibirpim clergy for a group photo under a “Welcome” banner, which Sir Arnold had kindly done. Bresi-Ando then tucked this valuable photo away in case he ever needed it, and he had remembered to bring it along with him to London⁶⁷.

Whether Governor Hodson actually remembered standing for this photo is another story. Back in the London courtroom, when Bresi-Ando quietly showed the photo to his legal counsel, he thought that he would certainly win the case. However, his lawyer thought otherwise. He counseled the bishop that revealing the photo in such a public manner would certainly embarrass the Crown, since the Governor was the representative of the King. Such embarrassment would certainly bring negative repercussions. Therefore, on the contrary, he advised that it would be better for Bresi-Ando to just lay low, leave London and return to the Colony, after which time the court proceedings would naturally die—which is indeed exactly what happened⁶⁸.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 424-425, 544-545, 563.

Bresi-Ando may have dodged some minor trouble in London by making a quick exit for his homeland, however, the public show-down between new Prince-Patriarch and the new Governor (who also afterwards returned to the Gold Coast) was only just beginning. According to Rev. Edonu, the two had become virtually “open enemies” in the London courtroom, and this unfortunate start to their relationship was going to haunt Bresí-Ando in the future⁶⁹. Gov. Hodson is remembered by Gold Coast historian Martin Wight as the very likeable “sunshine Governor” who “avoided political controversies” as best he could and was seen leading with “tact and impartiality,” yet behind closed doors he was known to often correct and argue with his Legislative Council members⁷⁰. According to the opinion of some Bresí-Ando loyalists such as nephew Edonu, they held the Governor to be one of the leading colonial political figures who did his best to obstruct Bresí-Ando’s emancipationist activities over the next six years (until the Governor left the Gold Coast in 1941)⁷¹.

3.5. Return to the Gold Coast

Bresi-Ando did return to the colony late in 1935 but initially became very pre-occupied with the re-birth/transformation of his Ebibirpim church community from its Protestant past into its “Old Catholic”/Jacobite phase, adding the name “Orthodox Catholic” to African Universal Church, re-ordaining all his clergy and retraining them theologically and ecclesiastically. Therefore, any establishment of a church-run business would have to wait for a little while. Thus, his plans for a church-run company remained “in mind and in books” until the right moment. That moment was the famous Cocoa Crisis of 1937-38.

4. The golden opportunity: the Cocoa Crisis of 1937-1938

The Cocoa Crisis of 1937-1938 became for Bresí-Ando the golden opportunity and perfect catalyst to rally the Gold Coast farmers and to form them into a viable cocoa-exporting company of his own⁷². This cocoa crisis (known as the “Cocoa Holdup”) came about when the large British and French cocoa-exporting firms in September of 1937 jointly formed a purchasing “Pool” in order

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 425, 563.

⁷⁰ Martin WIGHT. *The Gold Coast Legislative Council*, p. 60, 62.

⁷¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 April 1994, Log 8, p. 425, and Log 10, p. 563.

⁷² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 422.

to collectively demand a fixed lower price for the cocoa bean from the farmers⁷³. As the British firms' financial interests were protected and advocated by the Colonial Legislative Council, having a friendly business alliance with the French outsiders would ensure that there would be no competitive pricing for the cocoa bean. The farmers would not be able to play the British buyers against the French merchants. Involved in the "Pool" pricing scheme were all the major players: large British companies such as the "UAC" (United Africa Company), and Cadbury and Fry Company, together with the huge French West African trading companies of CFAO (Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale) and SCOA (Société Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain), and nine others⁷⁴. These 13 foreign companies were in control of 94% of the colony's cocoa exports, which itself amounted to nearly the entire economy of the Gold Coast⁷⁵.

4.1. Farmers form "Anti-Pool" vs companies' price "Pool"

When they heard about it, the Gold Coast and Asante cocoa farmers felt cheated, and therefore they got very upset and reacted negatively to the whole "Pool" idea, not wishing to sell at that low price⁷⁶. Thus, according to Wight, "the greatest political controversy in Gold Coast history" up to that date was ignited, and Governor Hodson, who disliked political controversy was caught in the middle of it⁷⁷. (Wight's book was printed before the riots of 1948.) Similarly, the most important chiefs—the Paramount Chiefs—were also afraid to rock the boat and organize any kind of opposition out of fear of governmental reaction, not wishing to do anything that would appear to be against the government⁷⁸. Yet the populist movement escalated very fast, becoming the greatest crisis and disruption ever in the history of the modern global cocoa industry⁷⁹. The 1930's already were seeing the lowest price per ton for cocoa in 100 years⁸⁰, and at the news of price controls which eliminated competition and any possibility of better pricing, the farmers revolted in anger

⁷³ Rod ALENCE. "The 1937-1938 Gold Coast Cocoa Crisis [...]," p. 83, 88; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 17 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1453-1454.

⁷⁴ P. T. BAUER. *West African Trade*: [...], p. 67; F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 169; Rod ALENCE. "The 1937-1938 Gold Coast Cocoa Crisis [...]," p. 83, 88; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 17 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1453.

⁷⁵ Rod ALENCE. "The 1937-1938 Gold Coast Cocoa Crisis [...]," p. 83.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 88-89.

⁷⁷ Martin WIGHT. *The Gold Coast Legislative Council*, p. 62.

⁷⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1597-1598, and 20 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1808.

⁷⁹ "Cocoa's Bittersweet Bounty—200 Years in Charts," *Winton*. Put online 11 July 2017, (page consulted 16 October 2019), <https://www.winton.com/longer-view/cocoas-bittersweet-bounty>, par. 4, charts 1 & 3.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, charts 1 & 3.

all across the country. It became “a sweeping mass-emotional upheaval, remarkable for its spontaneity and discipline over a wide area and a protracted period”⁸¹. In fact, Wight considers the grass-roots protest “significant for the future as the first instance of unanimous popular action throughout the Colony and Ashanti *together*”⁸². (Indeed, Kwame Nkrumah would later use these same disgruntled farmers as part of his grassroots support base to help him win his first election in 1951⁸³.)

In the very middle of this “unanimous popular action” appeared Prince-Patriarch Bresi-Ando, who—according to Rev. Edonu—was a *key organizer* of the cocoa farmers’ reaction in 1937⁸⁴. Historians commonly credit Ashie-Nikoi, a lover of Garveyism, and his friend John Ayew, as leaders who rose to defend the farmers’ united efforts to sell their own beans⁸⁵. It may be hard to prove that Bresi-Ando was *the* key organizer (as was the opinion of his loyal nephew Edonu), but it cannot be disproven that he played no leadership role. “Prominent citizens” who were “not involved in cocoa trade” are noted by researchers to have been among the agitators⁸⁶. Most likely, they all worked together—with the colorful, outspoken “prominent” Bishop Bresi-Ando in the middle of it all—according to eyewitness Edonu, who at this point in time was serving as a catechist in the cocoa-farming Akyem area of the Eastern Region.

Professor Assimeng’s research discovered that Bresi-Ando was *known* to have made speeches in which he harshly denounced the business practices of the huge cocoa purchasing firms—like United Africa Company (UAC, a subsidiary of Unilever), and Cadbury and Fry Company, among others⁸⁷. The bishop reportedly was a mastermind and major contributor to the protest pamphlet: *Some Reasons for the Cocoa Crisis, 1937*, printed in the name of the “Gold Coast Cocoa Farmer”⁸⁸. Regarding the African predominance in cocoa agriculture, Bresi-Ando called out: “We have the

⁸¹ Martin WIGHT. *The Gold Coast Legislative Council*, p. 31-32.

⁸² *Ibid.*—italics added.

⁸³ DANQUAH, Francis K. “Sustaining a West African Cocoa Economy [...]” p. 54, 57.

⁸⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1597.

⁸⁵ Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. lxxiv.

⁸⁶ Rod ALENCE. “The 1937-1938 Gold Coast Cocoa Crisis [...]” p. 90; Timothy HIRSCHL-BURNS. “Cocoa Farmers in the Gold Coast,” *Swarthmore Global Nonviolent Action Database*, put online 02 August 2015, (page consulted on 18 October 2019), <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/cocoa-farmers-gold-coast-successfully-defend-their-livelihoods-1937>. p. 1.

⁸⁷ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 61.

⁸⁸ The Gold Coast Cocoa Farmer. *Some Reasons for the Cocoa Crisis, 1937*, [s.l.][s.n.] in Max ASSIMENG, “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 61.

materials—we are the producers!”⁸⁹ Bresi-Ando’s stance was that the British had no right to demand or force them to sell at the set price⁹⁰. The cocoa was for the Africans—to keep, to sell, to do as they liked. Therefore, Bresi-Ando’s aim was that the farmers should all pull together, form an “Anti-Pool” co-op to stand against the European firms’ “Pool”, and collectively demand a higher price for their cocoa⁹¹.

According to Rev. Edonu, the entire “Anti-Pool” concept was Bresi-Ando’s own original idea and that it was he who called everybody together⁹². Truly, it would be a real stretch to think that Bresi-Ando was the original initiator of a response that was already being fueled by the national press at the time⁹³, but he reportedly was among the leadership of the “Anti-Pool”. In the first week of October, 5,000 cocoa farmers agreed in writing to stand united against the merchants’ “Pool”, with many more farmers’ unions joining by the middle of the month⁹⁴. Organized resistance in the form of an “anti-merchant movement” continued to “expand and solidify” when on 20 October 1937 “a large conference of farmers, chiefs, and prominent citizens” was held at Saltpond in the Central Region (along the sea coast, just 30 miles west of Apam)⁹⁵. According to researcher Rod Alence, it was there that the farmers “convinced reluctant paramount chiefs to support a general hold up”⁹⁶. Reportedly, Bresi-Ando was among those who were inviting and pressuring the Paramount Chiefs to signal their whole-hearted support of the people’s protest by attending an enormous show of solidarity, a massive “Farmers’ Meeting” to be held at Suhum, in the Akyem area of the Eastern Region, which indeed did take place on October 28⁹⁷. A third gigantic gathering took place a few miles to the south, at Nsawam, in the Akuapem area of the Eastern Region, on November 4th⁹⁸. Concerned citizens and anxious farmers “from throughout the Gold Coast” attended these meetings, passing resolutions for a “colony-wide” cocoa hold up, plus a national boycott of “non-

⁸⁹ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 30.

⁹⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 April 1994, Log 10, p. 567.

⁹¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 30.

⁹² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1597.

⁹³ Rod ALENCE. “The 1937-1938 Gold Coast Cocoa Crisis [...]”, p. 88.

⁹⁴ Timothy HIRSCHL-BURNS. “Cocoa Farmers in the Gold Coast,” *Swarthmore Global Nonviolent Action Database*, put online 02 August 2015, (page consulted on 18 October 2019), <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/cocoa-farmers-gold-coast-successfully-defend-their-livelihoods-1937>. p. 1.

⁹⁵ Rod ALENCE. “The 1937-1938 Gold Coast Cocoa Crisis [...]”, p. 90.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 17 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1453, and 10 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1597-1598a, and 11 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1598b-1599.

⁹⁸ Rod ALENCE. “The 1937-1938 Gold Coast Cocoa Crisis [...]”, p. 90.

essential” imported European products⁹⁹. Bresi-Ando’s protest pamphlet, *Some Reasons for the Cocoa Crisis, 1937*, referenced both these aspects. In it one can hear the Prince-Patriarch’s pro-African emancipationist ideology resounding loudly:

Away with the Secret Cocoa Buying Scheme: The advice is, do not sell your cocoa to one you do not trust; be thrifty and keep your money; do not by any means waste it on imported goods while you can live comfortably without such goods. If you do this the Country will stand by you and you will prove your fidelity to the safety of the Country. Take no notice of intimidation from whatever source. The cocoa is yours. The money you have is yours. Do not part with it for the purpose of buying European luxuries. ABOVE ALL THINGS BE AN AFRICAN.¹⁰⁰

According to Rev. Edonu, Bresi-Ando used a line of African logic which helped pressure the skittish Paramount Chiefs to attend the Suhum grass-roots mass Farmers’ Meeting. He insisted that that the chiefs, as the custodians of their people, were required (by the chief’s oath) to come when they are called upon or be de-stooled (over-thrown), because, after all, it was their own constituency who were gathering in Suhum¹⁰¹. (By this time in his life, Bresi-Ando had not yet befriended nor moved among these important Paramount Chiefs. Up until then he had only been befriending the lesser town chiefs¹⁰².) The usage of traditional law worked, and the “big” chiefs showed up at Suhum¹⁰³. Rev. Edonu reports that some of the Colony’s most influential chiefs at the time were present at the massive Suhum Farmers’ Meeting¹⁰⁴. Present was Nana Sir Ofori Atta I (a Member of the Legislative Council, the leading voice for the Paramount Chiefs on the Council, a tribal king of Akyem Abuakwa State, ER—the biggest tribal kingdom in the Gold Coast Colony, a brother of politician/lawyer Dr. J. B. Danquah, and a defender of the interests of the cocoa farmer)¹⁰⁵; Sir Tsibu Darku IX (a beloved Fante Paramount Chief and Member of the Legislative Council)¹⁰⁶; and Nana Amanfi III (Paramount Chief and Member of the Legislative Council)¹⁰⁷. It was at Suhum that Bresi-Ando made the acquaintance of these notables. Having gained some

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ The Gold Coast Cocoa Farmer. *Some Reasons for the Cocoa Crisis, 1937*, [s.l.][s.n.] in Max ASSIMENG, “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 61-62—emphasis is in the original.

¹⁰¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1598.

¹⁰² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1809.

¹⁰³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1598.

¹⁰⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 11 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1598b-1599.

¹⁰⁵ Martin WIGHT. *The Gold Coast Legislative Council*, p. 68; Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 109-110.

¹⁰⁶ Martin WIGHT. *The Gold Coast Legislative Council*, p. 70.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

notoriety from his involvement in the organization of the “Anti-Pool”, the result was that some of the most famous chiefs, like Sir Ofori Atta and Sir Tsibu Darku, became Bresí-Ando’s friends¹⁰⁸. Thus Bresí-Ando acquired the backing of chiefs from the Fante, Akyem, and Akuapem tribal areas¹⁰⁹.

Confident that the government had no right to obstruct actions which were not insurrectionist, Bresí-Ando just the same was always endeavoring to make sure that he remained within the government’s good graces. Therefore, at Suhum he followed his normal procedure and duly notified Governor Hodson via telegram that he and the farmers were just having a big farmers’ meeting and were doing nothing revolutionary¹¹⁰. This was in keeping with his long-established habit of sending wordy telegrams to the colonial authorities of the Gold Coast and Nigeria informing them of his movements in order *not* to be seen as anti-governmental in any of his actions. He was firmly convinced that as long as his actions were legal and not seen as sedition, he would not be imprisoned as a political trouble-maker¹¹¹.

4.2. Burning of cocoa in protest

The cocoa farmers’ “Anti-Pool” protest demanded a better price from the “Pool” of foreign purchasers, refusing to sell a single bean to them at the low, fixed price¹¹². As bold as they were, the “Anti-Pool’s” demands were rejected outright by the corporate “Pool”. The situation became a real stalemate—they were at an impasse¹¹³. Therefore, in extreme reaction and protest, beginning on 15 February 1938, many farmers spontaneously resorted to burning their stockpiles of cocoa all across the Gold Coast rather than being forced to sell them to the foreigners at the demanded low price¹¹⁴. Such a dramatic action was designed to show the “Pool” that the cocoa was in fact

¹⁰⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 June 1994, Log 29, p. 1810.

¹⁰⁹ Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1094.

¹¹⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 29, and 10 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1598.

¹¹¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 29.

¹¹² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 30, and 07 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1700.

¹¹³ Rod ALENCE. “The 1937-1938 Gold Coast Cocoa Crisis [...],” p. 80; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 30.

¹¹⁴ Rod ALENCE. “The 1937-1938 Gold Coast Cocoa Crisis [...],” p. 98-99; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 30, and 17 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1453.

the property of the Gold Coast farmer who could do with it as he liked, even to do without it¹¹⁵. This burning was also intended to have an economic impact on the European firms. Cocoa exports from the Gold Coast dropped 90% by February of '38¹¹⁶.

After the burning of the cocoa in February of 1938, according to Rev. Edonu, the government—in its usual style—was able to draw the leading Paramount Chiefs away from Bresi-Ando's "Anti-Pool" circle and from his influence¹¹⁷. Since the native chiefs were normally naturally opposed to any foreign over-lord, the British government was always doing all that they could—diplomatically and otherwise—in order to keep the big chiefs on their side¹¹⁸. After all, ruling the common folk via the Paramount Chiefs—known as "Indirect Rule"—was the policy of the British colonial government at that time in Africa¹¹⁹. Definitely, the colonial government did not want someone like Bresi-Ando to come along and start to organize the chiefs—and the chiefest among them!—in opposition to the colonial commercial establishment, especially when lucrative cocoa profits were at stake! Now there was this new native fellow, Bishop Kwamin Ntsetse Bresi-Ando, moving closely with the chiefs, organizing them, even boldly leading them. Reportedly, the British governmental authorities were not happy about Bresi-Ando's actions at all and he became a subject of their discussions in the legislature¹²⁰. Simply, the government knew that if they did not pull the leading Paramount Chiefs completely away to their side, the country would not be smoothly governed—the British would not have free hands in ruling the country because the big chiefs were with Bresi-Ando and the farmers at the time¹²¹. So gradually the "Anti-Pool" quarrel died away, as the colonial authorities—according to one perspective—drew the important chiefs back to their side with diplomacy, rewards, positions, and promises, eventually leaving Bresi-Ando standing "alone" (though he still had a huge following of lesser town chiefs and elders)¹²². Rev. Edonu viewed the pulling away of the big chiefs from Bresi-Ando as a deliberate act on the part of Governor Hodson aimed specifically at Bresi-Ando, with whom he had already tangled in the

¹¹⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1700.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*; Rod ALENCE. "The 1937-1938 Gold Coast Cocoa Crisis [...]," p. 96.

¹¹⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 31.

¹¹⁸ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1590.

¹¹⁹ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 106.

¹²⁰ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1590.

¹²¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1114.

¹²² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 31, and 21 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1477-1478.

London courtroom back in 1935¹²³. An alternative perspective given by eyewitness Emmanuel A. N. Adentwi (Ando-Brew's nephew) explains the “drawing away of the chiefs” in much simpler terms: the government did not draw the biggest Paramount Chiefs away, as they were already members of the Legislative Council. Rather, being Africans, they liked their fellow African Bresi-Ando and tried to advise him on how to avoid trouble with the government. When he stubbornly refused their advice, they abandoned him to his self-chosen fate, as will be shown in detail shortly¹²⁴.

The violent burning of the cocoa signaled the “end” of the active side of the protest. A cautious Governor Hodson in February of 1938 set up a special commission to study the fiasco, while both sides—farmers and merchants—sat down and waited for a judgment¹²⁵. It took months. The commission's report was only released to the public in October of 1938, and neither side was pleased¹²⁶. Although it recommended an end to the merchant's price-fixing scheme, there was disappointment expressed that the government did not set a higher standardized price for cocoa, but instead had advocated for a new and confusing thing called “statutory marketing boards”¹²⁷. Time-consuming committees were established to implement these recommendations, and the members spent most of 1939 arguing how to proceed. The merchants wanted regulations while the farmers wanted deregulation, and this disagreement continued until the outbreak of World War II in September of '39, when wartime emergency management controls were enacted which overruled everyone¹²⁸.

4.3. The Anti-Pool fallout: Bresi-Ando's window of opportunity

The aftermath of the Cocoa Crisis created a vacuum in 1938 into which Bresi-Ando burst with his dream proposal of economic emancipation. Already in the 05 February 1938 edition of the *Gold Coast Times* the view had been expressed that the cocoa hold up and boycott was a vehicle to “achieve the economic emancipation of the country as a whole”¹²⁹. Although one does not know

¹²³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1478.

¹²⁴ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1088.

¹²⁵ Timothy HIRSCHER-BURNS. “Cocoa Farmers in the Gold Coast,” [...], p. 1.

¹²⁶ Josephine MILBURN. “The 1938 Gold Coast Cocoa Crisis: British Business and the Colonial Office,” *African Historical Studies*, vol. 3, n° 1, 1970, p. 71.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ Rod ALENCE. “The 1937-1938 Gold Coast Cocoa Crisis [...],” p. 95 footnote 85.

if Bresi-Ando wrote this article, just the same, it encapsulated his vision—the hour of which he was sure had finally arrived. While everyone else of importance was stalled at the governor’s conference table, the Prince-Patriarch of African emancipation got busy.

After the burning of the cocoa, many, many frustrated farmers were still annoyed with the European firms and were tired of waiting for the government to release its report and provide a solution. Soon the next crop of cocoa beans would be ready for harvest, and to whom shall they be sold, and at what price? This situation became Bresi-Ando’s big *window of opportunity* to try to realize his dream of economic emancipation by organizing these farmers to form a company of their own in order to sell their cocoa *directly* to the overseas market, by-passing the expatriate export firms altogether. So, in 1938, Bresi-Ando traveled around the colony and encouraged many of the annoyed farmers—who did not want to deal with the white firms anyway—to organize with him and sell overseas. With promises of higher prices for their cocoa bean, Bresi-Ando extended his invitation to all the cocoa farmers of the Gold Coast and the Asante to join him¹³⁰. To effect this scheme, Bresi-Ando was finally able to launch his much-dreamed-of business plan: “Ebibirpim Limited”, a church-run, African-owned, import/export company¹³¹. His sales pitch was: “*not burn*” but “*bring*”—“Bring your cocoa beans to me for sale instead of burning them and I will pay you a higher price.”¹³² It was a financial way out of the cocoa impasse. Instead of resorting to the burning and wasting of their profits, they could sell their cocoa and make money, while at the same time remaining firm in principle and not selling it to the European export firms. They could be African, free, and rich, *simultaneously*.

To avoid any governmental interference or trouble, everything would be done legally and professionally—like any good British businessman would do. Countering the people’s fear of government reaction, Bresi-Ando instructed them that the authorities had no legal right to obstruct

¹³⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 29; FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1156-1158.

¹³¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 29.

¹³² FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1583; Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1157-1158; Ebibirpim Limited: Memorandum And Articles of Association, Incorporated The 8th Day of May, 1938, Accra, Gold Coast Colony, cover page, File GR1.25.

or stop them from organizing such a company, or do anything that was not politically insurrectionist in policy¹³³.

In 1938 Bresi-Ando took all the necessary legal steps to open his business, while also summoning our chief witness of these events, nephew Edonu, down from Kankan at the beginning of the year to help him re-organize and run the Ebibirpim Academy in Accra¹³⁴. While living in Accra, Edonu's second responsibility was to help his uncle with the new business as an Ebibirpim clerk keeping the company's books¹³⁵. With his jobs and his intimate family connection with his uncle, 31-year-old Edonu was in the best position to watch the ensuing Ebibirpim Limited drama unfold.

5. Ebibirpim Limited is finally incorporated (08 May 1938)

On 08 May 1938, the big day finally arrived. While the foreign merchants were waiting for the government to issue its report on what to do about cocoa sales in the Colony, "Ebibirpim, Limited" was formally incorporated, being a company limited by shares¹³⁶. There were seven named shareholders, with Bresi-Ando being the first on the list, followed by Wilhelmina Helen Bresi-Ando¹³⁷. The "Registered Office of the Company" was officially situated in "Accra, B.W.A." (British West Africa)¹³⁸. The new company's lengthy "Memorandum And Articles Of Association" (23 pages, single-spaced!) were quite broad, including but not limited to the business of planting, preparing for market, manufacturing, and selling produce such as "tea, coffee, cocoa, rubber, cocoa nuts, rice and other produce [...] in its prepared, manufactured, or raw state, and by wholesale or retail"¹³⁹. Furthermore, Bresi-Ando made sure that his Articles included lots of room for expansion into all other areas of commerce, allowing Ebibirpim Limited legal faculties:

To carry on in all their branches all or any of the business of General Storekeepers and warehousemen, Universal Providers, Produce Brokers, Merchants, Manufacturers, Importers and Exporters of Foreign Produce, Goods, Stores,

¹³³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 29.

¹³⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 419.

¹³⁵ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1594.

¹³⁶ Ebibirpim Limited: Memorandum And Articles of Association, Incorporated The 8th Day of May, 1938, Accra, Gold Coast Colony, cover page, p. 1, 4, 23, File GR1.25; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, Log 23, p. 1527.

¹³⁷ Ebibirpim Limited: Memorandum And Articles of Association [...], p. 23, File GR1.25.

¹³⁸ Ebibirpim Limited: Memorandum And Articles of Association [...], p. 1, File GR1.25.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1, Section 3. Article A.

Consumable Articles, Commodities, Chattels, Effects, Articles and things of all kinds.¹⁴⁰

Far-thinking Bresi-Ando even further broadened the scope of his African business to include a wide range of future possibilities:

To carry on in any or all their branches all or any of the businesses of Shippers, Brokers, Freight Contractors, Ship Owners, Chatterers [*sic.*] or Agents, Managers of Shipping Property and Companies, General Forwarding Agents, General Haulage and Transport Contractors and any business ancilliary [*sic.*] thereto.¹⁴¹

By opening up the legal door for future expansion into shipping and ship-owning, one can easily see a similarity to (or an influence of) Pan-Africanist Marcus Garvey, who began his own two Negro-run shipping companies, the Black Star Line and the Black Cross Navigation and Trading Company, with the hope of doing commerce with Africa¹⁴². The company charter of the Black Star Line was written in the broadest conceivable terms in order to promote all forms of possible future commercial expansion¹⁴³. Bresi-Ando followed this same style when he had a lawyer write up his own commercial papers.

Finally, Bresi-Ando was not content to limit his “limited” company to West Africa. Article “D” allowed Ebibirpim Limited the right “To appoint Agents for the Management and control of the Company’s Estates, Produce and business in Gold Coast and Ashanti *and any part of the world*”¹⁴⁴. As the sun never set on the British Empire at that time, Bresi-Ando was covering a lot of ground. He was setting himself up to legally compete *with any and all* of the *white* import/export companies operating in the world at that time. He was preparing himself for complete financial equality with—and commercial emancipation from—the whites who had been raping Africa for centuries. The only problem with his plan is that he did not estimate how much of a threat his business would actually become to the white New Imperial capitalist/colonialist system. Nor was he ready for how dirty the business world can be.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1, Section 3. Article B.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1, Section 3. Article C.

¹⁴² David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 50, 121; See Chapter 5 for more information on Garvey’s shipping companies.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 50-51.

¹⁴⁴ Ebibirpim Limited: Memorandum And Articles of Association [...], p. 1, Section 3. Article D.—italics added.

5.1. 1938 business license births hope, causing surge in church membership

After its May 1938 incorporation, Ebibirpim Limited was duly registered and received its business license so that it could start collecting cocoa for shipment to London¹⁴⁵. The positive response on the part of the African farmers who were willing to partner with Bresi-Ando's business venture was substantial, according to reports, as Bresi-Ando already had many "Anti-Pool" contacts¹⁴⁶. Thus, Bresi-Ando was able to rally a very formidable response from many willing Asante and Akyem farmers. Nephew Emmanuel Adentwi stated: "all the Ashantis and Akim" were behind Uncle Bresi-Ando. (Possibly an enthusiastic over-statement?)¹⁴⁷ These, along with others, readily joined Bresi-Ando's company, hoping for both money and economic freedom from the white man's financial shackles¹⁴⁸. The company's very Garveyite goal was for Africans themselves to be able to ship raw materials to the outside world in order that their country should be free from the suppression by the whites and their foreign firms (which practically ran the colony's economy)¹⁴⁹. With Ebibirpim Limited, many Gold Coasters got excited because they perceived that Africans could organize behind Bresi-Ando and get rich without being subject to the white-run companies. The Africans could cut into the white's cocoa profit margin and take that share home for themselves. If they were diligent, they could even take over the whole industry altogether, by-passing the white European exporters with their low fixed pricing. Excitedly, many of the church elders at various stations became the local Ebibirpim company agents¹⁵⁰, while simultaneously there was a rapid *surge* in new membership in various parishes throughout the Colony as locals joined the Ebibirpim Church because of its "cocoa hope"—its new cocoa business with its promise of economic freedom and financial gain¹⁵¹. This 1938-1939 *spike* brought the African Universal (O-C) Church's membership total to its all-time *zenith* point. However, in the Asante Kingdom, reportedly there was no such "cocoa increase" in AU(OC) church membership, yet there was a strong backing of the company by many Asante church members who were

¹⁴⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, Log 23, p. 1527.

¹⁴⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1813.

¹⁴⁷ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1583.

¹⁴⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 29.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1107-1108.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, and FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1809.

convinced to sell their cocoa through Bresi-Ando's company in hope of a better profit margin¹⁵². Priest Superior Rev. Ando-Brew acted as the company's key contact and promoter in the Asante¹⁵³. Additionally, both in the Asante and in the Colony, there were many other farmers who, while not joining Bresi-Ando's AIC, still offered their cocoa for sale through Ebibirpim Ltd., having been convinced by the local Ebibirpim agents with hopes of higher prices¹⁵⁴. Thus, it was the average Gold Coast and Asante farmer who became the backbone of Bresi-Ando's grass-roots, widespread, African-made, church-run business enterprise which had its own international market contacts in London and was not dependent on the profit-grabbing, exploiting, white, middleman exporter¹⁵⁵.

The Ebibirpim School managers were eagerly anticipating the long-awaited injection of Ebibirpim cocoa cash. In Apam, they went ahead in February of 1938 and secured a one-year official building permit from the Gold Coast Building Regulations to construct a 38,000 square foot new school building¹⁵⁶. As the Apam Ebibirpim Academy at that moment in time was reduced to merely two teachers and 35 students, such a large construction project was clearly beyond its scope and budget¹⁵⁷. For Bresi-Ando and Headmaster Adentwi to embrace such a large building project shows convincingly how the Ebibirpim Schools were counting on the soon-to-be expected success of Ebibirpim Limited. They were literally counting their financial chicks before they hatched—their hoped-for cocoa money appeared to be just on the horizon!

5.2. Ebibirpim Ltd. gathers cocoa for sale and shipment

Following the official registration and business licensing of Ebibirpim Ltd. in May of 1938, the church elders, as company agents, began to collect the cocoa from all over the country and send it down to Bresi-Ando in Accra, where it started to stockpile while Bresi-Ando waited to secure his shipping license before finally sending it out to sea on foreign freighters¹⁵⁸. It is important to note that the Ebibirpim agents did *not* purchase the cocoa from the farmers with cash, as their new

¹⁵² FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1583; FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1156-1157.

¹⁵³ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1158.

¹⁵⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1108.

¹⁵⁵ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1083.

¹⁵⁶ Building Permit, No. 293, 18 February 1938, Gold Coast Building Regulations, for African Universal Church in Apam, for School Building of 38,000 square feet, File GR1.24.

¹⁵⁷ School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, 20 January 1938 entry, p. 52, File GR4.

¹⁵⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1814.

company did not yet have any reserve funds. Rather, the farmers freely *advanced* their cocoa to Ebibirpim Limited trusting in Bresi-Ando's promise that he would pay them well *later*—after he sold the cocoa in London.

Meanwhile in Accra, on 24 July 1938, school teacher J. B. Edonu was ordained to the diaconate and began to sign his name as Deacon Kweku Kurafi Edonu¹⁵⁹. In September of 1938 he was briefly sent to the mountain-top town of Larteh in the Eastern Region to take over the local Ebibirpim parish there (St. Peter's), yet he found himself back in Accra by Christmas (of 1938) to start attending Bresi-Ando's newest institution of the African Universal Church—the St. Simon of Cyrene Seminary—located at the Accra headquarters¹⁶⁰. Throughout the winter and spring of 1939, Deacon/book-keeper Edonu was in the right spot to see all the unfolding drama in Ebibirpim Limited! On 14 May 1939, having completed his short course of studies, Deacon Edonu was ordained a priest by Bresi-Ando and sent back to Larteh to serve as the pastor there¹⁶¹. His occasional visits to see his uncle in nearby Accra during the rest of the 1939 year afforded him the opportunity to continue witnessing the unfolding demise of Ebibirpim Limited.

6. Colonial legislature discusses Bresi-Ando's business strategy

During Deacon Edonu's short absence from Accra (serving in Larteh in the fall of '38), there began to be some colonial government interference into Bresi-Ando's business attempt, according to the eyewitness report of Mr. Emmanuel A. N. Adentwi, another "nephew" of Bresi-Ando, who was living with his uncle in Accra at that time¹⁶². "I was with him [*Bresi-Ando*] in Accra when he started Ebibirpim [*Limited*]." ¹⁶³ This younger Adentwi remembers seeing a hundred tons of bagged Ebibirpim Ltd. cocoa piled high on the Accra beach, waiting to be loaded onto ships¹⁶⁴. According to this observer, while Bresi-Ando was collecting and bagging literally tons of cocoa

¹⁵⁹ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Certificate of Ordination to the Diaconate for Kweku Kurafi Edonu, Diocese of St. Ignatius of Antioch, The African Universal Church, Orthodox Catholic, Accra, Gold Coast Colony, 24 July 1938, File GR1.26.

¹⁶⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1815.

¹⁶¹ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Certificate of Ordination to the Priesthood for Kweku Kurafi Edonu, Diocese of St. Ignatius of Antioch, The African Universal Church, Orthodox Catholic, Accra, Gold Coast Colony, 14 May 1939, File GR1.27; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 11 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1604.

¹⁶² Mr. Emmanuel A. N. Adentwi was a younger brother of Teacher Charles Adentwi and a "shirt-tail" cousin to Rev. Edonu, being only a relative by marriage.

¹⁶³ RI, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Tape 58, Log 18, p. 1082.

¹⁶⁴ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1088.

for shipment, across town in the Colonial Legislative Council the white members were discussing how to “bag” Bresi-Ando, with whom they were “annoyed”¹⁶⁵. Apparently certain members of the legislature were threatened by Bresi-Ando, whom they thought “was coming to ruin the nation by organizing the chiefs,” leading them, “moving closely with them by buying cocoa”¹⁶⁶. Thus, in the Legislative Council “they were discussing what actions to take: how to stop Ando”¹⁶⁷. Particularly, Anglican and Roman Catholic voices were opposed to this strange, heretical “Patriarch” Bresi-Ando¹⁶⁸. Already various local “chiefs were against the government, and now someone was coming to lead them”¹⁶⁹, explained the younger Adentwi. Clearly, Bresi-Ando was being perceived in the Council not only as a commercial menace but also as a potential political threat to the imperialist colonial system—whose organizational skills with the chiefs could “ruin the nation”¹⁷⁰. Thus, behind closed doors the government was discussing what to do *to stop* Bresi-Ando¹⁷¹. This was the narrative according to Emmanuel Adentwi, who—although he was not privy to the inner sanctums of the Council’s chambers—was a direct eyewitness of the Council Members’ visits to Bresi-Ando’s Accra headquarters, and he heard what they said. It must be noted that at this time in the history of Gold Coast politics there was a temporary truce between the chiefs and the lawyers on the Council. In 1929 (prior to his death the following year), lawyer Casely Hayford (the leading voice of the Gold Coast African educated *intelligentsia*) had made peace with Sir Ofori Atta (the leading voice of the chiefs)¹⁷². Therefore, until Atta died in 1943—all throughout the decade of the 1930’s—the chiefs and lawyers on the Council quit their old feud, joined forces, and formed an unofficial “shadow cabinet”¹⁷³. These black Council Members would meet together prior to the official Legislative Council sessions in order to formulate a united African response to whatever issues the majority white membership of the Council was going to bring up for discussion¹⁷⁴. It was this “shadow cabinet” in action that Emmanuel Adentwi witnessed, as they tried to save Bresi-Ando from the terror to come.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1090.

¹⁶⁶ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1590-1591.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1590.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1590-1591.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1591; Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI, Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1087.

¹⁷² Martin WIGHT. *The Gold Coast Legislative Council*, p. 73-74.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

6.1. Big chiefs warn Bresi-Ando of coming government trouble

This news of what was being discussed about Bresi-Ando in the government behind closed doors troubled the big Paramount Chiefs whom Bresi-Ando had befriended at the Suhum (Cocoa Crisis) Farmer's Meeting in 1937. This is a solid fact. Emmanuel Adentwi remembers two historic visits to Bresi-Ando by the leading African members of the mainly white Legislative Council. These most important chiefs, being friendly to Bresi-Ando whom they reportedly loved, rushed down to privately advise him how he ought to proceed with his business in order to avoid any trouble from the government¹⁷⁵. The five visitors were no less than Paramount Chiefs Sir Ofori Atta I, Sir Tsibu Darku IX, Nana Amanfi III, along with Tufuhen G. E. Moore of Cape Coast, and the famous lawyer Kobina Sekyi¹⁷⁶. Emmanuel Adentwi saw them and heard them: "I was with the people, the Chiefs, when they were behind doors discussing. They never knew that I am in the house. They thought I was only a person just walking about."¹⁷⁷ They did not pay attention to him, as he was just another young adult in Bresi-Ando's house who was working as a serving boy. Rather, they had come on a special mission to try to help the "big man"—the African Bishop whom they loved¹⁷⁸.

On their first visit, the Paramount Chiefs advised Bresi-Ando to alter his business plan somewhat—to run the company for the benefit of the church but not directly by the church. Their advice was that he should allow it to be run separately, under private management—through the help of some friends—and that he (Bresi-Ando) should just stick to his church¹⁷⁹. Perhaps this way he could dodge a bullet. They warned him that if he refused their guidance, all his plans would end in the junk heap because the government would turn against him since there was no church in the Colony running a commercial business at that time (e.g. the old 19th Century Basel Mission Trading Company had years ago already discarded its mission-sponsorship focus and had been reorganized to become the highly successful for-profit company known as UTC, the Union

¹⁷⁵ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1083-1088.

¹⁷⁶ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1084, and 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1590.

¹⁷⁷ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1085.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1084, 1087.

¹⁷⁹ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1084-1087, and 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1591.

Trading Company)¹⁸⁰. Thus, these words were clearly the well-intentioned advice offered by some highly-positioned fellow Africans who had Bresi-Ando's best interest in mind and wanted to help him avoid any possible confrontation with the non-African white members of the Legislative Council (and their colleagues in the white-run AWAM business establishments). Since Bresi-Ando's person was the focus of the Council's vitriol, by advising him to turn his business over to private individuals, it might avoid the coming attack that was being formed against him.

6.2. Watershed moment: Bresi-Ando rejects the chiefs' advice

Having offered this friendly, fraternal wisdom, the Paramount Chiefs exited, giving Bresi-Ando two weeks to consider their advice and decide what he was going to do¹⁸¹. Two weeks later this august group of well-wishers returned to hear his decision¹⁸². Again, as before, young Emmanuel Adentwi was present to witness, listening from the veranda to what was going on inside¹⁸³. The Patriarch received his important guests, however, he remained steadfast in his plan and stubbornly refused to heed the Chiefs' guidance and counsel¹⁸⁴. Bresi-Ando insisted on sticking to his emancipation dreams and plans with absolutely zero modification. His entire program to unshackle the African was based upon his independent African church (AIC) and his belief that all freedoms come through Jesus Christ, the Truth, Who "will set you free"¹⁸⁵. The bishop was adamant that he "had founded his church to liberate the African". Therefore, his business would be run by and for his church, with no alteration to his emancipation plans whatsoever. After all, he was doing everything the legal way. (Naively, Bresi-Ando was not contemplating the possibility of dirty politics nor underhanded competitive business practices.) Young Adentwi remembers hearing the disappointed senior Chiefs say to one another as they left Bresi-Ando's home: "Well, we tried to save him, but if he won't listen to us, then we will have to leave him."¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁰ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1085. The German Basel missionaries had been deported during World War I, and their former Basel Mission Trading Company had long since been transformed into a purely for-profit import/export firm, the well-known Union Trading Company—UTC. (Geoffrey JONES. "Multinational trading companies in history and theory," *The Multinational Traders*, Coll. "Routledge International Studies in Business History," Geoffrey Jones (Ed.), London, Routledge, 1998, p. 1-21.)

¹⁸¹ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1591.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*; FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1085.

¹⁸⁴ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1085, 1088.

¹⁸⁵ John 8:32 English Standard Version

¹⁸⁶ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1592.

They left and never returned. Bresi-Ando was abandoned to his own chosen fate. The “shadow cabinet” had tried their best to warn him, and now the trouble would begin.

From the vantage point of hindsight decades later, Emmanuel Adentwi defined his Uncle Bresi-Ando’s fatal decision as his *watershed moment*—his fall¹⁸⁷. It was a bad turn for the Prince-Patriarch—something he apparently did not see coming. He had made a critically bad decision. And, in the process he lost a valuable asset—the fraternal love and care of some highly positioned senior Paramount Chiefs whose assistance to his emancipationist cause could have been most valuable in the coming years. In Bresi-Ando’s stubbornness to stick to his master plan one can see exhibited a pattern of strong independent-mindedness on the part of the bishop, a character trait which drove a wedge into his interpersonal relationships and undermined his best emancipationist aspirations. We see this same fatal flaw manifested in his fall-out with his brother Ando-Brew, with his adopted brother Jones, with his nephew Teacher Adentwi, with his Nigerian representative Abradu, and so on. Too much independence, too much self-reliance, too many plans, perhaps not enough brotherly unity.

7. The obstruction of Ebibirpim Ltd. begins

In 1939 the shipping license (separate from the 1938 business license) was finally received and Ebibirpim Limited shipped its first batch of cocoa to London¹⁸⁸. Consequently, the first payment was received from the foreign contact¹⁸⁹. With this money, down-payments were made to the Bartholomew Ford Company in Accra for two new commercial lorries (trucks) for the Ebibirpim business. Additionally, a touring car was purchased for the bishop’s personal use¹⁹⁰. Things were flowing smoothly—everything looked positive. Rev. Edonu, the former Ebibirpim book-keeper, remembered how it all flowed so easily at first, since he was there assisting.

The commercial organization in London remitted money to British Bank (B.B.W.A). The first consignment’s remittance came. The money was withdrawn from the bank. I was there myself. I went with him [*Bresi-Ando*]. He brought the money and started to function, to pay. He withdrew it from the bank. Oh, he got

¹⁸⁷ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1085.

¹⁸⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, Log 23, p. 1527.

¹⁸⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1108-1110, and 21 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1478.

¹⁹⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1108-1109.

it. He got the money. We went to Bartholomew and paid for a touring car for his personal use, and then two commercial Ford lorries to convey cocoa from the office—from the house—to the beach. So he shipped cocoa!¹⁹¹

A second partial shipment was made—also in 1939—and a second remittance was wired down from London to the bank in Accra¹⁹². Then the government stepped in and the obstruction of Ebibirpim Limited began. Rev. Edonu was certain that the British knew that if Bresi-Ando's company began to function, it would “condemn” the foreign commercial organizations' very existence in the country¹⁹³. They saw that Bresi-Ando was seriously “trying to pull the Africans together,” therefore the government wanted to suppress his movement¹⁹⁴. “All whatever they did was to [...] destroy his system, his method—obstructing him.”¹⁹⁵ “If anything it [*i.e. the government/commercial oligarchy*] could do—influentially—to disband, to weaken the ability of his commercial band to function, they did it.”¹⁹⁶

7.1. Bresi-Ando's money is frozen in the bank

Suddenly, Bresi-Ando's money was mysteriously frozen in the bank and Bresi-Ando was denied its release¹⁹⁷. A letter from a business contact had been sent stating that the 2nd payment of the cocoa sale had been placed in the bank in London and that Bresi-Ando was to go and withdraw the money from the branch bank in Accra. Yet when he went to get it, the bank in Accra denied the release of the funds to him, saying that they had been advised not to give out the money¹⁹⁸. The bank told him that they could no longer conduct business with Ebibirpim Limited¹⁹⁹. Bresi-Ando was sure that the government had deliberately seized his money—that they had willingly intervened somehow—advising the bank against doing any future cocoa-business with him²⁰⁰. Rev. Edonu remembered that they (Bresi-Ando's followers) at the time all surmised that this seizure meant that the bank felt (or was advised) that it should not rely on a black man who had no sufficient funds of his own (other than the foreign returns which were coming in) to run such a

¹⁹¹ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Tape 59, Log 18, p. 1108-1109.

¹⁹² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 April 1994, Log 9, p. 445.

¹⁹³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1109.

¹⁹⁴ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 34, Log 16, p. 949 – 950.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 950.

¹⁹⁶ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Tape 59, Log 18, p. 1109-1110.

¹⁹⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 April 1994, Log 9, p. 445.

¹⁹⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 April 1994, Log 10, p. 568.

¹⁹⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 24 May 1994, Log 16, p. 950 marginal notation.

²⁰⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 April 1994, Log 10, p. 569-570.

big commercial enterprise. The whites feared a possible misappropriation by Bresi-Ando that “would run the whole thing into the ditch”²⁰¹. They were seriously concerned at the potential magnitude of Bresi-Ando’s African-run business and what it would mean for the economy of the Colony. After all, cocoa was the backbone of the Gold Coast, and Bresi-Ando had just laid his hands upon it. Bresi-Ando’s followers all knew that the whites in the Colony could easily write any kind of letter speaking ill of Bresi-Ando which would work against him²⁰². Therefore, as the negative events began to unfold, Rev. Edonu recalled: “everything became an assumption—that privately, the enemies were undermining him [*Bresi-Ando*], and openly, as seen”²⁰³. Bresi-Ando, Edonu, and friends all guessed that it was the bishop’s enemies at home and abroad who were working against him²⁰⁴. As Rev. Edonu and his colleagues saw it: Bresi-Ando and his “Anti-Pool” activities had created an open enemy—the British government, the whites, *their* church, and *their* commercial side²⁰⁵.

7.2. Bresi-Ando summons Archbishop Harrington

To get his stalled business up and running again, it became necessary that Bresi-Ando’s church colleague and London business associate, Archbishop Harrington (whom he had ordained in London in 1935), should quickly sail down to the Gold Coast to assist Bresi-Ando in establishing the credibility of their business and church²⁰⁶. Bresi-Ando hoped that his London business partner, being both white and British, would be able to vouch for his (Bresi-Ando’s) credibility as a *legitimate* bishop, for his church as being a *valid* church, and for his company as being *properly* managed and financially sound. In fact, Bresi-Ando was confident that the presence of Archbishop Harrington on the Gold Coast would so validate his status as “Patriarch” that this would lead to a *weakening* of the Anglican Church’s status within the Colony, while simultaneously drawing Africans out of the Anglican communion and into his own African-run “Orthodox Catholic” church²⁰⁷. The Anglican church would be seen as unnecessary—as existing only for the British. Everybody in the Colony would see that the Africans now had their own legitimate, canonical,

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 569.

²⁰³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 April 1994, Log 8, p. 428.

²⁰⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 24 May 1994, Log 16, p. 950 marginal notation.

²⁰⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 April 1994, Log 8, p. 428.

²⁰⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 947-953.

²⁰⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 April 1994, Log 8, p. 425.

African-run church²⁰⁸. Indeed, Bresi-Ando really had high hopes for this much-needed visit by his friend. Harrington's presence would boost the Patriarch's Pan-African position in both the commercial and ecclesiastical arenas.

However, intrigue now haunted Bresi-Ando. In an unfortunate turn of events, Archbishop Harrington was forbidden to sail, having been denied travel documents by the British authorities in London. He telegrammed Bresi-Ando from England stating that his passport had been suppressed by the government and he would not be coming down²⁰⁹. In a follow-up letter he explained that a doctor at the hospital would not give him medical clearance for travel, saying that he was not healthy enough to travel to tropical Africa²¹⁰. Edonu's conclusion was that Harrington was denied a visa for medical reasons as the government's excuse to keep him out of the country²¹¹. (Harrington did pass away less than three years later, on 17 January 1942²¹².) Bresi-Ando cried foul play, and he assumed that there was some communication and intrigue going on between the Gold Coast colonial powers, the imperial government in England, and the doctor²¹³. He informed his nephew Edonu that something was taking place against him in London²¹⁴. Bresi-Ando was firmly convinced that the British government was behind all this—particularly Gov. Hodson and the Anglican bishop of Accra²¹⁵. He told Edonu he was sure that these two powerful men had knowingly and deliberately prevented Archbishop Harrington from coming to the Gold Coast because they were afraid that the Anglican Church in the Colony would diminish if his pro-African “Orthodox Catholic” church was permitted to flourish. Such was Bresi-Ando's interpretation of the events²¹⁶. Thus, Archbishop Harrington could not come and save Ebibirpim Limited. Bresi-Ando had to wrestle with—and finally accept—the reality that when it came to cocoa, he was not going to be allowed to operate his business entirely in its own name.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 34, Log 16, p. 949-950, and 22 April 1994, Log 8, p. 425, and Log 10, p. 570.

²¹⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 949-950.

²¹¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 949-950, and 24 May 1994, Log 16, p. 950 marginal notation, and 25 May 1994, Log 16, p. 949 marginal notation.

²¹² Peter F. ANSON. *Bishops at Large*, p. 282.

²¹³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 949-950, and 24 May 1994, Log 16, p. 950 marginal notation.

²¹⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 24 May 1994, Log 16, p. 950 marginal notation.

²¹⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 April 1994, Log 8, p. 425.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 425-426.

7.3. Forced to take a white business partner

According to Rev. Edonu (who by this time was back on the scene in Accra to witness these events as a student at Bresi-Ando's new seminary), help arrived from another corner. Bartholomew Ford Company came to the rescue. Being owed a balance for the lorries, Mr. Bartholomew made a business arrangement with Ebibirpim Limited as a partner, in order to get the flow of money and cocoa moving again²¹⁷. Since Ebibirpim Limited could not receive money in its own name, Bartholomew gained some amount of financial control over Ebibirpim Limited's cocoa business²¹⁸. The bank, in turn, seeing a white man (i.e. Bartholomew) involved with the new business arrangement, agreed to release the frozen money of the cocoa sale to Bartholomew Ford Company on behalf of Ebibirpim Limited²¹⁹. After receiving it, Bartholomew paid out the same amount to Bresi-Ando to keep the Ebibirpim company going²²⁰. Thus, to stay operational, black Bresi-Ando had to partner with white Bartholomew. A humbling experience, but a very practical approach—considering his situation, the circumstances, and the challenges he was up against. Bresi-Ando was not a racist. Garveyite emancipationist-minded Bresi-Ando, who was actively striving for full equality with the whites, was not too proud to accept a helping hand from the white Mr. Bartholomew in order to further his greater goals. In this way, one can see Bresi-Ando's pragmatic willingness to follow the black-and-white “piano key” model of inter-racial cooperation espoused by the famous Gold Coast academic Kwegyir Aggrey who opposed the black-only “Africa for the Africans” separatist rhetoric of Garvey²²¹.

7.4. Denied shipping space

Together the two new partners—black Bresi-Ando and white Bartholomew—tried to continue shipping more cocoa, now a third shipment, to get money to reimburse the amounts that Ebibirpim Limited owed both Bartholomew Ford Company and the cocoa farmers²²². Sadly, a new major obstacle for Ebibirpim Limited arose to handicap the fledgling business: no more shipping space

²¹⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 April 1994, Log 9, p. 446.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²²⁰ *Ibid.*

²²¹ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 53-54.

²²² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 April 1994, Log 9, p. 446.

was granted to the African Ebibirpim company by the European shipping lines²²³. These shipping companies worked closely with the European cocoa-buying firms who were not fond of the financial threat posed by Ebibirpim Ltd. Not owning his own ships (as Garvey had), Bresi-Ando was at the mercy of the whites to provide him space to ship his cocoa²²⁴. It appears that Bresi-Ando—who tried so hard to operate 100% within the law—could only be stopped by conspiracy and foul play. Rev. Edonu was certain that the white-owned shipping companies had agreed amongst themselves to boycott Ebibirpim cocoa²²⁵. So, they easily squeezed Bresi-Ando out of the cocoa business by strategically ignoring his request for shipping space²²⁶. It was a dirty, desperate attempt by the foreigners to keep their competitive edge against cautious Bresi-Ando, who was doing everything legal and by the books. As a result, literally tons of Ebibirpim cocoa sat rotting on the beach, being ignored by the shippers²²⁷. This is what eye-witness Emmanuel Adentwi himself saw in mid-1939. No shipper would take it, claiming that they had “no room” on board for Bresi-Ando’s cocoa²²⁸.

8. Forced out of the cocoa business

Out-maneuvered by the colonial-European commercial system, by 14 May 1939 (the date of Rev. Edonu’s ordination to the priesthood), Bresi-Ando had to quit buying and shipping cocoa²²⁹. With his services no longer needed, Ebibirpim Ltd.’s book-keeper Edonu was ordained a priest in Accra by Bresi-Ando and re-assigned to St. Peter’s in Larteh, after Ebibirpim Ltd.’s cocoa business had collapsed²³⁰. Thus, only one year after his commercial emancipation dream had finally become a reality (08 May 1938 to 14 May 1939), Bresi-Ando was forced out of the very same competitive exportation business by a collusion of government and big business²³¹. His dear African company—Ebibirpim Limited—though technically still a legal business—could no longer receive

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 947-948.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 951-952.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

²²⁷ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1593.

²²⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 951-952.

²²⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 April 1994, Log 9, p. 447, and 11 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1604, and 20 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1828; FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1594; Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Certificate of Ordination to the Priesthood for Kweku Kurafi Edonu, [...] 14 May 1939, File GR1.27

²³⁰ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1594.

²³¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 24 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1482; Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1594.

money in its own name anywhere in the Gold Coast Colony, nor could it successfully ship cocoa²³². Quite figuratively and appropriately, the collapse of Ebibirpim Limited's cocoa business was followed by the huge 22 June 1939 Accra earthquake, 6.5 on the Richter scale—a rarity in Ghana²³³.

Bresi-Ando still owed a ton of money to the farmers who had advanced him their cocoa, and additionally, he owed a balance to Bartholomew Ford Company for the trucks he had purchased. In order to liquidate what they could of the stockpiled cocoa and try to clear these debts, all of the remaining Ebibirpim Limited cocoa was transferred to Bartholomew Ford²³⁴. After the earthquake, priest Edonu visited Accra from Larteh in order to inspect the damage done to his uncle's headquarters. He remembers seeing bags of Ebibirpim cocoa on trucks being hauled to the Bartholomew Ford Company premises²³⁵. Bartholomew sold what was salvageable to foreign exporting firms (such as UAC) at a low price and therefore Bresí-Ando got into debt²³⁶. He did clear his debt with Bartholomew²³⁷, but apparently he did not have enough money for all the farmers²³⁸. He needed a new business plan to stay afloat financially and to repay some farmers.

8.1. Switch to new commodity: cassava starch powder

Entrepreneur Bresí-Ando may have been knocked down, but he was not out—he still had some financial fight in him. His economic emancipation dream would not die so easily; plus, he still possessed legal business incorporation papers and licensing. Therefore, immediately the bishop set his eyes on an entirely different and new export commodity—cassava starch powder—more commonly known in its prepared form as “tapioca”²³⁹. As no one else in the whole of the Gold

²³² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 April 1994, Log 9, p. 447.

²³³ P. AMPONSAH. “The Earthquake Of 22nd June 1939 And Its Effect In Ghana,” EGS-AGU-EUG Joint Assembly, Abstracts from the meeting held in Nice, France, 6-11 April 2003, abstract #14097, *EGU, The Smithsonian/NASA Astrophysics Data System, SAO/NASA ADS Physics Abstract Service*, put online April 2003, (page consulted on 15 October 2011), <http://adsabs.harvard.edu/abs/2003EAEJA....14097A>; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 11 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1604, and 20 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1828.

²³⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 April 1994, Log 9, p. 447.

²³⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1824, 1828.

²³⁶ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1592-1593; FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1156.

²³⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 April 1994, Log 9, p. 447.

²³⁸ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1156.

²³⁹ Max ASSIMENG, in *Saints and Social Structures* (Tema 1986, p. 243), states that Bresí-Ando had had previous experience in Eastern Nigeria as a salesman of cassava starch in the 1920's. Rev. Edonu doubts this timeline, and limits his uncle Bresí-Ando's sale of Nigerian cassava starch within the 1940's time frame. (FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K.

Coast was shipping this product, his company would have no competitors, and hopefully, no obstacles²⁴⁰. Therefore, Bresi-Ando quickly geared up to become reportedly the first large-scale cassava starch powder preparation and exporting company in the Colony²⁴¹. (He may have been the first person ever to ship product this outside the country²⁴².) Rev. Edonu praised his uncle's varied abilities, especially regarding his orchestration of Ebibirpim Limited's speedy switch into the cassava starch business: "You know the man! The man is such a wonderful man. He could do anything! If you knew him personally, he would influence you—could influence you."²⁴³

Bresi-Ando's church members advanced him their dried cassava which he ground into powder at a rented corn mill in Accra²⁴⁴. This new production was up and running by the time of the June earthquake, because Rev. Edonu remembers seeing it all in action—it was new to him—when he came down to Accra to inspect the earthquake damage²⁴⁵. Unstoppable Bresi-Ando pressed forward, together with his business partner Bartholomew. At least one shipment of this starchy powder was shipped in 1940 and he received his payment easily—since he was now dealing in an entirely new commodity, not in the competitive cocoa market²⁴⁶. According to Rev. Edonu, monies accrued from the sale of cassava starch were used to repay the cocoa farmers²⁴⁷. But was Bresi-Ando able to pay it all back? This is debated because his plans were cut short.

EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 953, and 23 April 1994, Log 9, p. 448, and, 20 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1824; and, The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Tapioca", *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 28 February 2011, (page consulted on 07 August 2019), <https://www.britannica.com/topic/tapioca>, par. 1.)

²⁴⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 953.

²⁴¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 953, and 23 April 1994, Log 9, p. 448.

²⁴² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 953.

²⁴³ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 34, Log 16, p. 952.

²⁴⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 953.

²⁴⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 11 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1604, and 20 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1828.

²⁴⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 952, and 24 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1482, and 01 June 1994, Log 23, p. 1527.

²⁴⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 April 1994, Log 9, p. 447, and 20 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1825.

8.2. Forced to cease cassava shipments: Ebibirpim Ltd. on the Gold Coast is dead

In 1941 Ebibirpim Limited's cassava starch operation was halted by government interference²⁴⁸. The colonial Legislative Council passed a bill forbidding the export of cassava powder during wartime—claiming that the wide-spread sale and export of such a vital (locally consumed) food during the war might induce famine within the country²⁴⁹. Since Bresi-Ando was the *only one* exporting cassava powder in the entire Gold Coast Colony at the time, he (and all his friends) were sure that this law was aimed *directly* at him. It certainly was, as there is no other logical conclusion. “They all took it to be an open obstruction of Ando's work,” said Rev. Edonu, a direct blow aimed by the government to knock both Ebibirpim Limited and Bresi-Ando out of business once and for all from off the Coast²⁵⁰. Bresi-Ando had no choice but to let Ebibirpim Limited cease functioning as a business within the Gold Coast Colony²⁵¹. He relocated from Accra to Cape Coast in 1941 but did not stay there very long²⁵². Having faced an insurmountable wall of obstacles and interference, Bresi-Ando left the Gold Coast in 1942 and returned to his churches in Nigeria²⁵³. There he continued his cassava starch sales using his still-incorporated Ebibirpim Limited and quickly became known in southeastern Nigeria as “Bishop Starch”²⁵⁴. In 1943 the Governor of Nigeria inquired about Bresi-Ando. The new Governor of the Gold Coast (not Hodson, who governed only until 1941) wrote his colleague in reply: “He left the Gold Coast to escape his creditors.”²⁵⁵ Such slanders were commonly circulated concerning the absent bishop, saying he “ran away”²⁵⁶.

Whether the accusation was true or not—the question remains: Did the new governor of the Gold Coast learn from his official informants all the reasons why Bresi-Ando had been crushed

²⁴⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 952, and 24 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1482, and 01 June 1994, Log 23, p. 1527. Or, the government might have stopped him in late 1940.

²⁴⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 952, and 23 April 1994, Log 9, p. 448.

²⁵⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 April 1994, Log 10, p. 571.

²⁵¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 April 1994, Log 9, p. 448.

²⁵² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 25 April 1994, Log 9, p. 459.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁴ FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 17, p. 1062-1063, 1075, and 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1584-1585; Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 70.

²⁵⁵ The GOVERNOR of the Gold Coast. Letter to the Governor of Nigeria, 15 July 1943, Ibadan Archives File CSO.192/41394, African Universal Church and Ebibirpim Ltd., in Max ASSIMENG, “Methodological Africanism [...],” p. 61 & 77 footnote 6.

²⁵⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1858.

commercially and financially? Did anyone inform him of the tactics used by the previous administration together with the collusion of foreign commercial companies which drove Bresi-Ando out of business and, ultimately, out of the country? Sadly, political interference followed the business-minded bishop. Bresi-Ando was only able to export cassava powder from Nigeria for two years until the British government in that colony put him out of the cassava business in 1944 as they had done on the Gold Coast in 1941²⁵⁷. Joana Bresi-Ando remembered how the Nigerian Colonial government wrote her husband and ordered him to cease exporting cassava starch²⁵⁸. So he stopped.

9. Nephew defends uncle's honor

Rev. Edonu defended the honor of his uncle and reported that in 1939 Bresi-Ando had turned over all his remaining cocoa—that which had not rotted—to Bartholomew Ford in order to clear Ebibirpim Limited's remaining debt for the vehicles and to get cash to clear his debt to the farmers who had advanced their cocoa²⁵⁹. Bartholomew could independently sell off the cocoa to the various European companies at a low price, which he reportedly did²⁶⁰. However, it was said that Ebibirpim Limited still remained in debt to farmers who had advanced their cocoa²⁶¹. In defense of his uncle, loyal nephew Edonu carefully pointed out that he knew of no case ever being brought to court over this said debt of the company in the ensuing years, nor was any accusation ever brought personally before Bresi-Ando²⁶². After all, Ebibirpim Limited was a legally existing

²⁵⁷ FFN, Mrs. Joana BRESI-ANDO. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1584-1585.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 April 1994, Log 9, p. 447, and 20 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1824.

²⁶⁰ This explains the colorful possible connection between Ebibirpim Limited and the large, originally Greek-owned, company G.N.T.C. (formerly known as A. G. Levantes). Mr. Levantes, according to sources, was at first an employee of a British firm in the Gold Coast in the late 1930's but was buying and re-selling cheap cocoa on the side (at the time of the 1938 cocoa burning) in order to build up some savings with which to start his own firm. When he had enough money, he struck out on his own and started his Levantes Company, which later became G.N.T.C. According to Rev. Edonu, Levantes purchased former Ebibirpim Limited cocoa from Bartholomew at a low price and re-sold it for a profit, as he was customarily doing. So, in a certain sad way of looking at it, Ebibirpim Limited's failure gave a helping hand to the launching of G.N.T.C. This anecdote was re-told and re-shaped in various misconstrued ways, with some saying that Levantes came to the Gold Coast to run Ebibirpim Limited, or that he took it over and ran it in his own name, which is not true.(FFN, Andreas KYRIACOU. Accra, GAR, GH, 06 August 1993, Log 8, p. 401-402; Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1089-1091.)

²⁶¹ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1593; FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1156.

²⁶² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 April 1994, Log 9, p. 447.

incorporated enterprise, and as such it could have been sued, but never was. Rev. Edonu pointed out how his smart uncle had legally protected his person by setting up a company with limited liability. Its incorporated status was a legal protection for its shareholders, such as Bresi-Ando and his wife Wilhelmina, as creditors can only sue the corporation.

It was claimed that Bresi-Ando used the proceeds earned from his cassava starch export sales in 1940 to pay off his debt to the cocoa farmers—but this statement is disputed²⁶³. Just the same, with the subsequent untimely government interference in Bresi-Ando's cassava export, it is easy to conjecture that some debt remained—at least perhaps to cassava farmers—to be erased only by time and by Bresi-Ando's long absence from the country (from 1942-1955). “Anyway, about complaints and cases,” stated Rev. Edonu, “Bresi-Ando had such a charisma about him that anyone going to him to complain would immediately forget the palaver as soon as he met or saw Bresi-Ando. So beautiful a man. So confident. So academic. So commanding. Who could say anything?”²⁶⁴

It is a fact of history: there *never* was a court case in whole of the Gold Coast over Ebibirpim cocoa that caused Bresi-Ando to “run” away and hide in Nigeria in 1942²⁶⁵, yet there was always the *rumor*. People spoke ill of Bresi-Ando, saying that he “ran away” because he got into debt. Additionally, the fact that he stayed away so long did not help matters either. To stop these rumors was the reason why Rev. Edonu and Rev. Labi Odeng traveled to Nigeria in 1949 to locate their long-absent bishop and bring him home. He promised to come but again continued to delay. In exasperation and troubled by the constant rumors that the Patriarch had “run away,” in 1955 the ever-loyal nephew sent his faithful companion, Rev. Odeng Labi, again to Nigeria, this time to bring Bresi-Ando home in person to the Gold Coast to “face the music,” whatever it may be—angry debtors, court, or jail. Their ultimatum to Bresi-Ando was “come now” or else they (Edonu and Labi) “would quit”!²⁶⁶ The tactic worked. Finally, Bresi-Ando returned to the Gold Coast, over Christmas of 1955 and into the New Year of 1956, after an absence of nearly 14 years! For

²⁶³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 23 April 1994, Log 9, p. 447, and 20 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1825.

²⁶⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1858.

²⁶⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1858.

²⁶⁶ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 10 October 1955 entry, File GR3; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 995, and 23 July 1994, Log 31, p. 1959.

two months he toured his remaining Ghanaian parishes like a returning war hero! He posed for photos, held a synod with his clergy, went on a parade with church members, visited old political friends, and made up with his brother Ando-Brew and nephew Teacher Adentwi. Not a single court case was brought against him over money during this reunion visit. Yet after all this excitement, Bresi-Ando returned to his life in Nigeria where he stayed for *another* 14 years, only to finally come home to Ghana in 1970 shortly before his death later that same year. Various reasons for his decision to make Nigeria his life-long home have been explored in his Biography (Section Two).

10. After-effects of collapse of cocoa venture

It is a widely known fact—not conjecture—that the collapse of the cocoa side of Ebibirpim Limited in 1939 did lead to a major crisis in the history of the young African Universal (O-C) Church in which many, many members quit the church that same year when they discovered that their elders had no money with which to repay them for their cocoa²⁶⁷. These elders, who had acted as Ebibirpim Ltd. cocoa buying agents, lost their leadership status within their communities and suffered harassment by angry farmers who had trusted them with their cocoa but got nothing in return²⁶⁸. As a result, many of these church elders resigned from Bresi-Ando's church in extreme sorrow²⁶⁹, being sad that the government had suppressed their commercial actions²⁷⁰.

The bad news hit hardest in the Asante farmland, where the bulk of the cocoa farms are located. There the African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church membership in the Asante Kingdom was particularly angered, feeling that the impressive Bresi-Ando had lied to them, failing to deliver on his promise of profits²⁷¹. The result was an immediate decline in membership, including several complete parish closures²⁷². Not all of Bresi-Ando's church members in the Asante had cocoa farms—only the rich “cocoa” men. And when those key individuals in certain parishes got angry

²⁶⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1107.

²⁶⁸ Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1094-1095.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 32, and 10 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1107.

²⁷¹ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1156-1159.

²⁷² FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 June 1993, Log 18, p. 1159, and Log 19, p. 1160, and 15 October 1994, Log 19, p. 1160 marginal notation.

and left because of having lost their investment, then those mission stations collapsed²⁷³. No more “money men” to keep the local parish open. The poorer members—who could not afford to keep the station open by themselves—sympathized with the rich and left too²⁷⁴. Thus, at least six parishes in the Asante Diocese closed immediately after Ebibirpim Limited’s cocoa business collapsed in 1939²⁷⁵.

Everyone in the African Universal (O-C) Church had been putting their faith in its commercial side’s emergence²⁷⁶. After all, it was the perfect example of their concrete application of Bresi-Ando’s emancipation ideology and preaching. However, Rev. Edonu recalled that in the Colony “the membership became numerous, for nothing. As they came in, so they went away. It dwindled when what they expected to get they could not get—material progress.”²⁷⁷ This showed the superficial level of commitment to Bresi-Ando’s AIC by a segment of his membership—who had joined, not altruistically for the sake of the Gospel, but simply in hope of gaining more money via the promised commercial emancipation²⁷⁸. The Ebibirpim Limited 1939 “commercial earthquake” really rattled and upset Bresi-Ando’s church community when its members, farmers, town chiefs and elders “found that following the church commercially, it could not go farther. The church started to dwindle. It was the commercial side that started to put a check to the spreading of the church,” reported Rev. Edonu²⁷⁹. Thus, the sudden recent *spike* in African Universal (O-C) Church membership owing to financial aspirations led to a sudden *decline* in the same church membership due to the collapse of the cocoa sale²⁸⁰. This, of course, was combined with the disruptions and loss of membership due to the schisms that had already started between Bresi-Ando and Ando-Brew in the north, and with Adentwi in the south, and would continue through the 1940 war years. Although in early 1939 the Ebibirpim/African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church had seen its greatest number of parishes and parishioners, from mid-1939 a long period of decline set in.

²⁷³ FFN, Rev. John Frank SARKODIE-AIDOO. Accra, GAR, GH, 15 October 1994, Log 19, p. 1160 marginal notation.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁵ Parish List, Asante Region, File GR20.

²⁷⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1504.

²⁷⁷ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 968.

²⁷⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 968 marginal notation.

²⁷⁹ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 35, Log 16, p. 966.

²⁸⁰ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 09 March 1993, Tape 58, Log 18, p. 1095.

11. No more “Bread to eat for the body”

1939 was the year of the BIG earthquake in Accra. In the same vein, the collapse of Ebibirpim Limited’s cocoa venture was an “earthquake” to the small African Universal (O-C) Church: broken ground, broken hearts, broken dreams, broken everything. It was all very, very sad, but Bresi-Ando would never talk about nor admit to failure²⁸¹. “It was not a good year”, recalled Rev. Edonu²⁸². Bresi-Ando’s emancipationist motto (encapsulating the “Kofey synthesis” of a religious denomination combined with commercial activity, the spiritual with the material)—“*Eternal life for the soul, and bread to eat for the body. Look for them here*”—had proven to be a failure, but not for lack of courage or trying²⁸³. Nephew Edonu with his friend Rev. Labi Odeng worked hard over the next four decades to salvage what they could of Bresi-Ando’s broken 1930’s Pan-African dream. They focused on “*Eternal life for the soul*” and abandoned the failed the commercial emancipation. Their official church stamp/seal was modified to read: “Orthodox Catholic Church: *Eternal life for the soul*”²⁸⁴. Only the older generation, when reading that stamp, would recognize that one half of the original phrase was missing. No more was there the hope for “Bread to eat for the body” coming from a commercial side of their church. Only they, with some tears and perhaps lingering disappointment, would remember and understand the significance of the omission. Bresi-Ando’s dream had been crushed and thrown into the dust bin of history’s unfulfilled dreams, as the Paramount Chiefs Ofori Atta I, Tsibu Darku IX, and Amanfi III had warned would happen, to lie there along with the discarded plans and valiant attempts of Laura Kofey and Marcus Garvey. They were all too early for their time in history. Years later, Bresi-Ando’s young admirer, President Nkrumah, would develop within the free independent nation of Ghana something similar to what the Patriarch had wanted. A national Ghanaian-run Cocoa Marketing Board (which the British had begun in 1946 on the Gold Coast following the 1938 Cocoa Crisis and the war-time price controls) was greatly enhanced and empowered, affording Ghanaian farmers some protection from foreign price exploiters²⁸⁵. Using surplus funds from cocoa sales via this Cocoa Marketing

²⁸¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 01 June 1994, Log 23, p. 1518.

²⁸² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 20 July 1994, Log 29, p. 1830.

²⁸³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 15 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1701.

²⁸⁴ School Log Book of the Apam Ebibirpim Academy: 1933-1946, p. 301, File GR4.

²⁸⁵ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 120, 170.

Board, Nkrumah funded his quickly growing national educational program²⁸⁶. Cocoa profits were funding indigenous education. Bresi-Ando would have been proud of Nkrumah for using this idea.

Conclusion

Bresi-Ando looked to fulfill his palette of emancipation aspirations with his crowning achievement: an African church-run business that would finance all his other dreams into reality. He targeted the Gold Coast's single cash crop—cocoa—and drew upon himself the ire of the white imperialist business community. Trying to actualize Marcus Garvey's commercial dream for the black man, and inheriting from Laura Adorkor Kofey her synthesis of religion and commerce, Bresi-Ando strove to use his church and its business to liberate the black man from the economic exploitative clutches of the white man who had been mistreating Gold Coasters for centuries. Thus, promising profits to his fellow African farmers and hoping to secure sufficient, self-sustainable funding for his other existing emancipationist efforts, such as the poor Ebibirpim School system, Bresi-Ando established himself as an "Orthodox" pioneer who was trying to actualize *through* his church a *complete comprehensive* approach to mission work that set him decades ahead of that which the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa has initiated within its current missionary renaissance of the late 20th/early 21st Centuries (the Orthodox Churches of Kenya and Uganda, excepted)²⁸⁷.

While the Cocoa Crisis of 1937-1938 proved to be the perfect opportunity for Bresi-Ando to galvanize and shape a national resistance to foreign price controls into a working, incorporated, registered and licensed business plan, it was the colonial Legislative Council Members who correctly weighed the true importance and significance of the threat that Bresi-Ando's fledgling Ebibirpim Limited posed to New Imperialism. The old fear that colonial whites had had of Marcus Garvey stirring up the African natives against them—which had even led to the banning of his *Negro World* newspaper in parts of Africa—was now applied to Bresi-Ando. Already he had a number of lesser chiefs cooperating with him, he was a nationally known figure (as the retired politician Kojo Botsio has borne witness), and he was smart, bold, and visionary. From the white man's perspective, Bresi-Ando was organizing the farmers and chiefs as a commercial threat

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

²⁸⁷ These joined the Patriarchate in 1946.

which could ultimately economically and politically “ruin the nation” by ruining *their* profits and their mode of exploitative profit-taking²⁸⁸. Worse yet, the stubborn Prince-Patriarch was doing everything legally, out in the open, without any fear. Thus, within their secret chambers the cabal of colonial politicians and European trading interests planned the end of Bresi-Ando: cutting off his shipping would cut off his funding, ruin his business, put the native competition out of the cocoa game, and bring Bresi-Ando to his knees. Thus, by simply denying shipping space to Ebibirpim cocoa and by passing a law forbidding the *only* exporter of cassava starch in the Colony to ship cassava, Ebibirpim Limited was forced to cease functioning as a business within the Gold Coast.

Bresi-Ando’s “emancipated” world collapsed all around him, egged on by his own fractious antics with his brother clergy, which caused schism after schism within his African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church. As disappointed farmers fumed and confused members streamed out of his AIC, as his parishes closed and his schools lost all hope of their needed injection of capital, Bresi-Ando—discerning the handwriting on the wall—departed the Gold Coast for Nigeria in 1942, where he hoped his Pan-African dream could still live, survive and thrive. As for the Gold Coast and the Asante Kingdom, after an exciting ten years throughout the decade of the 1930’s, Bresi-Ando’s emancipationist efforts there were nearly dead. In fact, all would have died, had it not been for the loving and stubbornly loyal heroic efforts of two men, nephew Edonu and his able assistant, Labi Odeng, who managed to save a portion of the former far-flung dioceses of Bresi-Ando and present it forty years later into the bosom of the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria as a daughter church. Through their efforts, a piece of what Bresi-Ando had inaugurated lives on—an African church that is now truly—theologically and canonically—Orthodox Catholic in an independent and free Ghana.

²⁸⁸ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1590-1591.

SECTION THREE: SPECIFIC ANALYSIS OF THE “PAN-AFRICANISM” OF BRESI-ANDO DURING THE 1930’s

CHAPTER 17 BRESI-ANDO’S *POLITICAL* EMANCIPATION

Purpose

The purpose of this chapter is to elucidate as much as possible the political side of Bresi-Ando’s emancipationist efforts within the Gold Coast in the 1930’s, describing both his constraints as well as his attempt to supersede those limitations. Any clues found will be further evidence that Pan-Africanism was his guiding vision.

Highly educated in mission schools, well-versed and bold, Bresi-Ando was always prepared to challenge anybody—religiously, commercially, or politically—with any question¹. From his vantage point in the 1930’s both in Accra and in the Central Region, Rev. Edonu claimed that Bresi-Ando’s popularity had been as big as that of the famous politician, Dr. Joseph B. Danquah, the “dean” of Gold Coast nationalist politics, who happened to be Bresi-Ando’s personal friend who, as a lawyer, also provided him some legal services on occasion².

The fame of Bresi-Ando has a high-profile public eyewitness, none other than the renowned Ghanaian politician and elder statesman, the Honorable Mr. Kojo Botsio, one of modern Ghana’s “founding fathers”³. He was President Nkrumah’s most trusted assistant⁴, who during his career in Ghana’s government held various posts as Minister of Agriculture, Education, Foreign Affairs, Social Welfare, Trade and Development, Transport and Communications⁵. Mr. Botsio himself personally knew Bishop Bresi-Ando in the 1930’s and he recalled that the bishop was locally quite

¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 17, p. 1001-1002.

² Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary of Rev. K. K. Edonu: February 1951-May 1957, 16 February 1956 entry, File GR3; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Tape 59, Log 18, p. 1116; The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. “J.B. Danquah,” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., put online 09 April 2018, (page consulted on 09 November 2018), <https://www.britannica.com/biography/J-B-Danquah>, par. 1 and 3.

³ Ofeibea QUIST-ARCTON. “Ghana at 50 Reflects on Dream of Nationhood,” *npr.org*, put online 04 March 2007, (page consulted on 24 October 2019), <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=7685171>, par. 1 and photo caption 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Emmanuel ASIEDU-ACQUAH. “Kojo Botsio,” *Dictionary of African Biography*, vol. 1, Emmanuel K. Akyeampong and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (Editors in Chief), Oxford & New York, Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 498; “Kojo Botsio is Dead,” *GhanaWeb*. Put online 07 February 2001, (page consulted on 08 October 2019), <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Kojo-Botsio-is-Dead-13490>.

famous, being “very big” in his native Central Region of the Gold Coast⁶. Mr. Botsio explained how far Bresi-Ando’s fame had reached: “nationally [...] he was one of the public figures at the time. He was quite widely known as a religious person, as an educationist,” “he was quite a powerful figure, very versatile,” who in his day in his area was “definitely the most prominent,” being “very big” in his native Central Region of the Gold Coast, with name-recognition extending beyond that region to the Western Region and perhaps to the Asante area of the Gold Coast⁷. As a very close assistant to the late Ghanaian President, Mr. Botsio was the “next man” in line after him⁸. Because of this status, Mr. Botsio’s knowledge of—and witness to—Nkrumah’s intimacy with Bresi-Ando speaks volumes. Of Bresi-Ando, Mr. Botsio reported that “[o]ur late president, our leader, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, was very fond of the man and he used to engage in pencil conversation with him”⁹.

Mr. Botsio remembers Bishop Bresi-Ando being very outspoken as he boldly preached *freedom* for the African during the era of *colonialism*. However, Bresi-Ando was *not*, as Mr. Botsio was quick to point out, a politician. Rather, Mr. Botsio defined Bresi-Ando as a “nationalist” advocating for “self-rule”, working for Africanization, and religiously seeking to establish an indigenous church that would be free from the dominance and direction of the foreign establishments¹⁰. Although he was a friend and moral encourager of the rising class of politicians, Bresi-Ando could not himself directly effect a political emancipation in his decade of the ‘30s. Thus, he devised—or was guided to—a “corrected” plan in which, using his new status as an “autocephalous” African “Jacobite” Patriarch, he could transcend mere nationalism and achieve ultimate emancipation for blacks around the world—within his AIC. Thus, “Prince-Patriarch” Bresi-Ando promoted his concept of the “Spiritual Nation” while preaching throughout the Gold Coast during the 1930’s.

⁶ RI, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1197-1198.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1188, 1197-1198, 1200.

⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 997, and 17 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1453.

⁹ RI, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1188.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1190-1192.

Sources

The most important primary sources for this political chapter are the field notes and transcripts of two landmark interviews with the late Honorable Kojo Botsio conducted by Andrew Anderson in the residence of Mr. Botsio in Osu, Accra, Ghana—one in June of 1993 and the other in November of 1994. Mr. Botsio speaks of his own interaction with Bresi-Ando in the 1930's and provides first-hand insight into Bresi-Ando's friendship with Ghana's 1st President, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

The other main primary sources for this chapter are the transcripts and field notes (FFN) of the Fulbright interviews with Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Bresi-Ando's nephew and life-long assistant. A total of 15 recorded interviews and 49 handwritten follow-up interviews conducted with the late Deputy Bishop by Andrew Anderson between September 1992 and November 1994 form a bedrock of information from which Bresi-Ando's political emancipationist mentality and endeavors have been quarried.

Rev. Edonu's multiple research interviews are supported by dated entries from his personal diary—"Diary of Rev. K. K. Edonu: February 1951-May 1957," located in Anderson's Ghana research Fulbright File GR3 and in the archives of the Orthodox Archdiocese of Accra. Both the diary and the interviews bear witness to Bresi-Ando's interaction with the most famous early Ghanaian politicians. During his brief two-month return trip to the Gold Coast over the Christmas holidays of 1955—as the nation was on the verge of its independence and political fever was running very high—Bresi-Ando made sure that he visited or contacted his 1930's-era political friends whom he had not seen since he left the Coast in 1942: Nkrumah, Danquah, Botsio, Kobina Sekyi, etc. The Edonu diary establishes indisputable evidence of Bresi-Ando's friendships with the celebrated men of Ghana's history—with names, dates, and places.

The Edonu interviews also provide evidence and description of the political emancipationist ideology that Bresi-Ando was preaching throughout the Gold Coast in those days "before" its independence-era politics (post-WWII) officially arrived. To substantiate these memories of Rev. Edonu regarding his uncle's sermons and teachings, the Patriarch's own spiritualized "national" emancipationist ideology has been drawn from his own writing, *The Apostolic Succession of the African Universal Church (Orthodox-Catholic)*.

Finally, as secondary sources, Kofi Nyidevu Awoonor's *Ghana—A Political History* (1990), along with Ebenezer Obiri Addo's *Kwame Nkrumah: A Case Study of Religion and Politics in Ghana* (1999), and F. K. BUAH's, *A History of Ghana* (1998), have been used to supply historical facts and context when needed. However, the choicest secondary source is Martin Wight's, *The Gold Coast Legislative Council* (1947), which was printed when the British were still in command of the Coast. Written close to the time of Bresi-Ando, this work carries much historical weight since it is a study of the political climate of the Colony from 1925 to 1946, right up to the explosive birth of Ghana's independence movement in 1948, which Wight could not foresee. He thoroughly examines the activities of the leading Gold Coast political figures of the 1930's, many of whom were personal friends of Bresi-Ando.

Structure

This *final* chapter of the five analytical chapters comprising Section Three is divided into *four* separate parts:

- 1) Bresi-Ando was a preacher, not a politician
- 2) Bresi-Ando was a nationalist, looking for self-rule
- 3) Bresi-Ando was a friend and moral encourager of the rising class of politicians
- 4) Beyond mere nationalism: Bresi-Ando's concept of the "Spiritual Nation"

The chapter is structured in a way to carry the reader from the material to the immaterial, from nationalism to the "Spiritual Nation," from constraints to options. In part one, Bresi-Ando is presented as a *preacher* who intentionally stayed in the pulpit, as the ballot box was precluded for him and the jail was to be avoided. Therefore, constrained by the reality of British imperial power, Bresi-Ando opted for an *indirect* approach to political emancipation, preaching against the white churches and against white dominance, but not organizing political actions or parties against the white-run government.

In part two, the testimony of his Deputy Bishop, Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, is enhanced by that of Mr. Kojo Botsio, portraying Bresi-Ando as a *nationalist*, looking for self-rule. A mutually beneficial relationship developed between Bresi-Ando's AIC and Ghana's growing political

climate. While the Prince-Patriarch preached political emancipation, he worked hard to avoid the charge of treason.

Both Rev. Edonu and Mr. Botsio testify that their esteemed friend and senior, Bishop Bresi-Ando, had many personal contacts among those men who would later become the most famous leaders of Ghana's independence movement. Therefore, in part three evidence is presented to demonstrate the *friendship* between Bresi-Ando and President Kwame Nkrumah, Dr. Danquah, Mr. Kojo Botsio, and lawyer Kobina Sekyi. The Patriarch's role as influencer in their up-and-coming political careers is investigated, yet it is shown that Bresi-Ando personally avoided Ghanaian politics in the long run.

Not being able to achieve any real *political* liberation on the Gold Coast during the 1930's, part four will explore Bresi-Ando's alternative option of promoting a "*Spiritual Nation*" in its place. Bishop Bresi-Ando developed his own theology and terminology for this concept, which will be defined using the terms: "Sister nations," "Prince-Patriarchs," and "Other worldly" liberation.

1. Bresi-Ando was a preacher, not a politician

Envisioning a liberated Africa, free of the white man's colonial rule, Bresi-Ando took deliberate, careful steps to help bring this multi-faceted all-African emancipation into reality. He openly announced that he had set up his AIC as the vehicle to all freedoms for the African¹¹. For him, this meant ultimately that he began his church so that the African—in time—would also be *politically* free. Spiritual liberation would precede the hoped-for political liberation, which was beyond his reach at the present moment. But in this category, Bresi-Ando was well aware that he was far ahead of his time. Here he had to be very careful, lest he be branded as an insurrectionist by the British and be imprisoned, or, worse, be hung for his actions. So, in the area of political emancipation, it behooved Bresi-Ando to be tactful, circumspect, and to move with caution.

¹¹ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 3, Log 2, p. 54.

1.1. The *indirect* approach to political emancipation

In the 1930's, due to the political climate during Bresi-Ando's sojourn on the Gold Coast, there was no direct means to achieve his political aim openly. The British were clearly in charge, they were there to stay for the long run, and to directly challenge their rule was considered treason. In fact, in 1923 the beloved Governor Guggisberg expressed his opinion that it would take over 100 years for the Gold Coast to achieve independence¹². However, despite the fact that political freedom appeared slow to arrive, it was still part of the over-all package that Bresi-Ando presented to the elders at Apam in 1932. This subject of emancipation would require an *indirect* approach, explained his nephew, Rev. Edonu. If the Africans—by means of their own churches, schools and businesses (and specifically, with those of Bresi-Ando)—would attain to religious, educational, and commercial freedom, then “*the sum of these three*” would be, in a sense, political freedom; or, at least, these three, along with Bresi-Ando's constant preaching on African emancipation, would help usher in that desired politically-free era¹³.

Thus, as noted in previous chapters, using as his starting point an understanding of an all-encompassing deliverance based upon the Gospel's proclamation of freedom, Bresi-Ando boldly began to preach *emancipation* for the black man in all areas of his life, “in all stages of man's requirement”: socio-cultural emancipation, religious emancipation, educational emancipation, commercial emancipation, *and political* emancipation¹⁴. The Africans were to *come together* to be free in all areas, not only in religion, education, and commerce, but also someday in politics¹⁵.

1.2. Preaching against the white churches

Bresi-Ando states in his booklet, *The Apostolic Succession*, that he launched his emancipationist dream with “the fire of enthusiasm” in order “to seek unity and freedom of all peoples of the race”¹⁶. He wrote that when he began his AIC, he:

¹² F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 115.

¹³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 419, and 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1513-1517.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 419.

¹⁶ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 12.

Set out with heart glowing with the fire of enthusiasm to accomplish the Master's Work; poor but filled with naught save the love of God, the salvation of souls, to seek unity and freedom of all peoples of the race.¹⁷

This enthusiastic desire was two-fold: to “save” souls for God *and* to unite and free all blacks—“all peoples of the race”—not just in Africa but in other countries as well. This goal he envisioned was to be accomplished *through* his independent African church.

However, it is important to remember that Bresi-Ando was a churchman, *not* a politician. As Mr. Botsio pointed out, Bresi-Ando “was not dabbling in politics”¹⁸. This point must be grasped firmly, in order to understand how Bresi-Ando tried to effect his liberation of the black man. He was physically safe as long as he stayed in his pulpit. Rev. Edonu explained that in the Gold Coast Colony, his uncle Bresi-Ando had clearly stood on another platform—not the political stage, but the religious dais—and from it he preached his religious and political emancipation¹⁹. Specifically, Rev. Edonu remembers how Bresi-Ando in his sermons “really preached against the British churches in the country. They should move away, should go away and give room, give way to the African.”²⁰ His homilies stated that the white-run British churches should give the African the chance to discover his own capabilities, to finally move up from apprentice status to master²¹.

As an ex-Methodist, Bresi-Ando's own personal views against that particular mission church, as being part of the British colonial establishment, were very strong²². But he was also against the Anglicans and the Presbyterians too. (One must remember that back in WWI the British colonial authorities had transferred the German Basel Mission over to the Scottish Presbyterians²³.) Of course, Bresi-Ando was against the Roman Catholics, not only because of his Jacobite Non-Chalcedonian theological stance, but certainly in light of the fact that their fast-paced growth in the country was linked to the favored status granted them by Sir James Marshall, a former Scottish colonial Chief Justice of the Gold Coast Colony and a zealous Roman Catholic convert of the

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ FFN, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 15 November 1994, Log 27, p. 1760.

¹⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 973-974.

²⁰ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 36, Log 16, p. 974.

²¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 June 1994, Log 26, p. 1663-1668.

²² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 36, Log 16, p. 974.

²³ Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...],” p. 6.

English Oxford movement²⁴. Therefore, Bresi-Ando conceived all the foreign missions at that time as linked to the colonial establishment²⁵. He saw all the British missionary churches as having political views which necessarily supported the official British party-line and policy, something which Bresi-Ando was firmly against because it was “always suppressing and reducing the African”²⁶. He viewed the white colonial church leadership as being under the influence of the white colonial political rulers. Being subject to the colonial powers, he considered the British missionary churches to be merely “tools of the government,” supporting and even helping implement its policies²⁷. In this way, the white colonial churches were seen by Bresi-Ando to be the local “scouts” in the area of white political influence upon the Gold Coast nationals²⁸. Therefore, Bresi-Ando spoke against the white suppression of blacks by the British churches and wanted them removed²⁹. Moreover, after he had gained his “canonical” episcopal consecration in London in 1935, the new “Prince-Patriarch” Bresi-Ando had an even greater reason to believe that now the white bishops had no purpose to stay in the country any longer, as all the Africans now had a “legitimate” black hierarch to lead them in an “authentic” African “Apostolic” church³⁰. The white bishops—who by nature were always cooperating with the white colonial government—were free now to leave the Colony. In Bresi-Ando’s way of thinking, hierarchical African emancipation had been achieved. *Point final*. The white hierarchs were unnecessary and should return to their respective homelands. Yet Bresi-Ando’s critical views were not limited merely to the colonial hierarchs and their churches. Simply put, Bresi-Ando was against the white man’s rule in the country itself, and he was against it in every aspect of life in which it was to be found—in religion, in commerce, in education, in politics, and in all of society. All together, these added up to the colonial imperialism of the British, which Bresi-Ando was against³¹.

²⁴ Charles Alexander HARRIS. “Marshall, James (1829–1889),” *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 36, Sidney Lee (Ed.), London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1893, p. 238-239; “Sir James Marshall,” *Knights and Ladies of Marshall*. Put online 2019, (page consulted on 16 May 2019), <http://marshallan.org/sir-james-marshall/>, par. 5-9; Jones Darkwa AMANOR. “Pentecostalism in Ghana [...]” p. 4.

²⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 974.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 June 1994, Log 26, p. 1666.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 974.

³⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 22 April 1994, Log 8, p. 425.

³¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 June 1994, Log 26, p. 1663-1668.

1.3. Preaching against white dominance

Though not a racist (as was explained in the Chapter 13 on “Bresi-Ando’s *Socio-Cultural Emancipation*”)³², we must note that the Patriarch was strongly critical of the “white” way of life which was always presenting itself as being “superior” to the African way. He dreamed of full equality. He wanted to be just as *free* to be *black* as they were *free* to be *white*. He desired to remove the oppression of the African by the white man which had penetrated *every* aspect of life—culture, religion, education, commerce, and politics³³. In colonized Africa, the white man ruled *both* church and state. Bresi-Ando, critical of the white man’s rule in both, was against his policies and system of government which were shackling the black man, not affording him the liberty to express himself as an African³⁴. This was why he started his church, said his nephew Edonu, inviting his brother and sister Africans to join him and be free³⁵. Bresi-Ando wanted the African to realize the authenticity and importance of being an African—to understand that they should be free to rule themselves in all areas of their lives³⁶. Here Bresi-Ando bubbles over with so much Garveyism that he cannot contain himself. “Africa for the Africans!” was Garvey’s famous cry³⁷. It was Bresi-Ando’s heartfelt cry too—his dream and his constant motivation. Africa was to be *for* the Africans and *by* the Africans, in every way, shape and form. This was why he had started his own churches, his own schools, his own businesses, in addition to advocating an authentic African life-style with an African vision of life (his own “African spectacles”)³⁸.

Bresi-Ando, like Garvey, was deeply convicted that “equal status with the white races” should be given to the Africans, along with their own black countries and black governments. Marcus Garvey had shouted:

the *black* peoples of the world are entitled to a country and government of their own where they can develop their own culture, industry and commerce, and elevate themselves to an *equal status* with the *white* races of the world.³⁹

³² Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 74.

³³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 June 1994, Log 26, p. 1663-1668.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1666.

³⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 June 1994, Log 26, p. 1663-1668.

³⁷ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 14, 34.

³⁸ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 74.

³⁹ “Garvey and the ‘Garvey Movement,’” *Opportunity: A Journal of Negro Life*, vol. 16, January 1928, p. 4-5, in Robert A. HILL (Ed.), *The Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, vol. VII, Berkley, University of California Press, 1991, p. 122-123—italics added.

What Garvey had preached in this vein, Bresi-Ando loudly echoed across the Gold Coast. Thus, religiously Bresi-Ando was against the colonial government, a position which naturally brought him into friendship with other Africans—the rising class of intellectuals, the lawyers and budding politicians—who were also against the government, though Bresi-Ando stood on the religious platform and they on the political⁴⁰. Bresi-Ando grasped the total picture in that he saw the problem of white colonial suppression in the Gold Coast Colony in a very broad view, as touching all areas of life. He did not focus on only one aspect—the political—as the African politicians did. Yet, as they agreed in theory with him, so they and Bresi-Ando came together and became friends⁴¹.

Bresi-Ando promoted the idea of political freedom through his preaching during his ten years of activity on the Coast, yet he never himself tried to *directly* realize it by becoming a politician or by politically provoking the people to rebel⁴². Rather, he continued to aim *indirectly* at political freedom with his careful preaching, and with his establishment of his churches, schools, and later, his business⁴³. He would preach: “It is time for the African to be free in all aspects,” but he never openly spoke against the actions of the government in power⁴⁴. To have done so would have been suicide.

Rev. Edonu said that his uncle had preached as a *prophet* because all that he longed for came into reality later—the socio-cultural, religious, educational, commercial, and political freedoms⁴⁵. In fact, in all his emancipation preaching and desire for political freedom, Bresi-Ando was ten to fifteen years ahead of the real Ghanaian political movement, which did not begin in earnest on the Gold Coast until 1947 when Dr. Danquah formed the first political party, the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), and invited Kwame Nkrumah to join and serve as its General Secretary⁴⁶. However, by that time Bresi-Ando had already moved back to Nigeria and thus was absent from this exciting stage of real-live Gold Coast political nationalism, as Nkrumah transformed Garvey’s

⁴⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 973-974.

⁴¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 June 1994, Log 26, p. 1665-1666.

⁴² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1515.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1514, and 30 June 1994, Log 26, p. 1664.

⁴⁶ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 136; F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 153.

version of global Pan-Africanism (“black internationalism”) into his own version of active Pan-Africanism (“African nationalism”) that would not quit agitating until the Union Jack was replaced with the new flag of independent Ghana⁴⁷.

Although Bresi-Ando in the 1930’s had become friends with famous rising politicians, such as Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Dr. Joseph Danquah, Lawyer Kobina Sekyi, DeGraft-Johnson, and Kojo Botsio⁴⁸, he was not strictly in their category—that of politician—but he held influence and popularity as they did just the same⁴⁹. The question therefore remains, did Bresi-Ando have any positive influence upon these men who later became the political leaders of the young modern nation of Ghana? If so, to what extent?

2. Bresi-Ando was a nationalist, looking for self-rule

In a telegram to Prime Minister Nkrumah, Bresi-Ando describes himself as “a nationalist”⁵⁰. The second witness to this fact is the famous Ghanaian politician, the Honorable Mr. Kojo Botsio. From him we learn that Bresi-Ando was definitely a *nationalist*, not a real politician. Of Bresi-Ando, whom he had met on occasion during the 1930’s, Mr. Botsio said: “He wasn’t a politician, but he was a nationalist”, “you could see the fire of nationalism in him.”⁵¹ Mr. Botsio defined the term “nationalism” in context by stating “if you are a nationalist you want self-rule by Africans—Self-Rule—for the African to really govern himself”⁵². “Self-Rule” by Africans in every area of life is what Bresi-Ando really desired, and by holding such views, he was naturally thrown together with other men who held similar views during his stay in the Gold Coast Colony from 1932-1942.

⁴⁷ Marc MATERA. “Pan-Africanism”, p. 1; Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 71.

⁴⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 979.

⁴⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1116.

⁵⁰ Most Revd. Dr. K. N. BRESI-ANDO. Telegram to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, 06 February 1956, in Rev. K. A. EYITEY, General Secretary. Bobikuma Synod Minutes, The Catholic Apostolic Church, Catholicate of the South, (African), commonly called The Orthodox Catholic Church, 3rd to 6th February, 1956, p. 2, File GR1.47.

⁵¹ RI, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1192, 1204.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 1192.

2.1. Mutually beneficial relationship

Yet Rev. Edonu sees this coincidence—this intermingling of Bresi-Ando with the rising politicians—not in terms of “cause-and-effect”, but instead similar to the situation of two street merchants. They both sell their goods in the same marketplace and have found their common association to be mutually beneficial⁵³. In reality, then, Bresi-Ando was simply part of the bigger environment. Like two flowers growing side by side in the same ferment, in the same bed, being blown by the same breeze, so too the political movement (especially after it really became alive) and Bresi-Ando’s church movement, said Rev. Edonu, were together, subject to the same season. The thirst for freedom was “like a disease, like influenza. It attacked everybody,” remembers Rev. Edonu⁵⁴. However, in the 1930’s the political cause of “Self-Rule” (i.e. the active political independence movement) had not yet been birthed. Instead, the rising class of men (who would become the active politicians of the ‘50s) were in the decade of the ‘30s geared more towards fighting racial discrimination and trying to have a greater share of representation *within* the colonial legislature⁵⁵. While Bresi-Ando went around the country starting his schools and boldly preaching in all his churches on the topics of religious autonomy and commercial self-determination and all other forms of African emancipation, these lawyers and intellectuals were also carefully and cautiously working towards more freedoms. Because of this common thirst for liberty, Bresi-Ando and these important leaders “came together and he became a compatriot of these—Danquah, Kobina Sekyi, and DeGraft-Johnson and all the rest,” remembers Rev. Edonu⁵⁶.

However, Rev. Edonu was adamant and very clear on the point that Bresi-Ando’s AIC “had nothing, practically-speaking, to do with the political movement”⁵⁷. The Ebibirpim/African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church and the huge Gold Coast political “Self-Rule” movement, especially when the latter really began to move in the late 1940’s, were “sisters and brothers” with “the same idea,” yet “politics never used the church, and the church never used the political side for anything.”⁵⁸ The political movement did *not* look to Bresi-Ando’s AIC for leadership or

⁵³ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 36, Log 16, p. 978.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 976.

⁵⁵ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 146.

⁵⁶ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 36, Log 16, p. 979.

⁵⁷ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 36, Log 16, p. 982.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 983.

direction, but it did in fact draw in many members from among the church body for Kwame Nkrumah's popular CPP party⁵⁹. Conversely, the Ebibirpim Church did not look to political ideology for membership yet it did in fact attract members because of the preaching of emancipation, as it had done ever since 1932⁶⁰.

Rev. Edonu recalled that in the early years of the 1930's, any group, organization or society speaking of "emancipation" quickly drew in followers⁶¹. This was especially true of Bresi-Ando's AIC. Many of the Ebibirpim songs in its repertoire from its pre-Jacobite days (1932-1935) spoke of "emancipation"⁶². Rev. Edonu recalled how "they hoped that 'Ethiopia will rise' and that Africans will gain their freedom from the white suppression"⁶³. Therefore, Rev. Edonu admitted that due to his uncle's teaching, Bresi-Ando's church was "politically-infused"⁶⁴. "Anytime the church preaches, it preaches 'African Emancipation.' So it was politically-minded," the old priest explained⁶⁵. This teaching, preaching, and singing made an indelible mark on Bresi-Ando's AIC that was not erased with his personal departure to Nigeria in 1942. Even Kwame Nkrumah found this aspect of the Ebibirpim/African Universal (O-C) Church attractive when he crossed paths with his former friend, Rev. Edonu, in Afransi, CR, in 1949⁶⁶. For a while in the early '30s, Nkrumah and Edonu had been "real good friends" when they were both young school teachers in Elmina, near Cape Coast⁶⁷, but life took them on totally separate paths. Years later when Nkrumah was passing through Afransi, he recognized his old friend and asked Edonu: "Teacher, what are you doing here?" Rev. Edonu replied: "I told him all about my church, African Emancipation, talking of religious emancipation." Nkrumah responded: "Then, Teacher, you know these English people will not like your church because you preach against [*their*] organization, their movement. They

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p. 988.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 987.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 988.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 983-987. On this 1949 visit to Afransi, CR, Kwame Nkrumah tried to recruit Deputy Bishop Edonu into politics to serve as a CPP party worker. But Edonu refused Nkrumah, saying: "Kwame, politics is a dirty game. I can't play such a dirty game—always not speaking the truth" (p. 986).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 984; Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 54-57. Said Rev. Kyriakos Edonu: "I know the man personally! Kwame Nkrumah—personally! When I was teaching in Elmina Methodist School, he came from Achimota as a kindergarten specialist in the Roman Catholic School [*in Elmina*]. So, we became friends. We became real good friends." The friendship did not last long. However, this connection makes one wonder if this is how Nkrumah heard of and met Bresi-Ando, whom he used to go and visit in Apam, as it is not far from Elmina.

won't like you. They will not like your church.”⁶⁸ Rev. Edonu was only preaching the same things that he had heard his uncle preach throughout the decade of the '30s. Getting British approval was not on their agenda, but staying out of jail was a priority for the Prince-Patriarch. He walked a fine line.

2.2. Avoiding the charge of treason

Finally, it is interesting to note, that according to Rev. Edonu, never once—in the Gold Coast Colony during 1932 to 1942—did Bresi-Ando specifically call the rising politicians together to preach to them or to tell them what to do⁶⁹. While he hated the white man's policies in certain societal norms, religion, politics, education and commerce, Bresi-Ando never openly preached that the British government should pack up and return to Great Britain⁷⁰. To openly incite the public by doing such a thing in that day would certainly have landed him in prison, as it did to Dr. Danquah and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah briefly in the next decade⁷¹. (When thousands of disgruntled ex-WWII service men from the Gold Coast who had been deprived of their pay made a protest march in Accra in February of 1948, it turned bloody and led to riots. As a result, the British police slammed the “Big Six” African political leaders from the newly-formed UGCC party into jail⁷².) While Bresi-Ando in his heart may have wanted the British Government to leave, he never led, started, nor incited an insurrection, nor did he dare to openly politically quarrel with the government in power⁷³. But he would preach, “It is time for the African to be free in all aspects”, and he meant *all*⁷⁴. From his religious pulpit, Bresi-Ando aimed at political freedom with his careful preaching and with the establishment of his churches, schools, and businesses⁷⁵. He preached African emancipation, the “rising of Ethiopia,” freedom from white suppression, religious emancipation, and commercial emancipation⁷⁶. Yet Rev. Edonu recalled how his uncle

⁶⁸ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 36, Log 16, p. 985-986.

⁶⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 June 1994, Log 26, p. 1668.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*; Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 137-139.

⁷² Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 137-139.

⁷³ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 June 1994, Log 26, p. 1666-1668.

⁷⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1515.

⁷⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 973-974, and 21 April 1994, Log 8, p. 419, and 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1513-1517.

⁷⁶ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Tape 7, Log 2, p. 95, and 07 January 1993, Tape 36, Log 16, p. 987-988, and 10 March 1993, Tape 59, Log 18, p. 1099.

also daringly preached political freedom and political emancipation⁷⁷, saying: “that it was time that the Gold Coast separated themselves from under the pressure of the colonial government”⁷⁸. This was risky sermonizing. He was preaching political freedom years before it came to pass⁷⁹. Rev. Edonu reported that he heard Dr. Danquah say on a couple of occasions how he had been pleased with the way in which Bresi-Ando in the ‘30s and early ‘40s had been in league with the rising politicians by preaching about real freedom, “the emancipation of the country”⁸⁰. Bresi-Ando wanted “self-rule”—in *everything*. Unlike the realms of education, commerce, religion, and social norms where Bresi-Ando could physically initiate his own schools, businesses, churches, and Africanization measures, in the sphere of politics all he could do was preach. Mr. Botsio defined Bresi-Ando as a “nationalist” who had advocated for “self-rule”—“for the African to really govern himself”⁸¹. However, to preach like this was downright dangerous, and the Prince-Patriarch knew it.

To protect and save himself, Bresi-Ando continued to bend over backwards to maintain “his uneasy relationship” with British colonial government, trying ever so hard to make sure that they did not get the wrong idea about him and interpret his movements as being that of a revolutionary⁸². So, while continuously calming down the colonial government with cables and telegrams of “soothing resolutions and petitions” in order to keep the government informed of his every activity in the most positive light as possible⁸³, Bresi-Ando choose another more careful, non-confrontational tactic—to continue to preach all-inclusive emancipation through African unity via his AIC⁸⁴. A sample text of a typical verbose “Bresi-Ando” telegram, shows him informing the government of his actions and whereabouts, while pledging “closest cooperation” and offering “loyal greetings”:

INDIGENOUS GOLD COAST DIOCESE IN SOUTHERN CATHOLICATE
ORTHODOX CATHOLIC CHURCH ASSEMBLED SYNOD BOBIKUMA UNDER
CHAIRMANSHIP PRINCE PATRIARCH AND CATHOLICOS BRESI ANDO

⁷⁷ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Tape 7, Log 2, p. 95.

⁷⁸ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Tape 59, Log 18, p. 1099-1100.

⁷⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1514.

⁸⁰ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Tape 7, Log 2, p. 95, and 10 March 1993, Tape 59, Log 18, p. 1099.

⁸¹ RI, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1192.

⁸² Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 67.

⁸³ *Ibid.*; FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 29.

⁸⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 June 1994, Log 26, p. 1663-1668.

VISITING COUNTRY FROM NIGERIA SENDS LOYAL GREETINGS TO PRIME MINISTER AND GOVERNMENT OFFERS HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS PAST ACHIEVEMENTS PLEDGES CLOSEST COOPERATION IN GREATER TASKS LYING BEYOND [...] PLEASE INTIMATE HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR SYNODS APPRECIATION AND GRATITUDE HIS DIFFICULT DUTY WELL PERFORMED SO FAR HUMBLY PRAYING HIM BE PLEASED AQUAINT HER MAJESTY QUEEN HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE VISITING NIGERIA OF SYNODS MOST LOYAL GREETINGS BEST WISHES HAPPY TIME WEST AFRICAN TERRITORY [...] GOD SAVE QUEEN CONTINUED SUCCESS FOR GOVERNMENT. (Kwamin Ntsetse Bresi-Ando, Telegram to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, then Gold Coast Prime Minister, 06 February 1956)⁸⁵

As history shows, Bresi-Ando was farsighted. While he—in his decade of the 1930's—had yearned for a broader emancipation that touched all areas of the African life, it would be the task of other men later to become more open and direct in their stance against the powers that be. Theirs would be the cause of seeking political “Self-Rule”—the nationalist movement toward independence which ramped up in earnest in 1948 when the protest march turned bloody .

Years later all would come to pass. The British Government would go away when Independence was achieved in 1957, the local churches would acquire African hierarchs and ecclesiastical self-rule, the national educational program as well as local commerce would come to be led and controlled by Ghanaians themselves. In a sense, then, Bresi-Ando's vision for socio-cultural, religious, educational, commercial, and political freedom—his preaching of total African emancipation—was prophetic. All would transpire in time. While he could not achieve his hoped-for political emancipation during his decade on the Gold Coast, at least Bresi-Ando met the up-and-coming political class with an example of spiritual encouragement.

3. Bresi-Ando was a friend and moral encourager of the rising class of politicians

The rising class of Gold Coast politicians in the 1930's and beginning '40s reportedly knew Bresi-Ando, moved with him, called him “their bishop”⁸⁶. He is said to have been accepted by these up-and-coming political *intelligentsia* “as a religious leader of the political movement—emancipation

⁸⁵ Most Revd. Dr. K. N. BRESI-ANDO. Telegram to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, 06 February 1956, in Rev. K. A. EYITEY, General Secretary. Bobikuma Synod Minutes, The Catholic Apostolic Church, Catholicate of the South, (African), commonly called The Orthodox Catholic Church, 3rd to 6th February, 1956, p. 2, File GR1.47.

⁸⁶ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Tape 59, Log 18, p. 1114.

movement—self-governing movement” and became a friend to them⁸⁷. This historical research concludes that Bresi-Ando provided moral support for the most famous men—his friends—who later became the political leaders of the new nation of Ghana. According to Rev. Edonu, Bresi-Ando’s presence and example encouraged them to continue their cause—to rise up and try to attain their goal of freedom. And, according to Mr. Botsio, Bresi-Ando’s preaching also stimulated the average man to open his ears to this new way of thinking that was dawning on the Gold Coast⁸⁸.

Since Bresi-Ando ran his own African church, he was freer than the other African clergymen who were employed by the white-run foreign missions⁸⁹. They had to watch what they said, so as to not offend the whites in authority—both in their churches and in the government. They could not easily mingle with the rising class of politicians, as they could lose their positions⁹⁰. But Bresi-Ando was free to circulate with the African politicians and the chiefs. He could preach emancipation and no white bishop was going to stop him since he ran his own church⁹¹. Thus, the Gold Coast politicians loved him and called him “their bishop”⁹². He was free to go anywhere, to say almost anything⁹³. Thus, the public identified with him and loved him too, calling him “our own minister”⁹⁴.

Politically, they [*politicians*] were limited in that department. But politically, he is there. Religiously, he is there. Publicly, he is present. Wherever he was, he was an educator, a teacher, and a preacher. Therefore, he became great [...] he was loved. (Rev. Edonu describing his uncle’s fame)⁹⁵

In his day, claimed Rev. Edonu, Bresi-Ando “was loved by the public more than any other person”⁹⁶. Granted, there were already a few other African-run churches operating within the Colony at that time, as Bresi-Ando’s AIC was not the first. But, claims Rev. Edonu, the leaders of the few other African-run denominations were not of Bresi-Ando’s caliber nor courage. They

⁸⁷ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 36, Log 16, p. 973.

⁸⁸ FFN, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 15 November 1994, Log 27, p. 1760.

⁸⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1114-1115.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 1115.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1116.

⁹⁵ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Tape 60, Log 18, p. 1119.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

limited and isolated themselves, being more restrained and careful in their speech and actions⁹⁷. Bresi-Ando, on the other hand, was “more open”—he boldly and openly preached emancipation “easily and freely, without fear, while others shiver”⁹⁸. He mingled with the rising African political leadership as their bishop, their encourager—even attending their meetings at times⁹⁹. No other Gold Coast independent church leader reached the level of intimacy with the politicians that Bresi-Ando did¹⁰⁰. “Anywhere, when the politicians were there, he is there. He is there as a minister.”¹⁰¹ Remembers Rev. Edonu: “Anybody who loved the movement of the politicians in the country and he could not show himself publicly [*out of fear of the whites*], he loves Bresi-Ando.”¹⁰² All this made Bresi-Ando’s church more “widely accepted,” more of a “movement”¹⁰³. And thus, this popularized him in the minds of the Gold Coasters, causing Rev. Edonu to view Bresi-Ando’s personal appeal and popularity as rivaling Dr. Danquah himself in those early days of the ‘30s (long before Danquah reached the height of national fame with his UGCC political party that was formed in 1947)¹⁰⁴. Mr. Botsio explained that “at that time there were not many prominent figures,” therefore in his area—the Central Region— “he [*Bresi-Ando*] was definitely the most prominent”¹⁰⁵. Thus, Bresi-Ando was friends with the elite intellectuals, lawyers and rising politicians—Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Dr. Joseph Danquah, lawyer Kobina Sekyi, DeGraft-Johnson, and Kojo Botsio—and was a moral encouragement and example to them¹⁰⁶.

3.1. Bresi-Ando and President Kwame Nkrumah

The late Mr. Kojo Botsio spoke of his own personal meetings with Bresi-Ando, while also mentioning the “intimacy between” Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and the bishop that developed in the early 1930’s when Bresi-Ando was newly located in Apam¹⁰⁷. These took place after Nkrumah had finished Achimota College in 1930, when he held teaching posts in the Cape Coast area

⁹⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1115.

⁹⁸ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Tape 60, Log 18, p. 1120.

⁹⁹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1100.

¹⁰⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Log 18, p. 1115.

¹⁰¹ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Tape 59, Log 18, p. 1116.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 1115.

¹⁰³ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Tape 60, Log 18, p. 1120.

¹⁰⁴ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Tape 59, Log 18, p. 1116-1117.

¹⁰⁵ RI, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1200.

¹⁰⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 36, Log 16, p. 979; FFN, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 15 November 1994, Log 27, p. 1760.

¹⁰⁷ FFN, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1201.

(Elmina and Amissano), not far from Apam, but before he left for university studies in the United States in 1935¹⁰⁸. During these years, both Nkrumah and Botsio met Bresi-Ando in Apam. Mr. Botsio recalls meeting the bishop:

Yes, I saw him only a few times. He was fairly well advanced in age. At that time—it was in Apam—at that time he still had the church and also a school. But in addition, they were running a shop very near the place. But all the time he was busily engaged with the school, and of course on Sundays. I never attended any of his church services except that on one occasion there was a sort of non-denominational service and he was one of the chief chaplains because he was the one with the highest post. But obviously he was quite a powerful figure—very versatile.¹⁰⁹

Well, religiously, he felt there must be an African side to this whole religious establishment. He thought the other—the established ones—were directed and dominated from outside, and he wanted an indigenous institution. So his was really nationalistic, you see, was nationalistic, but he never entered into politics as such. See, at that time politics had not really started.¹¹⁰

Mr. Botsio explained Bresi-Ando's interaction with the up-and-rising Kwame Nkrumah. Describing Bresi-Ando's intimate friendship with Kwame Nkrumah, Mr. Botsio explained how Nkrumah was attracted to the African bishop in order to study how he had started his Ebibirpim movement:

You know, Nkrumah was very much interested in these movements, whether religious or political, or what not, and he traced all these people. For instance, he was interested in the Bresi-Ando movement. He was interested in the one, Musama Disco Christo Church [*MDCC*]. Oh, he made several visits to the place. (That one is still existing and it has very wide establishment.) Then, he was very much interested in the Marcus Garvey movement. Marcus Garvey and then DuBois. Also another one too he made quite a good research on is the West African National Congress [*NCBWA*] and Casely Hayford. He was one of the pioneer political figures in Ghana. Very much interested. So he delved deeply into all these movements.¹¹¹

Well, the guy [*Nkrumah*] was interested in political movements. You see, but in those days [*i.e. 1920's & 1930's*] the religious movements were also of a political nature because they were more or less in opposition to the established religions and

¹⁰⁸ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 54-57.

¹⁰⁹ RI, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1206.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1191.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1189-1190.

it was indigenous African establishments. So he was deeply interested in those movements.¹¹²

As a result of his interest in indigenous religious/political movements that opposed the white colonial establishment, Ghana's future president would occasionally travel to Apam, where he and Bresi-Ando would discuss the bishop's efforts to spread his church and schools¹¹³. Botsio reported that Kwame very much liked his older friend and made the effort to stay in touch with him through personal correspondence¹¹⁴.

Our late President, our leader, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, was very fond of the man and he used to engage in pencil conversation with him when he came to Apam. [...] Kwame used to visit him in Apam and chatted with him how he started the church and the schools and that sort of thing, and also, naturally, the sort of politics that was coming [...] he [*Nkrumah*] was deeply interested in the [*Ebibirpim*] movement and how he [*Bresi-Ando*] was doing it.¹¹⁵

This powerful testimony shows how well-known and liked Bresi-Ando was by the most famous rising politician of his era. Kojo Botsio explained that the bishop morally supported his friend Nkrumah, especially through his example as an independent nationalist, but Bresi-Ando did not preach to Kwame nor politically direct him (or any of the politicians), either openly or privately¹¹⁶. However, when Rev. Edonu was asked for his opinion: "Would Bresi-Ando have influenced Nkrumah?", he answered in the affirmative, "Ando would have said it"¹¹⁷. Mr. Kojo Botsio acknowledged the fact that Bresi-Ando actually did impact Kwame Nkrumah in one concrete area. In the 1930's Bresi-Ando had opened many indigenous schools on the Gold Coast and in the Asante because of his dream of educational emancipation for the African. Mr. Botsio affirmed that Bresi-Ando became an "inspiration to Dr. Nkrumah for his Education Program"¹¹⁸. Mr. Botsio was highly-qualified to make such a statement, since he himself served as the first Education Minister for Kwame Nkrumah after the latter won the famous 1951 election¹¹⁹.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 1190.

¹¹³ FFN, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1202.

¹¹⁴ FFN, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1188.

¹¹⁵ FFN, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1188, 1202.

¹¹⁶ FFN, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 15 November 1994, Log 27, p. 1760.

¹¹⁷ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 37, Log 16, p. 989.

¹¹⁸ FFN, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 15 November 1994, Log 27, p. 1760.

¹¹⁹ Emmanuel ASIEDU-ACQUAH. "Kojo Botsio," *Dictionary of African Biography*, vol. 1, Emmanuel K. Akyeampong and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (Editors in Chief), Oxford & New York, Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 498.

3.2. Bresi-Ando and Dr. Danquah

Rev. Edonu compared Bresi-Ando's fame to be equal to that Dr. Danquah, but qualified his remark, saying that "in his capacity" as a *theologian* Bresi-Ando was *just as popular* as Dr. Danquah was in his capacity as a *politician*¹²⁰. That is quite a statement, considering that in the modern city of Accra there is a traffic circle named after Danquah with his statue in the middle of it. Dr. Danquah, the "dean of Ghanaian nationalist politicians" (and Nkrumah's political archrival!) years later would ask Rev. Edonu, "Where is Bresi-Ando who has preached emancipation, the freedom of Ghana, and where is he?"¹²¹ "Where is Kwame Ntsetse? He has preached the freedom and the freedom has come? [...] But where is Kwame—the man in whom we have taken inspiration?"¹²² Even Mr. Kojo Botsio remarked of Bresi-Ando that "he was an old friend of Dr. Danquah" who knew the bishop better than he¹²³. Rev. Edonu said that Bresi-Ando and Danquah had become friends during the 1930's "because of his political preaching in connection with religious emancipation—he was preaching emancipation, political emancipation, at the same time"¹²⁴. In the 1930's Danquah was also promoting emancipation. He was very involved with the Gold Coast Youth Conference, planting the seeds of nationalism in the minds of youth against colonialism, particularly from the late '30s onwards¹²⁵. Historian Wight notes that at this time, lawyer Danquah wanted "the immediate introduction of universal education, adult suffrage, and African control of the legislature and the government"—[d]reams of this kind"¹²⁶. However, Rev. Edonu recalled that his uncle said that his friend Danquah, although he held similar convictions, "was too careful," and Bresi-Ando did not like this type of defense¹²⁷. The bishop, on the other hand, said Edonu, was "bold, powerful, and inspired"—"it fell on him"—as he preached African emancipation¹²⁸.

¹²⁰ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Tape 59, Log 18, p. 1116.

¹²¹ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 September 1992, Tape 7, Log 2, p. 95; Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 13 March 1952 entry; The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "J.B. Danquah," par. 1.

¹²² RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 2, Log 2, p. 48.

¹²³ RI, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1199, 1204.

¹²⁴ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 36, Log 16, p. 972.

¹²⁵ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 146-147; Martin WIGHT. *The Gold Coast Legislative Council*, p. 187-188. Danquah held the first Gold Coast Youth Conference meeting in 1930, but did not hold a second one until 1938, when from that time onwards into the '40s its Conference meetings became regular (WIGHT, p. 187-188).

¹²⁶ Martin WIGHT. *The Gold Coast Legislative Council*, p. 184.

¹²⁷ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 2, Log 2, p. 48.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

Bresi-Ando did make sure that he visited his old friends Danquah and Botsio during his brief visit to the Gold Coast in 1956 on the eve of Independence¹²⁹. Rev. Edonu remembers that during that visit Danquah and Bresi-Ando reminisced together about the “old days” of the 1930’s, how they had moved together previously: “They reminded themselves of how they had moved together, and up to this time, he [*Bresi-Ando*] is not present. It was a query, somewhat. Danquah showed his displeasure, why he [*Bresi-Ando*] has left the country”¹³⁰. The early 1950’s was the very difficult period of transition into “Self-Rule” leading up to complete Independence in 1957¹³¹. Danquah’s conservative UGCC party was at logger-heads with Prime Minister Nkrumah’s radical CCP party as they approached the important 1956 elections, not agreeing on which type of government to form—a federal state or a unitary state¹³².

Remembering how in the 1930’s “they were moving together to bring about the emancipation of the country,” with Bresi-Ando preaching religious, commercial, and political emancipation, Dr. Danquah was upset that Bresi-Ando was out of the country just “at the time that his presence, his services, were needed in the country”¹³³. When he finally saw him again in February of 1956¹³⁴, Dr. Danquah asked the Patriarch: “So, Bishop, where have you been? The Self-Government has come now. These young boys [*i.e. Nkrumah’s CPP*] don’t listen to advice and where are you?”¹³⁵ Rev. Edonu was there listening to all of this conversation. He said: “They knew he [*Bresi-Ando*] was so influential that, if he is with them, he could help to finalize matters to enable the organization—the movement—to find the easy way. They knew he is influential, he could do it” since “anywhere he was found [...] the people loved him and they could hear him. He could influence them to listen to his teachings.”¹³⁶ However, aside from these few words, the two did not discuss politics¹³⁷. Before the meeting ended Dr. Danquah asked Bresi-Ando to pay a visit to Dr. Nkrumah, an event which did not take place however, even though Bresi-Ando sent a last-

¹²⁹ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 03 February 1956, 13 February 1956, 15 February 1956, 16 February 1956, and 10 March 1993 entries, File GR3.

¹³⁰ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Tape 59, Log 18, p. 1099.

¹³¹ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 93.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Tape 59, Log 18, p. 1099.

¹³⁴ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 15 February 1956 entry, File GR3.

¹³⁵ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Tape 59, Log 18, p. 1101.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1100, 1102.

¹³⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 998.

minute telegram requesting an appointment before his return trip to Nigeria¹³⁸. Bresi-Ando took leave of his old friend Dr. Danquah, promising to go to Nigeria and then return for good to his homeland: “Danquah, I will come back, naturally, I will come back”¹³⁹. Although this conversation occurred in February of 1956, it is a significant witness to the immense value and esteem that the famous politicians had for Bishop Bresi-Ando during his decade of interaction among them in the 1930’s.

3.3. Bresi-Ando and Kojo Botsio

The conservative Danquah/UGCC side of Ghanaian politics was not the only side beholden to Bresi-Ando. Their rivals—the more radical Nkrumah and Botsio with their dominant CPP party—were also friendly to the old bishop from Apam. In fact, most of Bresi-Ando’s church members joined CPP!¹⁴⁰ During his brief 1956 visit to the Gold Coast, Bresi-Ando also went to see Mr. Botsio whom he had met two or three times during the 1930’s¹⁴¹. Rev. Edonu again was the eye-witness and remembers how the two Apam natives spoke cordially and jokingly. Bresi-Ando “wanted to [*tell Botsio*] that he has come”¹⁴². And Botsio replied: “Alright, if you have come, it means it is not necessary for me to stand to represent the state [*Apam and Gomoa area*] again because the people want you!”¹⁴³ Edonu remembers how Botsio had easily won his seat in the new national Assembly representing Apam “not challenged by anybody”¹⁴⁴. According to Edonu, Botsio knew that he was lucky that Bresi-Ando was not in the country. In a sense, he was only “representing” the elder Apam native in the Assembly, taking the seat that certainly would have belonged to Bresi-Ando¹⁴⁵. Bresi-Ando gave a kind response to comfort Botsio: “Don’t worry about that. Don’t worry”—he was not a threat to Botsio¹⁴⁶.

¹³⁸ Rev. K. K. EDONU. Diary [...], 15 February 1956 entry, File GR3; Most Revd. Dr. K. N. BRESI-ANDO. Telegram to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, [...], GR1.47.

¹³⁹ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 37, Log 16, p. 998, and 10 March 1993, Tape 59, Log 18, p. 1101.

¹⁴⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Tape 59, Log 18, p. 1101.

¹⁴¹ FFN, RI, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1204, 1206.

¹⁴² RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 10 March 1993, Tape 59, Log 18, p. 1102.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1103.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1104.

Rev. Edonu recalls that there was no sign of any quarrel between the two Apam gentlemen, but it appeared that the younger Botsio “was not internally satisfied with his [*Bresi-Ando*’s] presence”¹⁴⁷. Edonu was of the opinion that Kojo Botsio was surprised to learn of Bresí-Ando’s sudden and unannounced return to the Gold Coast¹⁴⁸. However years later, Mr. Botsio, when asked if Bresí-Ando’s presence would have unseated him in the Assembly, laughed it off saying that he himself “was completely a front runner from the very beginning”, therefore “he couldn’t have stood out against me”¹⁴⁹. However, Botsio believed that Bresí-Ando “definitely would have had a place in our sector [*Apam/Gomoa Fantes*]” because “definitely the man was entitled to rare recognition in that respect”; “I mean, it is quite obvious that the man, if he had stayed here, he would have been in the fore-front of the politics [...] oh yes, he would have been in the front, he would have been the front”¹⁵⁰.

Mr. Botsio offered his opinion concerning the political debate between Danquah and Nkrumah. He felt that the older Bresí-Ando, due to the “intimacy between himself and Kwame,” would have sided with the CPP and would have been a “major player”¹⁵¹. Yet, Bresí-Ando missed his chance to enter Ghanaian politics, said Mr. Botsio, “because he was away at the main—at the crucial—time when politics was getting into jell. If he would have been here in the ‘40s when he came back, he would definitely. But he just came a short time [*in the ‘50s*] and then went away”¹⁵². Although this conversation took place later, it reveals the level of intimacy and respect that Bresí-Ando commanded among with the class of rising politicians who knew him in the 1930’s.

3.4. Bresí-Ando and Kobina Sekyi

Keeping in touch with the entire political spectrum of the Gold Coast, Bresí-Ando was a close personal friend of the famous early politician, Mr. Kobina Sekyi, whom Mr. Botsio designated as the “archenemy” of Kwame Nkrumah and himself¹⁵³. Historian Martin Wight in his 1947 book, *The Gold Coast Legislative Council*, up to that point in history considered lawyer Kobina Sekyi to

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1106.

¹⁴⁹ FFN, RI, Mr. Kojo BOTSIO. Osu, Accra, GAR, GH, 16 June 1993, Tape 79, Log 19, p. 1200-1201.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1200-1201, 1203.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 1204.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 1202.

be the greatest Gold Coast mind since the death of Casely Hayford in 1930. He called Sekyi “an intellectual,” “the leader of the intelligentsia,” “the central figure in all nationalist politics,” and “the moving spirit of the Aborigines’ Society,” whose “Cape Coast school” of political expression somehow always made its way into the Colonial Legislative Council¹⁵⁴. Wight published this high opinion just prior to the start of Ghana’s independence movement, which occurred with the formation of Dr. Danquah’s UGCC party in 1947, the riots of February 1948, and the government’s subsequential arrest of Danquah, Nkrumah, and the rest of Ghana’s “Big Six”¹⁵⁵. Up to that day, according to Wight, Sekyi had always been the rebel who had led the “the small extremist minority” in crying out for ‘the nationalist cause’¹⁵⁶. Not surprisingly, this very vocal and very outspoken educated nationalist was on a first name basis with his very good friend, Bishop Bresi-Ando¹⁵⁷. Rev. Edonu said that if there had been an official lawyer for Bresi-Ando’s AIC, it would have been Kobina Sekyi¹⁵⁸. Sekyi had accompanied the Paramount Chiefs of the “shadow cabinet” when they had come to try to advise Bresi-Ando on how to avoid trouble with the whites concerning his cocoa business¹⁵⁹. After the Paramount Chiefs had abandoned Bresi-Ando to his own self-chosen fate and Ebibirpim Limited had collapsed, Sekyi stayed loyal to Bresi-Ando and helped him relocate to Cape Coast, their common birth town¹⁶⁰.

Rev. Edonu accompanied the Prince-Patriarch when he called on his old friend, Kobina Sekyi, in February of 1956¹⁶¹. He personally saw how the two men greeted each other—friendly, joking, complimenting each other, and calling each other by his personal name “like old school-mates”: “Kwame!” “Kobina!”¹⁶² Bresi-Ando found his former compatriot sick and weak, near death. He asked him: “Kobina, how is it? What is wrong?” The lawyer replied: “At this time, you know, I cannot move. And these young men, they are off-headed. You tell them anything and they don’t take it. Even my own son comes to tell me, ‘Old man, you put away your old ideas, archaic

¹⁵⁴ Martin WIGHT. *The Gold Coast Legislative Council*, p. 75.

¹⁵⁵ Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 136-138.

¹⁵⁶ Martin WIGHT. *The Gold Coast Legislative Council*, p. 75.

¹⁵⁷ FFN, RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU, Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 36, Log 16, p. 973, and 11 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1600.

¹⁵⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 11 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1600.

¹⁵⁹ FFN, Emmanuel A. N. ADENTWI. Apam, CR, GH, 07 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1590.

¹⁶⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 24 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1482.

¹⁶¹ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Log 16, p. 998.

¹⁶² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 11 June 1994, Log 24, p. 1600.

ideas’.”¹⁶³ Thus, Bresi-Ando found his political friend—Kobina Sekyi—in former days one of the chiefest in the land, wrestling with the younger ideas of the active youth. Like Danquah had done, Sekyi shared the pain of his soul with his old colleague, the independent-minded nationalist African bishop, while Rev. Edonu was a witness. The interviews and diary entries of Rev. Kyriakos Edonu have firmly established the historical facts that some of the most famous men of Ghana’s political past were not only known to Bresi-Ando, but they loved and admired him: Kobina Sekyi, Kojo Botsio, Danquah, and Kwame Nkrumah.

3.5. Bresi-Ando avoids Ghanaian politics in the long run

Despite their years of friendship and their exchange of friendly correspondence, in later decades it appears that Bresi-Ando intentionally kept a studied distance between himself and Ghana’s new President, Kwame Nkrumah. He had good reason to do this, because as Nkrumah grew to be all-powerful, he started to imprison his intellectual political opponents, such as Dr. Danquah¹⁶⁴ (as already described in Chapter 11, part 4). Bresi-Ando had always tried hard to avoid the British prison and any charge of treason for disloyalty. Nkrumah’s prison would be no exception. He would certainly avoid it too. However, back in the 1930’s, politics was not yet an option for Bresi-Ando within the British Gold Coast. Therefore he had to find another avenue to express his longing for true political and national emancipation. As a working substitute, the conversion of the political component of his African emancipation policy into a rarified spiritualized form of “national liberation” was afforded the bishop upon his consecration as a “Jacobite” autocephalous Patriarch in 1935.

4. Beyond mere nationalism: Bresi-Ando’s concept of the “Spiritual Nation”

Bresi-Ando states in his booklet, *The Apostolic Succession of the African Universal Church (Orthodox-Catholic)*, that he launched his dream of African liberation with “the fire of enthusiasm [...] to seek unity and freedom of all peoples of the race,” but that along the way providentially he had been granted by God “a corrected vision of the fulfilment of his longing”¹⁶⁵. He could not attain political emancipation directly during his stay in the Gold Coast Colony in the decade of the

¹⁶³ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 January 1993, Tape 37, Log 17, p. 1000.

¹⁶⁴ F. K. BUAH. *A History of Ghana*, p. 184-185.

¹⁶⁵ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession [...]*, p. 12.

1930's. To irritate the British authorities would have been a jail sentence. Thus, he found in the Jacobite Church (which he was convinced he had joined in 1935) a “corrected vision” within which he could see an *attainable* emancipationist solution. One may wonder if Bresi-Ando is crying “Sour grapes!” at this juncture in his life simply because the white-dominated colonial politics prohibited his achievement of temporal political emancipation? Or, has he grasped a deepened theological position? His writing holds to the latter. Having become a Jacobite “Patriarch” with *unlimited* diocesan boundaries, Bresi-Ando found a way to continue his emancipationist dreams in the 1930's.

4.1. “Sister nations”

In his *Apostolic Succession* Prince-Patriarch Bresi-Ando states his belief that his “African Universal (O-C) Church does not merely wish to be national”¹⁶⁶. This is a key concept, for though he was seen by the politicians as a “nationalist” advocating self-rule, Bresi-Ando refused to be limited to—and bound by—one earthly political entity. After all, he had churches and dioceses in Nigeria and the Gold Coast and the Asante lands, with “Mission Stations in Sierra Leone and large communities in several places in the United States of America” (referring to the former Kofey African Universal parishes located in the American South, such as Jacksonville, Florida, which were technically under his hierarchical see for a brief period of time)¹⁶⁷. Therefore, as a Patriarch without borders (beyond frontiers), whose “Episcopate” in its “particular self governing Church is sovereign,” he envisioned a spiritual “Nation”, beyond any single political nation-state or nationality, of which he was the undisputed head¹⁶⁸. For Bresi-Ando, to have his AIC defined by, and limited to, mere patriotic civil loyalties was anathema¹⁶⁹. He rather envisioned an Orthodox Catholic Christian body of Africans—here and abroad—that was joined to a much larger similar global body (and bodies), superseding the boundaries of nations¹⁷⁰. Here Bresi-Ando has raised his mental sight to perceive something beyond ordinary earthly political/social Pan-Africanism.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12. There is no other information about these “Mission Stations in Sierra Leone” other than the fact that Hill notes that I. T. A. Wallace-Johnson had been previously involved with the African Universal Church in Lagos, Nigeria, in the early 1930's prior to his move to Sierra Leone. Obviously, he knew Bresi-Ando. (Robert A. HILL (Ed.). *The Marcus Garvey* [...], vol. X, p. xcix.)

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 13-14.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p. 13-14.

Bresi-Ando envisioned “The Spiritual Christian Nation,” where all are united as the “Kingdom of Christ”¹⁷¹—“A Nation and a company of Nations”¹⁷²—forming “the visible Kingdom of God on earth”¹⁷³. He saw a link “between the national and the universal supernatural Kingdom of Christ”¹⁷⁴. Thus, he writes of “Spiritual Peoples and Kingdoms that are not of this world, though living in it”¹⁷⁵. Here he specifically refers to—and lists in his booklet—all the traditional “Monophysite” Oriental Orthodox communions (Jacobite Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopian, etc.), while also including the lately added *episcopi vagantes* variety of (fake) denominations (i.e. his African Universal Orthodox-Catholic Church, McGuire’s African Orthodox Church, Vilatte’s American Catholic Church, etc.)¹⁷⁶. For Bresī-Ando, the “Jacobite” (“Monophysite”) communities “are all self-governing bodies, sister nations and peoples not according to the flesh but according to the Spirit”¹⁷⁷. Here he deliberately excludes all Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Eastern/Greek Orthodox¹⁷⁸. They as “Heretics and Schismatics are not a part of the Historic Church of Christ”¹⁷⁹, which itself is known by the name “Jacobite and Christian”¹⁸⁰. (There are many people who disagree with Bresī-Ando on this point.)

4.2. “Prince-Patriarchs”

Concerning the idea of “spiritual nations,” Professor Zernov points out the importance of the rising nationalist mentality in the formation of Coptic (Egyptian) nationalism, which became a religious ethnic subgroup headed by their own Coptic Pope (Patriarch)¹⁸¹. Bresī-Ando uses the term “Prince-Patriarch” to allege that the Coptic Pope was the spiritual “Prince” for his own Coptic “spiritual nation,” while also being their “Patriarch” in ecclesiastical affairs and Apostolic Succession¹⁸². He applies this same logic to the heads of all the autocephalous “Monophysite”

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 13, 16-17.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13-14.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 13, 15, 16, 27.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁸¹ Nicolas ZERNOV. *Eastern Christendom: A Study of the Origin and Development of the Eastern Orthodox Church*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1961, p. 64, 67.

¹⁸² Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 13.

Churches—Armenian, Jacobite Syriac, etc.¹⁸³ Therefore, by calling himself “Prince-Patriarch,” Bresi-Ando is applying this concept to himself as well: he is the “Prince” of his own Jacobite Pan-African “Spiritual Nation” over which he is also their autocephalous ecclesiastical “Patriarch”¹⁸⁴.

Critically important here is his understanding of the idea of “self-rule”. Bresi-Ando wants to be fully autocephalous—completely *emancipated* from any civil or “Pagan” government¹⁸⁵. He blames the “Melkite Party of Old” (i.e. the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholics) as having sold themselves into obedience to the worldly imperial authority of the Roman Empire, something which Bresi-Ando wishes to avoid¹⁸⁶. Desiring not only to be free from white British imperialism, but also to be free from all civil imperialism, Bresi-Ando sees “unbroken Apostolic Succession” as his *ultimate liberation* and tool of *true emancipation*¹⁸⁷. For him it was the “Chief link” in the “real connection between the national and the universal supernatural Kingdom of Christ”¹⁸⁸. According to his understanding, this critically important “real connection” with the Early Church of the Apostles was the only way that a local Church “can obtain the sovereignty of Apostolic power”¹⁸⁹. Therefore, in his view, all of the various “Monophysite” spiritual nations each have their own Church “and they receive their Apostolic Succession and the Power from the same Source, the Holy Ghost, through the Holy Apostolic See of St. Peter and the Apostles at Antioch”—the “World Mother Church”—“The Holy Eastern Church of Syria”¹⁹⁰. (He sees St. Peter’s historical presence at Antioch, which preceded his presence at Rome, as having established the See of Antioch in 38 A.D. at a rank higher than that of Rome¹⁹¹. Additionally, Bresi-Ando ignores the Chalcedonian Antiochian Patriarchate’s claim to be the legitimate continuation of St. Peter’s See of Antioch, while he only values the claim of the Syriac Patriarchate of Antioch¹⁹².)

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 13-14.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 8, 14.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14, 17, 25.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 24-25.

4.3. “Other worldly” liberation

At this point in his revised emancipationist ideology, Bresi-Ando’s disappointment with the constraints and limitations of worldly politics led him to seek an “other-worldly” liberation via ecclesiastical self-rule. Not being able in the decade of the 1930’s to build a kingdom on earth, Bresi-Ando “fled the world” and envisioned a spiritual kingdom. Therefore, he emphasized the teaching that all who want to follow Christ “must ‘come out’ of the world powers and peoples, separate themselves from all other societies, and be initiated into His One Body” via valid Baptism from the hands of God’s Apostolic clergy¹⁹³. Thus “Prince-Patriarch” Bresi-Ando went all throughout the Gold Coast promoting his “Apostolic Succession” through the remainder of the 1930’s. However, once the decade was over and Bresi-Ando discovered that the winds of political emancipation in Nigeria were actively blowing in the favor of stirring up earthly nationalism, his lofty spiritual national idealism soon descended back down to touch the earth. As described in the preceding Biography Section, once he was back in Nigeria, Bresi-Ando began to work actively and enthusiastically within the newly evolving political party system of the emerging independent nation of Nigeria. As the definition of “Pan-Africanism” evolved after World War II from “black internationalism” into active “African nationalism”¹⁹⁴, energizing the momentum for Africans to finally be politically free of their colonial masters and create their own African-run nations, Bishop Bresi-Ando was all too eager to participate.

To the end of his days, Bresi-Ando was not limited to the Gold Coast nor to Nigeria nor even to the continent of Africa. Professor Assimeng of Ghana noted that “Bresi-Ando was, as he would have liked to point it out himself, an authentic African, dedicated to the continent’s total self-fulfillment and emancipation”¹⁹⁵. Yes, but it was more than this. In the final complicated analysis of this complex man, the answer was always “both”—physical and spiritual, material and immaterial. His old theme had been: “Eternal life for the soul and Bread to eat for the body, Look for them here.”¹⁹⁶ While Bresi-Ando continued to promote the rise of African nationalism, getting entirely mixed up in the politics in Nigeria that led up to the terrible Biafran War, he never stopped

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 14-15.

¹⁹⁴ Ebenezer Obiri ADDO. *Kwame Nkrumah* [...], p. 71; Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR. *Ghana: A Political History* [...], p. 133-134; Marc MATERA. “Pan-Africanism”, p. 1701-1703.

¹⁹⁵ Max ASSIMENG. “Methodological Africanism [...]”, p. 58.

¹⁹⁶ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 15 July 1994, Log 26, p. 1701.

referring to himself as the “Prince-Patriarch.” With one foot standing in independent Nigeria, Bresi-Ando always kept his other foot in the “other” spiritual world, always looking to another form of independence—“spiritual nationalism”—which was not limited to one earthly political nation, country, or continent. Indeed, Bresi-Ando stuck to his original mantra: he had “been inspired to found his own church to liberate the African”¹⁹⁷—yet this liberation stretched from the political realm all the way into the eternal Kingdom of Christ.

Conclusion

Throughout this entire chapter, which describes the political side of Bresi-Ando’s emancipationist efforts within the Gold Coast, sufficient evidence has been gathered to help support the argument that will be set forth in the following Conclusion chapter—that Pan-Africanism was indeed the guiding vision of all that Bresi-Ando set out to do in the Colony in the 1930’s. During that decade on the Coast, Bresi-Ando was a preacher, not a politician, who was seen by his peers as being a nationalist, looking for self-rule. Although he preached political emancipationist homilies, he had no concrete way to realize political liberation. With his bold sermonizing, however, Bresi-Ando won the love and respect of the soon-to-be famous men. He thoroughly enjoyed being a friend and moral encourager of the rising class of politicians with whom he had contact, such as the younger Kwame Nkrumah who admired him, along with Kobina Sekyi, Kojo Botsio, and Dr. Danquah, among others. Living and working two decades too early to enter Ghana’s post-World War II independence movement, and being check-mated by the strong arm of British imperial colonialism, Bresi-Ando found “a corrected vision of the fulfilment of his longing” for political emancipation¹⁹⁸. In his position as a “Jacobite” Patriarch with spiritual dioceses that transcended national borders, Bresi-Ando substituted his “Spiritual Nation” concept for earthly political liberation. While he used his otherworldly eyes to look beyond mere nationalism during his stay on the Gold Coast in the 1930’s, Bresi-Ando was quite eager to enter the new emerging temporal political scene once he had returned to Nigeria in 1942.

¹⁹⁷ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 3, Log 2, p. 54.

¹⁹⁸ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 12.

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

This present research has come to the final conclusion that the Rt. Rev. Bishop Kwamin Ntsetse Bresi-Ando was not a man of contradiction nor misguided selfishness. Rather, he was a brilliant thinker, preacher, educator, and entrepreneur who used his Pan-Africanist determination as his global guiding principle in all that he tried to accomplish. In his quest to be a thoroughly authentic African, his Pan-Africanist vision of life, which manifested itself through his independent African church (AIC), embraced every aspect of life—socio-cultural, religious, educational, commercial, and political. The concept of Pan-Africanism consistently and systematically structured the thinking and acting of Bresi-Ando, ultimately leading to the construction of the present-day Orthodox Archdiocese of Accra (Ghana). This research has shown that it is truly impossible to divorce this man’s guiding vision from his multifarious actions in life and from the AIC that he founded—the ecclesial community that in 1982 (after his death) was canonically received into the Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa, becoming today’s Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of Accra—the local Ghanaian branch of the global Eastern Orthodox Church.

How did we arrive at this conclusion? What road of research have we traveled and where has it led us? Initially, we discovered that the Orthodox Church is presently operating within modern-day Ghana, despite centuries of Eastern Orthodox missionary inactivity on the continent. This fact leads a person to ask: how did this Church get there? We then learned that the current Orthodox Archdiocese of Accra is rooted in a specific ecclesial community that was started in the Gold Coast Colony in 1932 by Bishop Bresi-Ando. This fact only generates more questions: Who was he? Why did he do this? What is his story, his motivation, his context, his origins narrative? We also learned that Bresi-Ando switched his religious affiliation several times during his life, planting his own churches and schools in several colonies. He ended up claiming to be an “Orthodox Catholic” Patriarch of his own cluster of “Orthodox” dioceses, which no one in the canonical Eastern Orthodox Church recognized at that time. Even more questions arise.

Contemporary research on this intriguing topic is very sparse and at times distorted. No book on the topic exists. To overcome the lack of data, extensive research was conducted in Ghana from 1992 to 1994. By collecting and reading the writings of Bresi-Ando, and by conducting comprehensive field interviews of those people who knew him personally, it was discovered that he was a complicated man operating within a very complex multi-layered political, social, and ecclesial context. At this point we encountered the higher-level problems of interpretation of data, of which there are two. First, the historiographical problem: how to make sense out of this complicated man's life, work and church? Is there a tool to uncover any fundamental foundational guiding vision? Second, the theological problem: how to make sense out of Bresi-Ando's many ecclesiological transformations and varying chosen theological positionings? Is there a tool to uncover any fundamental foundational guiding vision? This led us to the *principal question* of the thesis. In the life and actions of Bresi-Ando in the Colony of the Gold Coast during the 1930's, can a *global perspective* be found that can unify all the seemingly disparate factors of the intricate life of this complex man? In other words, is there an *underlying vision* which guided all of Bresi-Ando's different steps in life, whether they were theological, ecclesiological, commercial, political, social, cultural, or educational, or does he lack a unified inner cohesiveness and merely bounce from idea to idea, from place to place, from project to project?

In trying to answer this principal question, I formed my *hypothesis*: that Pan-Africanism will be the "key" to help us understand the man, his goals, his dreams, his actions, and how all of these providentially helped prepare the ground for the Eastern Orthodox Church in modern-day Ghana. I theorized that all of Bresi-Ando's theological and ecclesiological choices and various actions in life were directly related to and guided by his Pan-Africanist vision—his dream of a *full-fledged emancipation* for the African which he worked hard to realize *through his church* on the Gold Coast in the 1930's. I believed that both the historiographical problem and the theological problem of interpreting Bresi-Ando's life and actions would find their solution in the Pan-Africanist determination of the bishop. To test this hypothesis, four objectives were constructed.

Objective 1: To contextualize the history of Bresi-Ando and the genesis of the Orthodox Church of Ghana. Since the bishop did not work in a vacuum, one needs to situate him within his appropriate religious and political contexts. Thus, one needs to know his life story, which demands the next objective:

Objective 2: To build a complete biography of the late Bishop Bresi-Ando, informed by his ideology drawn from his corpus of teachings. Achieving these two objectives will position the researcher to attain the following objective:

Objective 3: To discern if Bresi-Ando's visionary goal was to achieve Pan-Africanist emancipation in every area of life—socio-cultural, religious, educational, and commercial, political—via his own independent church. Included all throughout this research thesis is a single transversal objective, which is:

Objective 4: To see if Bresi-Ando was a Pan-Africanist pioneer or a scatter-minded, self-absorbed opportunist.

In order to accomplish these objectives, six (6) research tools were designed and implemented:

- 1) a pool of existing scholarship from secondary sources
- 2) an Excel database of 1,614 written primary source documents
- 3) a systematized classification of oral primary sources (132 interviews of 58 eye-witnesses)
- 4) a corpus of Bresi-Ando's teachings (built from the primary documents and interviews)
- 5) a complete biography of Bresi-Ando (built from Tools 1, 2, 3, and 4)
- 6) photo documentation of people and sites in Ghana pertinent to this research

Having selected Pan-Africanism as the theoretical framework for this thesis, it quickly became apparent that such a wide concept must be carefully qualified, as the term is quite slippery and has been redefined several times over the last hundred fifty years. Therefore, I limited my understanding of the term to the definition of Pan-Africanism that was extremely popular all around the world during the 1920's and 1930's, as represented by Marcus Garvey and his Gold Coaster contemporary, Laura Adorkor Kofey. This is the philosophical time period pertinent to this research on Bresi-Ando.

Using a hermeneutical method of historical theology, I set about to understand Bresi-Ando as a man operating within a very specific place, time, and context. Using my six powerful research tools, many facts were gathered about the man and his mission. As this raw data was classified, a portrait of Bresi-Ando's life and church history emerged. From this historical sketch, a moment in history was isolated and came into clear view—the decade of the 1930's. In order to determine

Bresi-Ando's guiding vision and to test the hypothesis as to whether or not he was consistently guided by Garveyite 1920's/1930's Pan-Africanism, it became apparent that a full historical and ecclesiological contextualization was required (Objective 1). In addition, to understand Bresio-Ando as a man within his context, a full biography was required (Objective 2). Only after achieving these two objectives, could one begin to attack the 3rd Objective and conduct a full panoramic analysis of the acts and ideas of Bresio-Ando in five classic Pan-Africanist categories: social-cultural, religious, educational, commercial, and political.

SECTION ONE—Objective 1

BRESIO-ANDO'S ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT WITHIN THE 1930'S GOLD COAST COLONY

This section of the thesis wove the tapestry of Bresio-Ando's complete context—historical, social, cultural, theological, ecclesiastical, political, and commercial—in seven chapters.

CHAPTER 1

Eastern Orthodox Missionary Void in Early 20th Century Africa

Chapter 1 looked back into Church history to the original planting of Christianity on the continent of Africa in the 1st Century in order to explain the “Eastern Orthodox Missionary Void in Early 20th Century Africa” which was the ecclesiastical context in which Bresio-Ando was raised and operated. This worked to clarify why Bresio-Ando became the “forerunner” of the modern-day Orthodox Church in Ghana, because in the 1930's the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria, which ecclesiastically had assumed the responsibility to evangelize and pastor all of Africa, was failing its task. It was doing nothing in West Africa.

To elucidate this sad state of affairs, the chapter opened by first relating the glory days of the ancient times, telling how, according Holy Tradition, the Apostle Mark had established his bishopric in Egypt, later to be commonly known as the Patriarchate of Alexandria. The Orthodox Catholic Faith quickly spread across the Roman Provinces of Egypt and Africa (Carthage) and the lands of Nubia and Ethiopia during the Early Church era, producing both saints and heretics for the continent. St. Athanasius of Alexandria was intimately involved in the establishment and defense of the famous Nicene Creed (1st Ecumenical Council). He and the African Bishops of

Carthage bore witness to the Canon of Holy Scripture. Alexandrian Orthodoxy defeated the Nestorianism challenge at the 3rd Ecumenical Council. However, the 4th Council—known as Chalcedon—gave birth to the ongoing Monophysite polemic which created two rival Patriarchates in Egypt. This will factor into Bresi-Ando's theological choices, as he vocally adopted one side.

The decline of ancient Christian missionary efforts within Africa began in the 7th Century with the advent of Islam. The persecuted Church replaced evangelism with a survival mode. The Ethiopian and Nubian Churches long resisted Islam, with Ethiopia retaining its Faith to the present, while nearby Nubia amazingly stayed Christian for 1000 years. With its demise circa AD 1500, Orthodox evangelism in Africa was completely stalemated.

With doors blocked and locked in the East, it was from the West that European missionaries arrived to renew evangelism in Africa, following the trail of the European traders, slavers, and colonialists during the 15th to 18th Centuries. Although disease made matters quite difficult, and the first missionary attempts withered and died, colonial Africa began to experience an enormous rush of European missionaries as the great Missionary Movement of the 19th Century got underway.

The first European denominations to lay solid missionary foundations on the Gold Coast contributed to the ecclesiastical context in which the former Methodist Bresi-Ando was born and raised. The German/Swiss Basel Mission (Reformed Pietist) was the first real success on the Gold Coast, followed by the Methodist Mission, and the Bremen Mission (German Lutheran Pietist with Reformed Pietist). The Roman Catholic Mission revived its activities on the Gold Coast, while waves of African Independent Churches (AICs), Pentecostals and Charismatics later washed over the land.

The African Independent Church movement (more on AICs later) paralleled and was intimately connected to Africa's quest for independence, which grew to dominate the 20th Century African history. The "Pan-African" movement (more on this later too) grew both independent churches and independent nations. Within this AIC movement, a subgroup of African clergy began looking deep into the historical origin of Christianity, searching for the earliest expression of the Faith on the African continent that was neither Western nor European. The search for Africa's ancient Christian roots began, and as a result, many Africans in the 20th Century discovered the existence

of the Eastern Orthodox Church and started knocking on the door of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, asking to be let in.

However, due to centuries of oppression and the resulting survival mentality, the 20th Century Eastern/Greek Orthodox Alexandrian Patriarchate was not ready to receive a wave of African converts. Slowly, Greek and Syrian Diaspora emigrants had repopulated the Alexandrian Patriarchate, beginning in the mid-1800's. Their presence helped the old Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate rise up to resume its ancient evangelical posture on the continent. Slow steps towards re-structuring the Patriarchate for mission were taken throughout the 20th Century as the Patriarchate transitioned from the pastoral care of ethnic Diaspora to the evangelization of nationals. Thus, the miracle of the contemporary renaissance of the Alexandrian Patriarchate occurred—and is ongoing—as Africa itself continues to become the major Christian continent of the 21st Century.

CHAPTER 2

The Ancient Monophysite Polemic: Bresi-Ando's Theological Cornerstone

Growing up in a colony dominated by white, European evangelicals, Bresi-Ando reacted, eventually choosing to be known as a “Jacobite”, a term that he loudly proclaimed as necessary for salvation. Bashing both the Protestant missions and the Roman Catholic Church, the independent-minded ex-Methodist Bresi-Ando arrived at the “Ancient Monophysite Polemic” which proudly became his “Theological Cornerstone” and arena for spiritual liberation. To understand the theological and ecclesiastical context of Bresi-Ando's very unique position, Chapter 2 provides a quick look at the famous controversy that has been brewing on the African continent since the 4th Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in AD 451. Those in favor of Chalcedon (the “Chalcedonians”) were the main-stream Orthodox Catholics from within the Christianized Roman Empire, while those against Chalcedon (the “Non-Chalcedonians”) were from the Empire's edges: Egypt, Ethiopia, parts of Syria, Armenia, and later, southern India. Over the years various name changes have occurred, but the same fundamental theological disagreement keeps a steady presence: is the true Orthodox Church a Church of 3 Councils or a Church of 7? The former position (3 Councils) is held by the Non-Chalcedonian Orientals, while the Chalcedonians (Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholics, various Protestants) adhere to 7 Councils. The Non-Chalcedonians have been divided in history into two camps: the “extreme monophysites” versus the “conservative

monophysite” (now more commonly called the “miaphysites”). Amazingly, while many Protestant missionaries felt that the finer definitions of theology were useless on the African mission field where the competition of tribal religions and Islam usually caused Protestants of various stripes and colors to unite, Bresi-Ando dove head-first into the ancient divisive Chalcedonian debate. The traditional Oriental position of “one nature from two” natures is set against the Eastern Orthodox (and Roman Catholic) position of there being “two natures in one” Person Jesus Christ. The Oriental position holds to one composite nature, and it can be shown that one nature leads logically to one will—and a fused nature to fused wills. This Oriental understanding is *heresy* for the Eastern Orthodox, who require the fullest understanding of true human freedom, expressed in a true, freely operating human will. For Jesus Christ to be fully human (while also fully Divine) and to be able to truly and freely act in the Garden of Gethsemane for our salvation, He had to have had an intact, completely free human will which always freely chose to do the Divine Will, without a momentary deviation. The Eastern Orthodox position of there being two wills (one human and one Divine) in the One Logos Jesus Christ protects the integrity of humanity, while setting the stage for the requirement of the Eastern Orthodox dogma of *theosis*, a doctrine that contemporary Coptic Oriental theologians resist.

CHAPTER 3

Colonialism’s Contributions to the Gold Coast: Contextual Background and History

Having established the theological foundation for Bresi-Ando’s future ecclesiastical context, Chapter 3 follows to map out his geographical, linguistic, social, political, and historical contexts, in an effort to outline “Colonialism’s Contributions to the Gold Coast.” A brief look at Ghana’s place on the African map shows the location of various tribes and languages on the Gold Coast which were central to the story of Bresi-Ando: the Akan tribal people (Fante, Asante, Akuapem, Akyem, and Kwahu) as well as the other main tribes of Ghana. Natural resources and trade (i.e. gold and slaves) are intimately tied to the history of these tribes, as the rise of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade kept them divided against each other in the “business of war”. However, when the British Empire abolished slavery and annexed the Gold Coast Crown Colony in 1874 and the Ashanti Crown Colony in 1902, a more “legitimate” trade of cocoa production grew up to replace the old illegitimate slave-trade. This social and economic change was driven largely by the new Western European missionaries, whose influence in the land intentionally went far beyond

evangelization. The Pietist and Evangelical Movements empowered the 19th Century Missionary phenomenon. The Gold Coast benefitted in many ways as the foreign missions multiplied their presence and their mission stations blossomed across the land. Foremost in the Colony was the “Pietist” Basel Mission which gave many practical contributions to African society, primarily in the area of education, generating a harmonious model of “black and white” cooperation. Not limited to merely trying to educate and evangelize the “natives”, the Basel missionaries also tried to “civilize” them, offering them practical alternatives in life and commerce, one of which was cocoa production. The cocoa success story eventually became the Gold Coast’s success story as the country grew to be the world’s greatest producer of cocoa in the 1920’s. Colonial New Imperialism through its consortium of foreign companies, however, learned how to monopolize the cocoa exports to their favor, reducing the Africans’ profits, a theme which factored heavily into Bresi-Ando’s own commercial emancipationist efforts.

CHAPTER 4

Colonialism’s Liabilities and the Beginnings of Nationalism on the Gold Coast in the Early 20th Century

Having acknowledged the huge, positive influence of Pietism on the Gold Coast, Chapter 4 turns the discussion in the opposite direction—seeing “Colonialism’s Liabilities and the Beginnings of Nationalism on the Gold Coast in the Early 20th Century.” Secular criticisms of the “contributions” of British civilization to Africa abound, with the famous Gold Coast Pan-Africanist Casely Hayford offering a very negative view, followed by the Ghanaian historian Kofi Awoonor’s criticism of colonial policy. *Pax Britannica* was often invoked as a British defense for its practice of colonialism, yet this is unacceptable to many secularists who go on to mount a noisy condemnation of the white missionaries, viewing them merely through sociological and political lenses as the colonial institutional “tool” for financial exploitation. However, Dr. Jones Darkwa Amanor, a contemporary Ghanaian theologian, offers a more sophisticated and honest theological critique of the white missionary, in which their amazing practical achievements are acknowledged, while simultaneously deeper, foundational issues are critiqued. The increase in missionary-based racism during the “New Imperialism” which began in the late 1800’s is one factor, while the European’s own philosophical worldview is another. The missionaries’ Western Enlightenment-based rationalistic vision of reality is shown to have failed the innate African spiritual mindset.

Both of these causes sparked the beginnings of the African religious “separatist” movement of the late 19th and early 20th Centuries, in which Bresi-Ando took part.

Having reviewed the faults of the white missionary, the remainder of Chapter 4 builds the complex colonial context which birthed Bresi-Ando’s religious rebellion. There was a constant “tug-of-war” between the colonial authorities, the local chiefs, the new class of mission-educated African *intelligentsia* (ministers, lawyers, teachers), and the new middle-class of merchants and cocoa farmers that the missionaries had helped spawn. The beginnings of nationalism on the Gold Coast created the Aborigines Rights Protection Society (ARPS) in 1897, led by African lawyers to stand up against the Crown. The colonial governors offered a limited response, creating the Provincial Councils of 1925 which kept the most important chiefs united on the side of colonial authority. Famous Paramount Chief Sir Ofori Atta I became a close ally of Governor Gordon Guggisberg, while the later proved to be a colonial friend of the Gold Coast and a critic of the famous Basel mission schools. He felt that they had removed the Gold Coast native too far from his own culture. Indeed, despite their practical contributions in areas of education, linguistics, agriculture, and commerce, the European missionaries had pulled the African from his cultural origins. As a result, a desire by the locals for ownership of their own roots and to escape the bondage of racism, caused the African at the turn of the 20th Century to thirst for equality, nationalism and self-rule, first in the ecclesiastical arena, and later in politics. A real Pan-African emancipationist movement grew, crying aloud a dual cry for *liberation* and *Africanization*.

CHAPTER 5

Pioneers of Pan-Africanism

The “Pioneers of Pan-Africanism” are the focus of Chapter 5. As a term, “Pan-Africanism” has had several definitions over the last 150 years. It has ranged from referring to “Back-to-Africa” movements, to “black internationalism” and “black race consciousness”, to the “African nationalism” of the mid-20th Century which created all the modern-day independent African countries. Impacted by the Cold War, OPEC, Pan-Arabism, etc., “Pan-Africanism” as a term continued to evolve. Therefore, to help refine the focus of the term to a definition that would have meant something to Bresi-Ando in the 1930’s, this chapter reviewed several of the most famous Pan-Africanists. The 19th Century Father of Pan-Africanism was Edward W. Blyden, who advocated for the “Redemption of Africa” via “Back-to-Africa” repatriation and separation from

the white-run world as the solution to racism. He himself had moved from the Caribbean to Liberia in 1850, and later to Sierra Leone. Blyden promoted “race consciousness,” “black pride,” and African-run schools and churches. His journalistic work educated the next generation about Pan-Africanism and the quest for the African to be authentically true to his or her original African mentality.

After Blyden, W. E. B. Du Bois rose up as the 20th Century Father of Modern Pan-Africanism, promoting Blyden’s “race consciousness” into “black internationalism”, a real movement that aspired to unify, empower, and liberate all blacks around the world as one whole race. He organized several international Pan-African Congresses towards this goal in the 1920’s. However, his view of Pan-Africanism was not separatist nor bent on repatriation, but he sought equal status for blacks right at home in America. Therefore, he helped found the NAACP towards this goal.

The next Pan-Africanist studied was Casely Hayford, the Gold Coast’s greatest Pan-Africanist, a student of Blyden, a friend of Du Bois, and a member of the Gold Coast’s elite Brew clan. Casely Hayford is considered the father of the Gold Coast’s secular nationalism and he gave birth to a bold Pan-Africanist (failed) dream: a united West Africa. His Brew relative, Rev. Samuel Richard Brew Attoh-Ahuma, is considered the father of the Gold Coast’s ecclesiastical nationalism. Together as editors of various Gold Coast newspapers, they vastly impacted their peers from the end of the 1800’s into the first decades of the 20th Century. Casely Hayford’s Pan-African philosophy advocated equality and the appropriateness of African native social, cultural, religious, educational, commercial, and political institutions.

While Casely Hayford was very famous in West Africa, his Pan-African contemporary, Marcus Garvey, dominated the black scene globally in the 1920’s. His brain-child was the huge international movement known as the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), an organization which promoted the social improvement of all blacks, a universal black (“Negro”) race consciousness, and the full equality of blacks with whites. Garvey taught that since full equality brings full liberty, Africans should be allowed to have their own black-run countries in Africa. “Africa for the Africans” became his rally cry, as he preached race redemption and race emancipation. His political emancipation included Blyden’s idea of the “Redemption of Africa” via a major, separatist “Back-to-Africa” repatriation movement. Being very all-inclusive in

practice, Garvey taught (and tried to implement) commercial emancipation, while he theorized on educational improvement, yet tread lightly in the area of religion. He refused to allow his movement to become a religious denomination, yet ended up promoting a black Christ. Garvey's ardent promotion of "black pride" and the purity of the "black race" edged him into a position of color racism. He looked down on light-skinned mulattoes, especially his intellectual archrival, Du Bois, who was not a separatist but believed in the possibility of achieving full equality with whites while never having to leave one's home in the United States.

CHAPTER 6

Pan-African Theology and African Independent Churches (AICs)

Having surveyed the important Pan-Africanist pillars of the late 19th and early 20th Century, we now have a grasp of the template on which we will try to overlay Bresi-Ando's own separatist, emancipationist actions to see if we will find a Pan-African match. In the development of the Pan-African Movement, it was in the *ecclesial* arena (circa the turn of the 20th Century) where Africans first tried to seek some modest measure of equality and liberation, prior to their later bold (and successful) attempt in the *political* arena following World War II. Therefore, Chapter 6 reviewed the appearance and development of "Pan-African Theology and African Independent Churches (AICs)." Dr. Emmanuel Martey provided a theological perspective on Pan-Africanism and its varying schools of thought. His words completely encapsulate Pan-Africanism: "The African revolution has undergone many phases [...] But its ultimate objective has always been to bring total liberation to the African in all areas of human existence—political, social, economic, cultural and religious"¹. Martey points out that the African Independent Church phenomenon which began to manifest around the turn of the century was the first Pan-African incarnation of Africa's willingness to begin a fight against the evils of colonialism and racism. Dr. Ogbu U. Kalu describes the emergence of three successive "waves" of African Independent Churches that washed over the continent in the last 100 years. The First Wave of AICs—"Ethiopianism"—sought clerical emancipation from racism, in which the daughter black church broke from its parent white church. Headed by African bishops, Ethiopianist denominations were simply a black copy of the white parent organization, yet they were—as Patrick E. Nmah points out—the beginning of

¹ Emmanuel MARTEY. *African Theology* [...], p. 8

concrete African nationalism (hence, a form of “liberation”) *via the church*. They, in effect, helped lay the groundwork for the later political movement.

The Second Wave of AICs rebelled harder, pressing for greater *Africanization*, in addition to ecclesial *liberation*. Known as “Zionists”, “Aladura”, “prophet-healing”, and “spiritual” churches, they sought to replace the white missionaries’ imported (and failed) Enlightenment-based rationalistic Nominalist approach with a thaumaturgical experience of Christianity more in tune with their native African spiritual mentality. In seeking to use their own inner inclination towards authentic spirituality, the Second Wave AICs branched out into a wide diversity of theology and practices, re-contextualizing Christianity for the African within their pre-Enlightenment worldview. Growing on the Gold Coast, especially from the 1920’s onwards, the spread of this group of AICs was dramatically enflamed with the arrival of post-WWII political nationalism. As a result, the “orthodox” (i.e. European) missions began to lose ground to the newer “spiritual” Africanized churches, who themselves were overtaken by the arrival—since the 1970’s—of the Charismatics and the newer-style “non-Aladura” Pentecostals: a Third Wave of AICs which has yet to reach its high water mark on the continent.

CHAPTER 7

The Link Between Garvey and Bresi-Ando: Gold Coast Garveyist Princess Laura Adorkor Kofey and The African Universal Church and Commercial League (AUCCL)

The final layer of context to overlay the six previous layers is Chapter 7, “The Link Between Garvey and Bresi-Ando: Gold Coast Garveyist Princess Laura Adorkor Kofey and The African Universal Church and Commercial League (AUCCL).” Mother Laura Adorkor Kofey was a Second Wave AIC female church leader in the Colony of the Gold Coast who moved to the United States in the mid-1920’s due to her appreciation of Marcus Garvey’s philosophy. Beginning as a Garveyite regional organizer in the American South, she preached a Pan-African message of an impending “Back-to-Africa” repatriation movement, combined with all the usual Garveyite ideals of black pride, commercial emancipation, educational promotion, etc. Her sudden rise to fame in the UNIA and her amazing recruitment results, which brought thousands of new American blacks to the Garvey cause, only worked to apparently stir Marcus’ jealousy. He and Kofey separated over religion and her repatriation plan. Garvey’s own “Back-to-Africa” colonialization effort had already failed miserably in 1924 and he did not approve of her re-starting it while he was sitting

in jail on charges of mail fraud. Plus, Kofey's revivalist crusading style brought opposition from the African-American ministerial alliances who viewed her as stealing their sheep. After Garvey publicly rejected and denounced Kofey in the fall of 1927, his UNIA began a persecution of her. As a result, Laura created her "Kofey synthesis" of religion and Garveyism by forming her own copy-cat organization in September of 1927, the African Universal Church and Commercial League (AUCCL). Bitter competition between the rival UNIA and AUCCL organizations led to Mother Kofey's assassination in March of 1928. Searching for new African leadership for the AUCCL, Kofey's independent black church lived on, mixing Trinitarian black Pentecostalism with Garveyism. The AUCCL launched their long-awaited repatriation program in 1930 (or 1931). The first six "Industrial Missionaries" failed to enter the Gold Coast but successfully entered Nigeria where they located Bresi-Ando and arranged for the merger of their AUCCL with his own Nigerian AIC—the Primitive Apostolic African Church. The event transpired in September of 1931, making Bresi-Ando the "Supreme Pontiff" of the African Universal Church, a Garvey-inspired Afro-American independent denomination that now spanned the Atlantic Ocean. In the following year, 1932, Bishop Bresi-Ando made his big move to bring his upgraded AIC into his native Gold Coast.

Having reached the end of the seven context chapters, we have finally met Bresi-Ando and found him operating his own Ethiopianist First Wave AIC in colonial Nigeria. At this juncture we need to pause and gather more information about him: who was he, where was he from, and why was he working outside his homeland? Thus, we need his biography.

SECTION TWO—Objective 2

THE LIFE OF REV. KWAMIN N. BRESI-ANDO (1884-1970)

Section Two of the research thesis met Objective 2 by building—for the first time in print—a complete biography of Bresi-Ando, from his birth in the city of Cape Coast in 1884 to his death in Cape Coast in 1970, at the age of 86. Five complete chapters related the course of his life. The purpose here in this part of the conclusion chapter is not to repeat all the detailed material provided amply in the biographical chapters, but rather to call to mind the highlights of the trail that this thesis has followed in tracing the life of the late bishop.

CHAPTER 8

Biography Part A—Building a Pan-African Program, 1884-1935

Chapter 8 related Bresi-Ando's birth on 28 March 1884 in the city of Cape Coast, his family background as a Fante tribesman, his mission-based education, his character traits, his marriage, and his ordination as a Methodist minister. Then followed the seeds of emancipation and his dislike of colonialism. Rejecting first the Methodist Church, and then the African Methodist Episcopal Zion denomination, Bresi-Ando moved to Nigeria in the mid-1920's where he started African-run schools, the first being called "Liberty School". He then founded his own AIC (the United Free Church of Africa) in Nigeria in 1926 with the emancipationist goal of liberating the African. The name was changed in 1929 to The Primitive Apostolic African Church. Bresi-Ando assumed leadership of Laura Adorkor Kofey's AUCCL organization when his AIC merged with it in 1931 under the shortened name: the African Universal Church (AUC). Thereafter followed the establishment of this combined church (known in Fante as "Ebibirpim Asore") on the Gold Coast in 1932, beginning in the Central Region town of Apam. Bresi-Ando arrived with his Afro-American missionaries, but only Carey Harold Jones remained faithful, being used as the exciting "American bait" to catch many Gold Coasters and attract them into the Ebibirpim Church with its "Back-to-Africa" repatriation program. The new denomination became a fast-growing "movement" across the Gold Coast as the AIC began to spread like wild fire. Bresi-Ando delegated his older brother, Rev. Earnest Ando-Brew, up north to the Asante, and with the help of missionary Jones, the movement spread widely there as well. Across the Gold Coast and the Asante lands 44 parishes were opened in the first three years as locals responded enthusiastically to Bresi-Ando's preaching of emancipation in all areas of life (social-cultural, religious, educational, commercial, and political). Promoting his indigenous church's popularity were his various Africanization policies and the hope of material progress to be brought by his repatriation program. Many new Ebibirpim Schools were started as part of Bresi-Ando's multi-faceted emancipationist initiative. By the year 1935, the Ebibirpim Church was in its most "glorious state," despite the fact that no more African-American repatriates had yet arrived.

CHAPTER 9

Biography Part B—Implementing a Full Pan-African Program, 1935-1939

Chapter 9 described how Bresi-Ando arrived at a critical spiritual turning point—a theologically defining moment—that impacted his life and that of his followers forever. He exchanged the failed AUC repatriation program for the “Orthodox Catholic Church” after he travelled overseas in 1935 to try to find and bring home the missing repatriates who were nowhere to be found. Learning in London that the American branch of his church had dissolved into disarray, Bresi-Ando was in a real conundrum. In this crisis moment he discovered what he thought was the real Orthodox Catholic Church of history. He came in contact with Vilatte’s *episcopi vagantes* and their (fake) “Old Catholic” movement and he made a new start for his AIC by being consecrated as an autocephalous “Orthodox” *episcopus vagans* patriarch in London in 1935. The prince of these wandering bishops, Archbishop Joseph René Vilatte, had been ordained by the Jacobite Metropolitans of Malabar in India, but their Syriac Patriarchate later complained about all the “Old Catholic” schismatic bishops that Vilatte had ordained on his own without their Synod’s approval. At first Vilatte was excommunicated, which had little effect, so in 1938 the Syriacs publicly and posthumously renounced him, all his consecrations, and all his churches. But this act did not stop such loose “bishops”. These *episcopi vagantes* liked to think that they were “Orthodox Catholics,” but in reality they followed a Western Augustinian ecclesiology and lacked the real Eastern understanding which requires canonical collegial recognition and accountability to the global family of Orthodoxy. In their error the *episcopi vagantes* arrived at an extremely limited view of Apostolic Succession, playing an ecclesiological “game of tag” in which Bresi-Ando had now taken part. He had reached for ancient Orthodoxy but got entangled in a group of fake bishops who dressed up like Roman Catholics with Eastern titles and pretensions to Jacobite credentials. All of it was fake. However, convinced that he was truly a bishop of the historic ancient Orthodox Catholic early church with “valid” orders, Bresi-Ando renamed his AIC: the African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church. He then returned home to West Africa to try to transition his church into the Jacobite “Monophysite” theological and ecclesiastical tradition. Using the colonial capital of Accra as his new patriarchal headquarters, a second period of church growth occurred for his AIC (late 1935-1939), with more parishes and schools being established, but not at as fast a rate as in the first half of the decade. 22 more parishes were started by early 1939, for a total of 66 in the decade of the 1930’s. Add to this, 20 schools and a seminary—a total of 87 institutions had

been formed by Bresi-Ando in little less than seven years. But his 88th institution was the most daring attempt yet. In 1937, Bresi-Ando found the perfect opportunity within the Cocoa Crisis of 1937-1938 to launch his long-awaited commercial emancipationist dream, “Ebibirpim Limited,” in an extremely brave and bold effort to confront the white businessman on his own ground. As a black entrepreneur, Bresi-Ando sought to inaugurate the economic liberation of the Gold Coast African from the clutches of exploitive, racist New Imperialism. He organized many willing farmers to sell their cocoa directly to overseas markets via his Ebibirpim company, thereby bypassing the greedy white middlemen and hopefully gaining a fuller share of the profit for themselves. The plan was that this cocoa revenue would also support his African-run Ebibirpim churches and his drastically-underfunded African-run Ebibirpim educational system.

CHAPTER 10

Biography Part C—Disintegration of the Program, 1939-1942

Multiple failures occurred in 1939—the year of the Accra earthquake (June 22) and the start of WWII (September 1)—which shook Bresi-Ando’s emancipation dream to pieces and sent his efforts into a fatal tail-spin. When Bishop Bresi-Ando suddenly decided to defrock Rev. Ando-Brew, his older brother and valued co-laborer, the two missionaries broke apart. As a result, Ando-Brew went into schism and took the whole Asante diocese along with him. Bresi-Ando quickly ordained Jones as bishop to re-capture the rogue Asante diocese, but Jones failed to supplant Ando-Brew. Meanwhile, Bresi-Ando’s neglected Nigerian diocese started crying out in desperate need of leadership. Right before the June earthquake, the Ebibirpim Limited cocoa export business got crushed in a dramatic saga involving colonial intrigue (related in detail in Chapter 16). Some parishes closed immediately due to the collapse of the commercial side of the Ebibirpim Church and membership decreased. On the heels of such a bad year, in early 1940 Bresi-Ando had a serious rupture with another family member, Rev. Charles Adentwi, his nephew and Apam Ebibirpim Academy headmaster, who resigned to start his own rival school and church in Apam.

During the early WWII years, Bresi-Ando fought to hold onto his dying Gold Coast emancipation program. Needing to pay his creditors, he started exporting cassava starch powder in 1939, yet colonial intrigue mounted to crush this venture as well, sending Bresi-Ando home to Cape Coast in 1941 licking his wounds. His attempt to start all over with a new church headquarters in Cape Coast (his 67th parish in the colony!) and its accompanying school was a last-ditch effort. In early

1942 Bresi-Ando went into self-exile in eastern Nigeria, responding conveniently to the summons of his Nigerian flock which was demanding his presence. Whether true or not, the narrative from the colonial governor's office was that Bresi-Ando had fled the colony to escape his creditors. Never accepting defeat, once he was back in Nigeria, Bresi-Ando re-ignited his emancipation program, re-married for the last time, and announced in the press and in speeches his Patriarchal position and his Jacobite theology. He also re-organized his commercial venture and sold cassava starch successfully, until this too was shut down by the Nigerian colonial authorities. However, in Nigeria, a long-awaited new door finally opened that Bresi-Ando could not resist entering: the beginning of national politics. His ever-deepening entrenchment in this dream-come-true kept him in Nigeria for a very long time.

CHAPTER 11

Biography Part D—Survival of Pieces of the Program, 1942-1956

Meanwhile, back on the Gold Coast, the years 1942-1945 were a time of troubles for Bresi-Ando's few remaining loyal clergy. Schisms occurred across the Coast due to his absence. Bishop Jones resigned, only to get himself interdicted by the Patriarch. In Nigeria, Rev. Abradu and Bresi-Ando broke apart. Abradu returned to the Gold Coast and joined Jones, who was establishing an AIC of his own, using former Ebibirpim parishes. As a result of this leaderless commotion, more and more of Bresi-Ando's Gold Coast parishes and schools closed—but a new leader emerged: Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, the (un-ordained) "Deputy Bishop" whom Bresi-Ando mandated via the mail in 1945 to act in his stead. Under this new, capable and dedicated leadership, Bresi-Ando's shrunken AIC entered its Third Era of Reformation (1945-1949 onwards) as Edonu consolidated the Fante parishes of the Central Region, kept them faithful to his uncle Bresi-Ando, and attempted to complete the unfinished liturgical transition from Protestantism to the strange "Orthodoxy" that Bresi-Ando had brought home from England in 1935. Their style of worship actually looked very Roman Catholic due to the choice of missal that Bresi-Ando had selected, *The Liturgy, According to the Use of The Liberal Catholic Church*, which was basically a simplified Roman Catholic Mass set in English. The "Patriarch" Mar Kwamin I never used any Eastern liturgies.

Meanwhile, in the mid-1940's Bresi-Ando dropped the words "African Universal" from his AIC's long name and switched to a shorter name, "The Orthodox Catholic Church." In an amazing move, he apparently abandoned his 1930's association with Monophysitism and the Jacobites forever.

The shortened name appeared on Bresi-Ando's new 1946 letterhead, with subtitles showing that he had aligned himself with a select group of Vilatte *episcopi vagantes* who in 1943 had shed their Jacobite past, established a "rival" Antiochene Patriarchate in England, and had embraced theologically the Chalcedonian position along with its 7 Ecumenical Councils. For this group, Mar Georgius became the "Catholicos of the West" while Bresi-Ando headed the new *non-Jacobite* "Catholicate of the South" (which meant: Africa). This act put him in tune with the future, when his parishioners, after his death, would canonically join the Eastern Orthodox communion.

From 1945-1949 onwards, when Deputy Bishop Edonu was reorganizing and reforming his uncle Bresi-Ando's reduced number of loyal Gold Coast parishes (only 11 remaining out of 67), he decided to introduce a thaumaturgical element—divine healing—into the spiritual life of the little diocese in order to empower it and build it up, in effect transforming it into a Second Wave AIC. Not wanting to do anything important without his hierarch's blessing, in 1949 Edonu and his ever-faithful assistant, Labi Odeng, travelled to Nigeria to see their Patriarch, get his blessing, and also beg him to return. Bresi-Ando wrote the Charter for the Guild of St. Raphael, blessed the charismatic reformation of his Gold Coast AIC, but failed to return to his homeland.

The years of 1949-1955 were an era of failed reunion attempts as Bresi-Ando's fractured AIC tried to pull itself together in his absence. However, their fear of Bresi-Ando was confirmed by his ensuing "instrument of ejectment" letter that he posted from Nigeria against several of his former clergymen. It created sore, long-lasting after-effects. Bishop Jones left to join McGuire's African Orthodox Church in 1955, accompanied by Rev. Abradu. In the Asante, the Bresi-Ando family missionary work came to an end as Rev. Ando-Brew retired and his breakaway diocese was basically all but dead.

Shamed by Bresi-Ando's long absence of 14 years, Edonu and Labi Odeng decided to force their wayward leader to make an appearance in his homeland or they too would abandon him. Rather than returning home hanging his head in shame, their Patriarch made a "Grand Return" to the Gold Coast (Dec. 1955 to Feb. 1956) which amounted to a real "hero's welcome." Edonu and Labi Odeng's loyalty was completely publicly vindicated and there was no court case over cocoa debts. Instead, Bresi-Ando triumphantly toured all his remaining parishes and paid visits to his old

political pals—Dr. Danquah, Hon. Kojo Botsio, lawyer Kobina Sekyi—during the very dawn of Ghana’s nationhood. Unable to see the busy Prime Minister, Kwame Nkrumah, the Patriarch wrote his old pen pal some political words of warning right as the nation gained its independence. Declining a request to run for a seat in Ghana’s new independent Parliament, Bresi-Ando chose Nigerian politics instead.

CHAPTER 12

Biography Part E—Abandonment and Death, 1956-1970

Once he got back to Nigeria in February of 1956, Bresi-Ando virtually abandoned his Ghanaian flock until his death in 1970. Revs. Edonu and Labi Odeng were all alone again—but remained loyal to Bresi-Ando all the way. They pressed forward in their effort to turn Bresi-Ando’s Ghanaian flock into a Second Wave “spiritual”, “prophet-healing” AIC. These efforts actually worked to save their denomination from extinction during the time in Ghana when the new Africanized “spiritual” churches had become more popular than the old imported missions, which were confusingly labelled “orthodox” in Ghana’s religious landscape. A Healing Shrine of St. Raphael and its associated Prayer Circles were inaugurated in 1956, with reports of miracles and prophecies. One such prophecy in 1957 spoke of a future white bishop arriving to lead their church. Throughout Bresi-Ando’s long continued absence, his AIC’s Annual Spiritual Revival and Annual Camp Meetings kept alive the charismatic approach to Pan-Africanism which he had authorized in his 1949 Charter. Meanwhile, totally unaware that a small indigenous diocese in Ghana was claiming to be “Orthodox”, the Eastern Orthodox Alexandrian Patriarchate started its West African Archdiocese of Accra in 1959 (headquartered in Cameroon), and the next year a local Greek expatriate in Ghana began building a solitary Greek Orthodox temple on the outskirts of Accra. But the church project was lost when coups and political instability scared most of the Greeks out of the country in the years following Kwame Nkrumah’s 1966 over-throw.

President Nkrumah’s dictatorial tendencies, such as his practice of silencing his political opponents by imprisonment, contributed to Bresi-Ando’s decision to remain in Nigeria during the years of Nkrumah’s “reign” (1957-1966). During this same decade when the bishop was again absent from his Ghanaian diocese, he ramped up his political adventures in Nigeria. Since 1944 Bresi-Ando had been a founding member of the Azikiwe’s NCNC, but in the ‘50’s he switched allegiances to Awolowo’s western-based Action Group, which he helped get established in Eastern Nigeria. In

the very large city of Aba where he lived, the bishop was also the leader of the “politically conscious” Aba Community League. In 1957 he became the President of the Ghana Community in Aba, digging himself deeper and deeper into Nigerian politics in the days leading up to the genocidal Biafran War. Known also as the Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970), the terrible conflict stranded the pro-federal Bresi-Ando and his family in rebel territory. The war cost the bishop dearly. He lost family members, his flock, his churches, his Nigerian diocese, his personal files, even all his vestments. Repatriated home to Ghana in 1970 after the hostilities ended, he was received by Rev. Edonu and Rev. Labi Odeng but did not live very long. He died on 02 October 1970 at the age of 86 and was buried in the Ebibirpim Cemetery in Apam. His death ecclesiastically orphaned his church community which then began a decade of searching for a link to the Orthodox global family outside of Ghana. Still believing that they were canonical “Orthodox Catholics,” all that they thought they needed was a new bishop and synod and good catechesis. However, when in 1974 they learned the true state of their uncanonical status, they worked hard to rectify their situation and stay true to the impulse that Bresi-Ando had implanted in them: “Be Orthodox, be connected to the most ancient Christianity on the African continent.” Led by their church’s Orthodox Youth Organization (OYO), their quest culminated in their canonical reception, when in 1982 Archbishop Irineos of the Alexandrian Patriarchate arrived to take the helm as their new archpastor, fulfilling the 1957 prophecy that in the future a white bishop would come to lead Bresi-Ando’s church. Little did the new Ghanaian Orthodox community realize on that day that their entrance into the ancient Patriarchate was at the same time part of its own historic missionary renaissance.

SECTION THREE—Objective 3 **SPECIFIC ANALYSIS OF THE “PAN-AFRICANISM” OF BRESI-ANDO** **DURING THE 1930’S**

Section Three of the research thesis dove deeply into the specific analysis of Bresi-Ando’s multi-layered emancipationist efforts. The hypothesis (that Pan-Africanism is the “key” to understand Bresi-Ando) was applied to his own *complete vision for the African* —“the emancipation of the African in all areas of life: religious, political, social, cultural, economical, and educational”². All

² FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1513-1517.

the actions which Bresi-Ando attempted within each area were carefully examined in order to see if the hypothesis could be validated or not. One chapter was devoted to each of these categories (social and cultural were combined), and multiple instances of Bresi-Ando's attempts to incarnate Pan-Africanist emancipation in each area were fully described.

CHAPTER 13 **Bresi-Ando's *Socio-Cultural* Emancipation**

Chapter 13 on Bresi-Ando's social and cultural attempts at emancipation showed that he was very much like his contemporary, the Pan-Africanist Marcus Garvey. His Ebibirpim Church "Pledge" contained Garvey's "black internationalism" combined with his call for universal Negro emancipation. While Garvey had his "Ethiopian spectacles" through which he viewed life, so too Bresi-Ando used his "African spectacles" as his "methodological" African frame of mind. The bishop was convinced that for Africans the concepts of "blackness" and "Africa" (not "white" European values) were to be used to determine the appropriateness of a particular belief or conduct. Using this viewpoint subjectively, Bresi-Ando Africanized his First Wave Ethiopianist AIC by tolerating certain African cultural norms while forbidding others. This was a slight movement towards becoming a Second Wave AIC. He welcomed excommunicated stooled chiefs and disenfranchised elders, blessed plural marriage, and allowed African music, but excluded certain funeral customs (such as the pouring of funeral libations to the spirits), along with drumming in church and local "medicine". His actions were a bit hypocritical, because after advocating the boycott of European goods during the 1937-1938 Cocoa Crisis, he was often seen using such imported delicacies later in Nigeria—smoking cigars, wearing gold watch chains, sporting cuff links, etc. While he was very critical of the "white" racist way of life which was always suppressing and reducing the African into an "inferior" status, Bresi-Ando himself was not a racist nor did he hate whites. He just wanted full equality. He befriended whites—he married one, ordained two, and used two as business partners. This shows that he utilized the black and white "piano key" theory of racial cooperation which was taught by his contemporary, the Gold Coast academic Kwegyir Aggrey. Bresi-Ando was not a pure racial separatist like Garvey. However, his placement of polygamy on the same level as monogamy would never have been accepted by Garvey, and it really stirred up the ire of the established Gold Coast Methodist mission. Bresi-Ando displayed a great flaw in his lack of value of women and in his faithlessness to one spouse

in Christian marriage. However, his personal repentance and reformation in this area of morality—in which he finally became monogamous and faithful to one wife for the last three decades of his life—hopefully atoned for his past marital sins.

CHAPTER 14

Bresi-Ando's *Religious* Emancipation

Chapter 14 presented Bresi-Ando as an African emancipationist visionary and church founder. Having been raised in Protestantism and ordained as a Methodist minister, Bresi-Ando broke out on his own to start his independent African denomination in 1926. Being among the Ethiopianist First Wave, his black-run AIC was largely “Methodist”, retaining the parent organization’s theology, ecclesiology and practice. However, Bresi-Ando’s discovery of the ancient Orthodox Catholic Church—via the *episcopi vagantes* in London in 1935—empowered him to make a huge *theological* upgrade to his religious emancipationist endeavours: the adoption of Jacobite “Monophysitism” with its claim of being the “original” Orthodox Church, via the Syriac Patriarchate in Antioch. In place of his lost repatriation program, Bresi-Ando embraced episcopal consecration (from these *episcopi vagantes* who claimed association with the Syriacs) as a stepping stone to greater African-oriented episcopal and religious emancipationist aspirations. Fully adopting the ancient Monophysite polemic rooted in the 4th Ecumenical Council at Chalcedon, Bresi-Ando did much “Monophysite” ecclesiastical saber-rattling against the “Royalist Greco-Romans”—the Roman Catholics and the Greek/Eastern Orthodox—for their alleged “wrongs”. However, in his defense of his theology, Bresi-Ando used a strange new definition for the term “Jacobite”. He loved the word, which is still today used as a positive label by a group of Indian Oriental Orthodox to identify themselves as belonging to the Syriac Patriarchate, even though many Syrians in the same Patriarchate tend to despise the term. Bresi-Ando, however, did not speak of Jacob Baradaeus, the famous 6th Century Monophysite bishop who single-handedly kept his faith group alive by ordaining a vast group of hierarchs and clergy (historically dubbed “Jacobites”—followers of Jacob—by their opponents). Instead, Bresi-Ando insisted that “Jacobite” was a term equal in importance to the terms “Christian” and “Catholic”. For him “Jacobite” meant that a true believer was a “son of Jacob” by baptism and a member of the “House of Jacob,” over which Christ served as the “King of Jacob.” In the 1930’s Bresi-Ando taught that it was as necessary to be a “Jacobite” as it was to be a “Catholic” and a “Christian”. Bresi-Ando

wrote: “These three signs together designate a true Follower of Christ.”³

However, when a person closely examines Bresi-Ando’s writings under a theological microscope, one finds his contradiction. He was *not really* anti-Chalcedonian, but rather he held onto the doctrine of “two natures in One Person”⁴, which is the classic Chalcedonian position. Thus, in Bresi-Ando’s estimation, the theological difference between the Monophysites and the Melkites (i.e. Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox) was just *semantics*, complicated by the Melkites’ stupidity of “bowing” to imperial politics. In his opinion, both camps believed “the same doctrine”⁵, except that the Jacobite Monophysites were morally superior for having avoided imperial meddling. Thus, Bresi-Ando put the blame of the schism squarely on the Melkites’ shoulders. In his opinion, they were the guilty party, and by excommunicating the Monophysites, the Melkites had actually “cut themselves off” from the true “Mother Church” of Jacobite Antioch—“the original Catholic Church”⁶. Bresi-Ando’s solution was to call for all nations to “come home” to the Jacobite Syriac Church of Antioch.

According to his vision of ecclesiological emancipation as a Jacobite autocephalous hierarch, Bresi-Ando established a very wide all-Africa ecclesiology. He saw himself as a Primate of Africa—a Patriarch for all Africans, across borders and oceans, with a mission to blacks everywhere. Resisting all of Rome’s claims, he believed in an Antiochene Petrine primacy of honor (but not a global papacy!) in order to establish his own claim of possessing true Apostolic Succession and “valid” orders via the Jacobite Syriac Patriarch of Antioch. As Bresi-Ando enthusiastically embraced the term “autocephalous”, he made an ecclesiological omission. His defect was that he allowed for no possibility of excommunication, having a lack of accountability to the global body of Orthodox Catholic hierarchs. This was the fundamental flaw of the “Old Catholic” *episcopi vagantes*, who adopted hierarchical structures for their various independent “patriarchates”, but due to their incomplete understanding of Eastern ecclesiology failed in adhering to the requirement of Apostolic collegiality. Thus, as is common among *episcopi vagantes*, solo consecrations were Bresi-Ando’s canonical error. In this he demonstrated his uniqueness as an African hierarch claiming “valid” Apostolic orders, yet operated as an

³ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 24.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

ecclesiastical lone ranger who over-focused on his own spiritual liberation and complete independence as an autocephalous “Patriarch”. Convinced that he had received the true Apostolic Faith and the true Apostolic line of succession and “valid” consecration, “Patriarch” Bresi-Ando, when he returned to the Gold Coast in 1935, made sure that he re-ordained all his clergy in order to give them the “valid” orders too. He taught them to determine who among the Christian missions operating on the Coast were “inside the line” of Apostolic Succession and who were “not”. Roman Catholics were “inside”, and thus only needed to be “Confirmed” when they converted to Bresi-Ando’s church; Protestants were “not”, and thus needed to be Baptized and Confirmed when they converted.

In all of this, Bresi-Ando’s theologically uneducated clergy simply followed him by blind faith, not understanding what he meant by the term “Jacobite”, but grasping the idea that historically there was an original Orthodox Catholic Church which they were convinced they had joined. Bresi-Ando’s ecclesiastical legacy was that he left behind a group of clergymen who had insufficient theological training, not knowing the doctrines of either the “Monophysite” Jacobites or the Eastern Orthodox. Bresi-Ando, however, did lay down some basic understandings by giving them an English translation of a watered-down Roman Catholic missal. In late 1935 the Patriarch began his sacramental and liturgical reforms, attempting to transition his AIC from its non-sacramental Protestant foundations over to sacramental practices (according to the Roman Catholic understanding). But even this was an incomplete transition, creating a confused mixture of Protestant and Roman Catholic liturgical practices that remained within his AIC for decades.

CHAPTER 15

Bresi-Ando’s *Educational* Emancipation

Bresi-Ando started his Liberty School in Nigeria in the mid-1920’s, followed by several other schools and his Nigerian AIC. He copied the Protestant missionary pattern at the time in which schools were opened at each new mission station. Education was the means used to civilize and Christianize. Bresi-Ando’s educational efforts in the name of “Orthodoxy” in 20th Century Africa were decades ahead of the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria. Former Minister of Education Kojo Botsio remembered that Bresi-Ando was famous as an educationalist. President Kwame Nkrumah as a young teacher watched Bresi-Ando’s movement with interest and took

inspiration from Bresi-Ando's African-run school system, according to Mr. Botsio. In fact, it appears that Bresi-Ando was the 2nd Gold Coast native to mount a national educational effort.

The initial opening phase of the Ebibirpim school system on the Gold Coast and in the Asante lands was from 1932 to early 1935. The Apam Ebibirpim Academy opened in 1932 and the Kumasi Prempeh Memorial Institute opened in 1933. The second phase of school growth was from late 1935 into 1939. The Accra Ebibirpim Academy opened in 1936, while the Apam Academy and Kumasi Institute struggled. The St. Simon of Cyrene Seminary was open briefly in 1939—for only the spring semester.

Twenty (20) Ebibirpim primary schools have been identified as having been started on the Gold Coast and in the Asante between 1932 and 1939. (The 21st was in Cape Coast from 1942-1945.) Bresi-Ando had good intentions in opening so many schools so fast, desiring to have African-run schools, while looking to Booker T. Washington's black Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, U.S.A., as a model for inspiration. However, Colonial Education inspectors wrote in their annual reports that Bresi-Ando was a man of grand schemes and educational pipe-dreams who knew little of educational theory and should not have attempted more than he could practically achieve. Indeed, Bresi-Ando was a man of great dreams, ideas that were limited not by imagination nor courage nor potential students, but by money. In fact, all his hopes and those of all the Ebibirpim clergy were pinned on the *anticipated* success of their church's company—Ebibirpim Limited—to generate sufficient funds in order to pay teachers, buy books, and build classrooms. They were so entirely confident that it would all come into reality they could taste it. Therefore, the tragic demise of the church's commercial side between 1939 and 1941 came as a heavy let-down for the Ebibirpim educational program.

Thus, due to lack of funding, the Ebibirpim school system began its collapse. This was magnified and hastened as Ebibirpim clergy quit or went into schism in the 1940's, following Bresi-Ando's move back to Nigeria in 1942. The Accra Ebibirpim Academy closed in 1939 after the earthquake. The Kumasi Prempeh Memorial Institute closed in 1942. The Cape Coast Ebibirpim Grammar School closed in 1945 and the Apam Ebibirpim Academy closed in 1946, among many other school closures at that time. As Bresi-Ando's Gold Coast Diocese collapsed and his parishes closed, so did their accompanying schools.

In the following decades, there were other schooling attempts. A few were started by Bresi-Ando's faithful clergy and several schools were started by Bresi-Ando's break-away clergy. Eventually they all ran out of money and staffing, or were taken over by the government, or were transferred to a functioning foreign mission. Only one school stayed open until the present—St. Peter's Business College in Larteh (ER)—begun in 1967.

CHAPTER 16

Bresi-Ando's *Commercial Emancipation*

This chapter detailed the rise and fall of Bresi-Ando's audacious attempt to actualize the economic liberation of the Gold Coast native from white New Imperial commercial exploitation. At this point in the Patriarch's multi-faceted emancipationist program, everything was hanging on the hoped-for success of the church's cocoa export business, Ebibirpim Limited, since everything required funding. When he was in England in 1935, Bresi-Ando had laid the groundwork for his future church-run business by opening a church "headquarters" there, which in the later '30s would serve as the London import office for his firm, manned by his friend and partner, *episcopus vagans* Archbishop Frederic Harrington. A minor court case in England became the vehicle to insert a thorn into the future relationship between the Gold Coast Governor Sir Arnold Hodson and Bresi-Ando regarding this future company.

Returning to the Gold Coast in late 1935 with his new "Orthodox Catholic" Jacobite church, Bresi-Ando waited patiently for the right time to launch a wide-scale, church-run, African-owned cocoa export firm. The Cocoa Crisis of 1937-1938 became that open door, as foreign AWAM (Association of West African Merchants) firms irritated local producers by forming a price-control "Pool". The African farmers, led by brave voices such as Bresi-Ando, formed their own "Anti-Pool" in retaliation and set their own higher selling price. The resulting stalemate led to the burning of cocoa in protest by many producers. The negative Anti-Pool fallout proved to be Bresi-Ando's big window of opportunity as there now was sufficient interest across the Colony and the Asante to warrant attempting an African-run cocoa export firm which would avoid the foreign middlemen and try to lay seize to a portion of the Colony's main money-maker.

Ebibirpim Limited was quickly legally incorporated on 08 May 1938, an event that birthed a concrete hope for financial liberation in the hearts of many Africans, causing a surge in

membership in the Ebibirpim Church. While Ebibirpim Limited gathered and stockpiled cocoa for shipment, the Gold Coast Legislative Council gathered behind closed doors to discuss the huge economic threat brought by Bresi-Ando's business strategy. Some Paramount Chiefs— Sir Ofori Atta I and Sir Tsibu Darku—who were friends of Bresi-Ando and members of the Council, rushed to warn the Patriarch of impending government trouble. This was Bresi-Ando's *watershed moment* for his entire 1930's emancipationist endeavor. Bresi-Ando rejected the chiefs' advice, who had counseled him to separate his person and AIC from the company, and in so doing he sank his own dream of commercial freedom. Stubbornly sticking to his comprehensive plan of running everything by himself through his own church, and then moving ahead by launching his first shipments of cocoa to London, Bresi-Ando became the target of the combined white AWAM business and governmental communities.

The obstruction of Ebibirpim Limited began when the government froze his sales proceeds in the bank. To gain an advocate, Bresi-Ando summoned his white business partner, Archbishop Harrington, from London, but he was denied a visa. Since the colonial authorities doubted that a black like Bresi-Ando could safely manage such a large-scale business which touched upon the economic life-blood of the colony—i.e. cocoa—Bresi-Ando humbled himself and found a local white business partner in order to continue operations. The bank trusted the white man—Mr. Bartholomew of Bartholomew Ford Company in Accra—and released the funds to his firm. Mr. Bartholomew turned the funds over to his partner Bresi-Ando to keep Ebibirpim Limited going. Seeing that Bresi-Ando's firm was still in operation, the white business community turned to dirtier tactics: they simply denied shipping space to Ebibirpim Limited on their white-owned shipping companies. No ship would take Bresi-Ando's cocoa. Tons of bagged Ebibirpim Cocoa sat rotting on the beach and had to be sold to local white competitors at a loss. This occurred right before Accra's 22 June 1939 big earthquake. Bresi-Ando's world was shaking apart.

Forced out of the cocoa business and needing to clear his debts, Bresi-Ando switched to a new commodity—the export of cassava starch powder. No other firm in the entire colony was shipping this product, yet the Colonial Legislative Council in 1941 passed a law forbidding its export. Bresi-Ando (and his admirers) interpreted this action as *direct* government interference aimed *solely* at him. Forced to cease cassava shipments, Ebibirpim Ltd., though still legally licensed to operate on the Gold Coast, was in effect dead. Beaten into economic submission, Bresi-Ando left the Gold

Coast in early 1942 to try his luck at breeding emancipation in the neighboring colony of Nigeria. Nephew Edonu years later still defended his uncle's honor in the handling of money and the clearing of debts, yet the immediate after-effects of the collapse of the cocoa venture were painful. Up in the Asante cocoa-growing districts, several Ebibirpim parishes closed immediately. The failure of the church's business venture resulted in a removal of the commercial emancipation plank from the platform of Bresi-Ando's African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church, otherwise known as Ebibirpim Asore. Their old motto was reduced to read: "Eternal life for the soul." No more did it read: "Eternal life for the soul, and bread to eat for the body. Look for them here."

CHAPTER 17

Bresi-Ando's *Political* Emancipation

Throughout the decade of the 1930's Bresi-Ando was a preacher, not a politician, using sermonizing to plant the seeds for a future political liberation. He preached against the white churches and against white dominance. He hoped that by his churches, his schools, and his businesses, these all together would add up to become an *indirect* means to help usher in the desired future political emancipation when the coast was clear. Therefore, not an active politician in the strict definition of the term, in the 1930's on the Coast, Bresi-Ando was a nationalist, looking for self-rule. This is how Kojo Botsio defined him. But Bresi-Ando had to walk a very careful line, preaching emancipation while trying to avoid the charge of treason. Yet, on his side, as an independent black bishop heading his own AIC and answerable to no higher authority than himself, Bresi-Ando was free to roam. So he became a friend and moral encourager of the rising class of politicians: President Kwame Nkrumah, Dr. Danquah, the Honorable Kojo Botsio, and the famous Kobina Sekyi. They reportedly loved and respected him. But in the long run, Bresi-Ando avoided Ghanaian politics, only to get himself thoroughly caught up in the new post-WWII national politics of Nigeria in the '40s, 50's, and 60's when the opportunity availed itself. He became a founding member of President Azikiwe's party, only later to personally help the rival political party of Chief Awolowo get established in Eastern Nigeria.

Meanwhile, in the Crown Colony of the Gold Coast during the 1930's (pre-World War II), finding himself locked out of the political arena by the strong arm of British colonial power, Bresi-Ando proclaimed that he had found a "corrected vision" which looked beyond mere nationalism towards

a spiritualized “other worldly” liberation. Via the global family of “Monophysite” Jacobite (Oriental Orthodox) ethnic jurisdictions, Bresi-Ando’s found solace in the concept of the “Spiritual Nation,” in which each of the churches—be they Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopian, Syriac, etc.—were autocephalous, independent “Sister nations” ruled by their various religious leaders, which Bresi-Ando termed “Prince-Patriarchs”. Of course, “Prince-Patriarch” Mar Kwamin I Bresi-Ando counted his own African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church, plus an entire menagerie of similar “churches” led by a host of *episcopi vagantes*, to be among this group of equal “Sister Nations.”

TWELVE PROOFS OF BRESI-ANDO’S PAN-AFRICANISM

By the time one has reached the end of Section Three—the *specific analysis* of Bresi-Ando’s emancipation attempts during the decade of the 1930’s—sufficient evidence has been brought forward to demonstrate beyond a shadow of a doubt that Bresi-Ando was a real 1930’s era Pan-Africanist, walking in the footsteps of Blyden, Casely Hayford, Laura Adorkor Kofey, and Marcus Garvey. His own footprint matched their impressions. These Pan-Africanists sought to replace a white Euro-centered vision with a pro-black identity and unity that brought all the blacks around the world together into the consciousness that they were brothers and sisters, all belonging to one great “race” which was equal to all others. Hence Garvey’s choice of the terms “universal” and “Negro” to intentionally group *all* (“Pan”) *blacks* (“Africans”) into one global (“universal”) identity of “black internationalism”. Bresi-Ando shared most of the mentality of these Pan-Africanists and tried to effect their views. This fact has become so obvious at this point, after having reviewed all the bishop’s actions in light of his unique multi-layered context, that one hardly needs to press home any more specific argument. His actions openly demonstrate and prove that he was guided consistently by an underlying, global, Pan-African emancipationist vision which he tried very hard to bring into concrete reality on the Gold Coast in the decade of the 1930’s in multiple ways: in his socio-cultural stance, his religious transformations, his educational program, his commercial adventures, and his political views. Just the same, while numerous connections have been made to illustrate this theme all throughout the thesis, *twelve* (12) very specific points will now be given below to argue the fact that Bresi-Ando fit impeccably into the Pan-Africanist mold of his era and that he used *Pan-Africanism* as his consistent guiding light, helping him *determine* all his actions and decisions while on the Gold Coast in the 1930’s.

1. A general definition of Pan-Africanism

Pan-Africanism is a slippery term with several definitions over the last 150 years, from referring to “Back-to-Africa” movements as advocated by Blyden in the mid-1800’s, to turn-of-the-century “black internationalism” uniting all blacks in a consciousness of belonging to one “race”, to mid-20th Century “African nationalism,” in which colonies transitioned into independent countries. Dr. Emmanuel Martey’s words completely encapsulate Pan-Africanism into a one-size-fits-all definition: “The African revolution has undergone many phases [...] But its ultimate objective has always been to bring total liberation to the African in all areas of human existence—political, social, economic, cultural and religious.”⁷ Columbus Salley, in his biographical description of Garvey, tells how Marcus advocated total emancipation for the Negro in all areas of life: racially, socially, culturally, politically, commercially, and educationally⁸. Garvey’s own exhortation to his black audience was: “I say to the 400 million Negroes of the world, prepare yourselves for the higher life, the life of liberty, industrially, educationally, socially and politically”⁹. Although the two men differed on the subject of religion, this is exactly what Bresi-Ando said was his definition of Pan-Africanism. For Patriarch Bresi-Ando, the *complete vision* that he had in mind for the African was “the emancipation of the African in all areas of life: religious, political, social, cultural, economical, and educational”¹⁰. If Cinderella’s foot fits the shoe, then the shoe is hers. If Bresi-Ando’s vision was nothing less than the academic world’s understanding of a comprehensive definition of Pan-Africanism, then Bresi-Ando *was* a Pan-Africanist.

2. Redemption of Africa via “Back-to-Africa” Repatriation

Kip Vought, in his research on Garveyite Laura Adorkor Kofey, showed that Marcus Garvey’s Pan-Africanism—as incarnated within his UNIA—included “improving the social conditions of blacks, establishing racial pride and solidarity, and reclaiming Africa from European control and making it the new homeland for African Americans”¹¹. Garvey’s cry was: “Africa for the Africans!” He really wanted to see vibrant, independent, modern, respectable black countries in

⁷ Emmanuel MARTEY. *African Theology* [...], p. 8

⁸ Columbus SALLEY. *The Black 100* [...], p. 80-81.

⁹ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. I, p. 21.

¹⁰ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1513-1517.

¹¹ Kip VOUGHT. “Racial Stirrings in Colored Town [...],” p. 57.

Africa, as he saw no hope for the Negro in white racist America. So, as a racial separatist, he followed Blyden's philosophy that the best and only real solution for blacks to improve their life and to be free from racism was to move back home to Africa, the land of their ancestors. "Back-to-Africa" repatriation programs were the classic original Pan-African theme which established colonies of freed slaves in Africa, such as Sierra Leone (1787) and Liberia (1816). Blyden put his belief into practice by personally moving to Liberia in 1850, and later to Sierra Leone. He then did everything he could to help develop the two counties. Du Bois resisted the "Back-to-Africa" theme and insisted on equality-at-home in the U.S.A., while Casely Hayford in West Africa was a bit leery of the concept of shiploads of foreigners coming into his country who might not appreciate the fact that there were some very smart, educated Africans already successfully interacting with the white colonial authorities. Marcus Garvey followed Blyden's philosophy and tried his hardest to implement a repatriation "Back-to-Africa" program, only to fail miserably in 1924 in Liberia. But Laura Kofey picked up the Garvey repatriation idea and used it to stir up a lot of interest in the American South until she was assassinated in 1928. The Blyden-Garvey-Kofey "Back-to-Africa" baton was then literally handed over to Bresi-Ando when he assumed leadership of Kofey's organization in 1931. The fact that the bishop in three years was able to plant 44 parishes all across the Gold Coast and the Asante as the receiving end of a cross-the-Atlantic "Back-to-Africa" repatriation effort (that honestly believed that thousands of American blacks were soon to board ships and come to their colony to help develop it) is *concrete proof* that Bresi-Ando was walking in the footsteps of great Pan-Africanist leaders—Blyden, Garvey and Kofey. Like the latter two, Bresi-Ando's repatriation program also failed utterly. Without a doubt, his repatriation efforts clearly indicate that Bresi-Ando was a Pan-Africanist attempting to realize classic Pan-Africanist ideology.

3. Equality

One of the reasons why Blyden and Garvey advocated repatriation was that they despaired of blacks ever achieving true equality at home in America. Here they differed with Du Bois, the 20th Century Father of modern Pan-Africanism. His NAACP fought and won the battle for equal rights in the 1950's and '60s. Yet wherever they envisioned it occurring, the Pan-Africanists all wanted equality. Equality was a guiding theme for Casely Hayford, who wrote: "We are anxious to take part in the race of nations towards the attainment of higher ideals, if you will only give us a chance

to work out our own salvation”¹². In an era still resonating with the rhetoric of New Imperialism that spoke of “the ladder of progress” on which “races” would begin their “climb” to advanced, modern civilization¹³, Garvey constantly hammered the theme of equality via a separate black country in Africa: “Let them have countries of their own, wherein to aspire and climb without rancor.”¹⁴ Bresi-Ando preached the same concept: “The steps to the Kingdom [*of God*] are not fixed in the white man’s land. It is everywhere. It is in the black man’s land too. From there he will start to climb.”¹⁵ The bishop advocated that the African should become as advanced as the white man and therefore be qualified to run his own black world: “it was time for blacks to become a master, the time for the mate to be a driver”¹⁶. In this, Bresi-Ando preached the same core Pan-African ideology of his contemporaries Pan-Africanists Casely Hayford and Marcus Garvey, seeking liberty in his African homeland.

4. Pan-African Emancipation

Blyden, the philosophical 19th Century Father of Pan-Africanism, forged the concept of a “universal” brotherhood of a proud “Negro” “race”. Du Bois carried the idea of this black “race consciousness” into the 20th Century. Garvey tried to incarnate this black pride, black unity philosophy into concrete reality by starting his social improvement organization, the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). As mentioned above, he deliberately adopted the not-so-popular term “Negro”, in order to gather together all (“*Pan*”) black men and women (“*African*”) into one global unit (not divided into separate competing national identities), with one black race identity of which they were to be proud. This was “black internationalism.” Together they would be able to make a positive change for themselves and overcome racism and be liberated from every other kind of limitation. Black unity and community self-help were a common theme in the sermons of Garveyite Laura Kofey. She adopted a modified form of the name of Garvey’s UNIA by calling her organization: the African Universal Church and Commercial League. Since she was an African, she substituted “African” for “Negro”, as Gold Coasters in that time period preferred the term. Bresi-Ando continued this same “Pan-African” message of *universal black emancipation*

¹² CASELY HAYFORD. *Gold Coast Native Institutions* [...], p. 7.

¹³ Ronald ROBINSON, John GALLAGHER, and Alice DENNY. *Africa and the Victorians* [...], p. 1-3.

¹⁴ Marcus GARVEY. *Philosophy and Opinions* [...], vol. II, p. 122.

¹⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 30 June 1994, Log 26, p. 1663.

¹⁶ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 2, Log 2, p. 45.

via unity. He adopted a shortened name of Kofey's organization through the 1931 merger. Translating "African Universal Church" into Fante as "Ebibirpim Asore," and into Akuapem Twi as "Abibipem", it meant "the Thousands of Africa", or loosely, the "Universal African," the "All-Africa," the "Pan-African" Church. Via local dialects that were meaningful to his tribal audiences, Bresi-Ando identified his AIC movement with global Pan-African "black internationalism." His Pan-Africanist church was for all Africans, cutting across tribal boundaries. Rev. Edonu remembered how his uncle taught that Africans—all blacks—were to do things for themselves, by themselves, their own way, by joining together and combining their own resources to run their own lives and churches and institutions, even their own country someday, as Africans, free from any white suppression¹⁷. He sounds very much like Kofey and Garvey. The more a person studies these two Pan-Africanists, the more one begins to understand Bresi-Ando. An exhibit and proof of Bresi-Ando using Garvey-inspired Pan-Africanist ideology on this exact point is found in the "Pledge" of loyalty that the bishop wrote for converts to take when they joined his African Universal Church. The new member pledged to work for Bresi-Ando's emancipation and repatriation program, promising that he or she would "ever be restless until the unification of all the blacks scattered abroad is materialized," believing that "all the scattered black men throughout the world shall ultimately come together and have their liberty"¹⁸. In this "Pledge" can be seen Pan-African "black internationalism" (i.e. "all the scattered black men throughout the world") combined with Garvey's call for universal Negro emancipation via unity (i.e. "shall ultimately come together and have their liberty"). The use of this "Pledge" in the Ebibirpim/African Universal Church is an example of Gold Coast 1930's Pan-Africanism *à la Bresi-Ando*.

5. Liberty

Liberty was the theme of the Pan-Africanists—in all areas of life. Garvey named his organization's gathering halls, "Liberty Hall." Bresi-Ando interestingly named his first school in Nigeria, "Liberty School." He told everyone that from its inception the goal of his independent church was "to liberate the African"¹⁹. His AIC would assist in the emancipation of the black man—by helping

¹⁷ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Log 2, p. 26, 55, and 30 June 1994, Log 26, p. 1665-1668.

¹⁸ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Pledge of the African Universal (O.C.) Church, [unpublished typed document], [s.d.], p. 1, File GR1.67.

¹⁹ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 3, Log 2, p. 54.

the African realize that God had created him “to live as an African, to worship as an African, to run his government as an African. No more [*were they*] to remain as a servant, a tool of the white man”²⁰. With his new AIC in Nigeria named “The United *Free* Church of Africa,” and with a church motto proclaiming “Love, Brotherhood and *Freedom*,” Rev. Edonu explained that his uncle had “founded his own church on ‘freedom’. He wanted self-governing”²¹. In Bresi-Ando’s “Pledge”, the new convert acknowledged that all blacks “are of a common descendant [*sic.*]”, expressed his belief that all of them will one day “have their liberty”, and thus to this end he or she solemnly promised “to do my part”²². Liberty was the classic theme of the Pan-Africanists, and it was the foundation and substance of Bresi-Ando’s own efforts, which began in Nigeria and continued across the Gold Coast and into the Asante lands in 1932. Liberty, self-rule, and independence stayed right with the bishop when he embraced what he thought was the Orthodox Catholic Church in 1935, as he spiritualized his quest for liberty by becoming an “autocephalous” independent Patriarch.

6. First Wave Ethiopianist AIC

Patrick E. Nmah made the case that the Ethiopianist denominations in Nigeria were the beginning of concrete African nationalism (hence, a form of “liberation”) *via the church*²³. They, in effect, helped lay the foundation for the later political movement in that country. In a colonial world where anti-black racism excluded most secular options for any Africans desiring “to try to do things for themselves,” the church was the only arena in which these early Pan-Africans could start their advance towards emancipation²⁴. Bresi-Ando’s Nigerian AIC was not unique, but fits rather easily into the early phase of AICs—the “‘Ethiopianism movement’ in Africa” in which black churches sought liberation from white dominion in church life. By moving to Nigeria in the mid-1920’s, Bresi-Ando positioned himself to absorb and imitate the form of religious Pan-Africanism

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 54-55.

²¹ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 3, Log 2, p. 58.

²² Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. Pledge of the African Universal (O.C.) Church, [unpublished typed document], [s.d.], p. 1, File GR1.67.

²³ Patrick E. NMAH. “The Rise of Independent African Churches, 1890-1930: An Ethical-genesis of Nigerian Nationalism,” *African Research Review*, vol. 4, n° 4, (serial no. 17), October 2010, p. 485.

²⁴ J. MOFFAT-THOMPSON, The Secretary of Native Affairs in Zambia. Letter to the Chief Secretary Livingstone, 02 February 1932, Lusaka Archives, ZA.1/9/1/, in Max ASSIMENG, *Saints and Social Structures*, p. 259.

that was fermenting all around him. The “Bresi-Ando experience” of the 1920’s and ‘30’s can be aptly summarized as “Early Ethiopianism” which included:

autonomy from dominant white churches [...] tribalist, nationalist, and Pan-African dimensions, which were encouraged by association with independent American black churches and radical leaders with ‘back to Africa’ ideas and an Ethiopianist ideology. This ideology was explicit in the thought of such pioneers of African cultural, religious, and political independence as Edward Wilmot Blyden and Joseph Ephraim Casely-Hayford of Ghana.²⁵

Everything here in this description—except for “tribalist”—exactly applies to Bresi-Ando. He sought religious “autonomy” and ecclesiastical self-rule, he was a “nationalist” (according to Kojo Botsio), he espoused classical “Pan-African” concepts (i.e. equality, liberty, repatriation, etc.), he associated himself with Laura Kofey’s “independent American black church”, he preached the ideas similar to “radical leaders with ‘back to Africa’ ideas” (i.e. Garvey), he started his own Nigerian AIC with “Ethiopianist ideology,” and followed concepts taught by the “pioneers of African cultural, religious, and political independence [*such*] as Edward Wilmot Blyden and Joseph Ephraim Casely-Hayford of Ghana”. By definition, therefore, religiously Bresi-Ando was an Ethiopianist Pan-African.

7. Race consciousness

Blyden taught black/Negro “race consciousness,” Du Bois carried the concept into the 20th century, Casely-Hayford wrote books on it, Garvey shouted it all around the world, while Kofey instructed her black Florida audience that they needed to get back to their African roots. What did Bresi-Ando do? As Professor Assimeng noted, Bresi-Ando taught that the Gold Coaster should be *authentically* African, not a copy of a European white. They should *methodologically* use an African viewpoint—their “African spectacles”, not a European way of looking at things—in order to determine what was appropriate for the black man and woman. In other words, a consistently applied, liberated, “Pan-African” vision would be their guide in all their determinations in life. Garvey, with his “Ethiopian spectacles,” urged his Negro audience to: “BE BLACK, BUY BLACK, THINK BLACK, AND ALL ELSE WILL TAKE CARE OF ITSELF!”²⁶ Similarly,

²⁵ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. “Ethiopianism”, par. 1–4.

²⁶ GARVEY, Marcus Mosiah. “Look For Me In A Whirlwind [...]” [partial transcript of audio recording]—emphasis is in the original.

Bresi-Ando instructed his Fante and Asante audiences: “The money you have is yours. Do not part with it for the purpose of buying European luxuries. ABOVE ALL THINGS BE AN AFRICAN.”²⁷ The similarity between the two men on this point is *remarkable*.

8. Socio-Cultural Pan-Africanism and Africanization

Garvey proclaimed the coming of black race redemption saying that “Ethiopia shall rise”. By this he not only referred to his beloved dream of independent African nations being colonized by his repatriates, but he also looked to the black man’s future liberation in all areas of life. This also symbolically referred to a return to an appreciation of Africa and its cultural roots. Bresí-Ando carried this Garveyite understanding right into his own AIC when he included the phrase “Ethiopia shall rise” in his church’s “Pledge”. Rev. Edonu explained that by using these words Bresí-Ando was referring to the coming “emancipation of the black race—politically, commercially, religiously” from the “burden of the white”²⁸. Part of this liberation was having a pro-African mentality. The Gold Coast’s greatest Pan-Africanist, Casely-Hayford, wrote his famous work, *Gold Coast Native Institutions*, defending the positive aspects of his colony’s political, commercial, religious, educational, social, and cultural native institutions. He felt that the white man had removed the black man from his cultural roots too quickly, doing unnecessary damage. Others like Ephraim Amu agreed with him. This black criticism of the white colonialists and missionaries was echoed by Governor Gordon Guggisberg’s own honest critique of the Basel educators. Mission-trained critics of the white system, such as the rebel Bresí-Ando, longed for an authentically *African* expression of Christianity where they could feel at home as natives while also enjoying the blessings of Christianity and Western modernization. Thus, the Second Wave of AICs which started appearing on the Gold Coast in the 1920’s and ‘30s tried different ways of recontextualizing Christianity back into their pre-Enlightenment African worldview. So, in trying to implement the pro-African mentality of the Pan-Africanists, such as Casely-Hayford, by various *Africanizations* Bresí-Ando made daring modifications to his understanding of Christian praxis with respect to native institutions. He edged his First Wave Ethiopianist AIC into the direction of the newer Second Wave—by allowing local vernacular singing, receiving excommunicated chiefs,

²⁷ The Gold Coast Cocoa Farmer. *Some Reasons for the Cocoa Crisis, 1937*, [s.l.][s.n.] in Max ASSIMENG, “Methodological Africanism [...]” p. 61-62—emphasis is in the original.

²⁸ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 07 March 1994, Log 11, p. 630.

tolerating polygamy, etc. In effect, the bishop was undoing some of the work done by the white missionaries and for this he was widely praised and soundly condemned at the same time by his peers in the colony.

Marcus Garvey liked to use Psalm 68:31 in his speeches. It was his favorite: “*Princes shall come out of Egypt and Ethiopia shall haste to stretch forth her hand unto God.*” Bresi-Ando used this same Bible verse in point 8 of his “Pledge”, expressing his conviction that through his AIC this verse was to be fulfilled. The new African member of his Ebibirpim Church would “obtain freedom by stretching forth [*his*] hands to God in praise and thanksgiving” because now he had the “freedom to worship God the way he likes”²⁹. But Bresi-Ando was subjective in his Africanization policy. For example, drumming in church was unacceptable to him, as he still preferred the use of organs. While Bresi-Ando was very similar in most points to Garvey, there were some differences between the two men. The bishop actually believed that God would use his AIC to inaugurate all the other anticipated freedoms, while Garvey did not envision the desired redemption arriving via the exclusive context of any one black church, and therefore he refused to allow his movement to become a religious denomination.

9. Religious Pan-Africanism

Becoming an autocephalous “Patriarch” satisfied Bresi-Ando’s hunger for Pan-African religious equality with—and emancipation from—the white hierarchy of the Anglicans. As a religious separatist, for Bresi-Ando this was full *ecclesiastical independence*³⁰. Like separatist Garvey who proclaimed that “Africa was for the Africans” and told the whites to pack up and go home, so too Bresi-Ando desired that the white Anglican clergy should pack their robes and leave Africa for him. This was a type of ecclesiastical separatism. In his mind he was now fully spiritually equal and independent as a *bona fide* African Patriarch of an African church for Africans. Comparing his quest to be free from the domination of white mission churches to the ancient Monophysites’ effort to be free from the grip of Roman Imperial politicking via the “Melkite” state church, Bresi-Ando spoke highly of his Jacobite church’s *freedom* from the oppressive imperialist colonial

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Kofi Asare OPOKU. “A Brief History of Independent Church Movements [...],” p. 19.

powers with their state-run colonial churches³¹. Further, by joining what he thought was the ancient Orthodox Catholic Church, Bresi-Ando got liberated from a Western, Euro-centered, Protestant/Roman Catholic Christianity. This was a form of *doctrinal independence*, added to his ecclesiastical independence³². This perfectly matched Bresi-Ando's Pan-African emancipationist ideal of *total independence*. As a modern Western *episcopus vagans*, he fell short of the Eastern canonical practice of the mutual accountability inherent in Apostolic collegiality. However, Bresi-Ando preferred being *not* accountable nor answerable to any other Orthodox body of hierarchs and patriarchs since he so highly desired and focused upon *self-rule* and complete independence. As an "autocephalous" Patriarch, Bresi-Ando established for himself a very wide ecclesiology, saying: "I am a father, the head of my religion and countrymen, the whole Africa region is for me"³³. Finally, Bresi-Ando believed that he had found the ancient true Orthodox Catholic Church which was rooted in Africa's original 1st Century Christianity. Hence, in his mind, his quest for Pan-African theological and ecclesiastical emancipation was complete. He was free from the foreign missions. Bresi-Ando felt that he was *authentically* African and *historically* Christian, while being not British, not colonial, not a copy of the white man, and certainly not a "black European". He had *arrived* at his goal. How much more "Pan-African" could he become?

10. Educational Pan-Africanism

Bresi-Ando followed not only in the footsteps of the Basel and Methodist missions which served as pioneers in education on the Gold Coast, he also walked in the footsteps of the great Pan-African pioneers because they all stressed the importance of education for the black man. Blyden taught at Fourah Bay College in Freetown, Sierra Leone, while also penning important books and articles on Pan-Africanist philosophy. He advocated that educated and trained repatriates should move to Africa to share their knowledge with the locals as he had done. He called for African-run schools and churches. Blyden educated a whole generation of Pan-Africanists, including Casely-Hayford, who continued to advocate for the education of natives "at all levels along 'racial and national lines'"³⁴, promoted the opening of schools, and used his editorial skills to educate the masses. Casely-Hayford continued his teacher's themes, as did Marcus Garvey, who insisted that the

³¹ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 13, 28.

³² Kofi Asare OPOKU. "A Brief History of Independent Church Movements [...]," p. 19.

³³ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 2, Log 2, p. 45.

³⁴ "J. E. Casely Hayford Facts," *Encyclopedia of World Biography* [...], par. 4.

Negroes should get educated with professional skills for use in Africa. The UNIA colonials that he sent to Liberia were highly educated “technical experts”, each a specialist in their own field—surveyor, builder, pharmacist, etc.—with the goal of constructing schools, developing industries, and cutting roads³⁵. Garvey admired Booker T. Washington’s successful Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, as did Bresi-Ando, who wrote that he hoped one day to operate schools at that same academic level on the Gold Coast. Like Garvey, Mother Laura Kofey was always pressing for black pride and black education, calling her followers to “learn about your race and learn about your Motherland Africa”³⁶. She did not want missionaries who had zero practical skills coming to evangelize the Gold Coast, but instructed her organization to send skilled professionals to Africa³⁷. Thus, when her AUCCL finally sent their first batch of repatriates to West Africa, they were known as “industrial missionaries.” Bresi-Ando received them when he took over Kofey’s church in 1931, and with the help of industrial missionary Jones, he began to spread churches and schools. The Ebibirpim educational program was a major plank in his emancipationist program, as he tried to start a school with each new parish. The foreign missions had already been using schools as their chief means to civilize and evangelize and spread their influence, so it was normal for Bresi-Ando who had been trained in a colonial Methodist school and ordained as a Methodist minister to follow that pattern. But as an Ethiopianist reacting against racist colonialism, the African bishop wanted his churches and schools to be run by Africans. By starting 21 Ebibirpim Schools and a seminary between 1932 and 1942, it is an established fact that Bresi-Ando was following in the footsteps of his Pan-African pioneers and was trying his hardest to make African-run education a reality in his homeland. In the area of education, Bresi-Ando was clearly a Pan-Africanist.

11. Commercial Pan-Africanism

In the area of commerce, it is so obvious that Bresi-Ando was a Pan-Africanist that one does not even have to argue the point. That being said, here are some comparisons. Both Garvey and Bresi-Ando were black capitalists—they were not black Marxist socialists like Kwame Nkrumah. Garvey focused his emancipation on his commercial enterprises, the most famous being his Black

³⁵ David E. CRONON. *Black Moses* [...], p. 125.

³⁶ Eli B. NYOMBOLO. *Mother’s Sacred Teachings*, p. 56.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

Star Line shipping company. Mother Laura Kofey copied Garvey and called her organization “The African Universal Church and Commercial League,” taking the wording from the UNIA’s longer name: “Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities (Imperial) League”. Like Garvey with his shipping companies, Kofey wanted to set up commerce between blacks in America and Africans on the continent (in addition to repatriation). Her followers worked hard to continue this effort after she was assassinated. Therefore, they linked up with Bresi-Ando, who eventually was able to set up his African Universal Church’s company: Ebibirpim Limited. Translated into English the name meant, “the Company of the Thousands of Africa,” or loosely translated, “the Universal African Company,” the “Pan-African Company.” In his commercial aspect, Bresi-Ando was a continuation of Garvey’s economic philosophy, flowing to him through the Kofey organization that he had inherited. Bresi-Ando desired full economic liberation and tried to activate it through his company by capitalizing on the 1937-1938 cocoa crisis when poor farmers were crying for economic freedom from colonial New Imperial exploitation. If Bresi-Ando’s church-run, colony-wide, black-owned, cocoa shipping company had succeeded, it would have been the fulfillment of the Garvey and Kofey Pan-Africanist commercial vision. Ironically, it was Bresi-Ando’s lack of ships that sunk his organization due to the white entrepreneurial and colonial intrigue that arose against him, just as Garvey’s shipping companies also sank due to conspiracy rising against him.

12. Political Pan-Africanism

By sojourning in the neighboring Colony of Nigeria in the 1920’s, Bresi-Ando had absorbed the emerging Ethiopianist Nigerian Pan-African religious mentality—that the Christianization of their fellow tribesmen and the successful establishment of African-run churches were necessary prerequisites to nation-building and the hoped-for future political independence³⁸. Thus, they felt that African nationalism leading to liberty and political independence could arrive via their Ethiopianist African-run AICs. No wonder Bresi-Ando, after starting his own AIC in Nigeria, later explained to his nephew that this action of his had “been inspired” by a deep desire for emancipation from the white man in every way³⁹. A comparison can be made between Bresi-Ando’s rejection of colonial authority and the “Monophysites” rejection of the Roman Empire’s

³⁸ Patrick E. NMAH. “The Rise of Independent African Churches, 1890-1930 [...],” p. 485.

³⁹ RI, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 29 September 1992, Tape 3, Log 2, p. 54—italics added.

“Orthodoxy”. Nicolas Zernov says that in the 5th Century, the only place where “self-determination” could begin to manifest was in the church, not in politics⁴⁰. Similarly, Bresi-Ando, restricted as he was from freely entering any sort of political arena in the Gold Coast Colony in the 1930’s by the strength of colonial imperialism, felt that it was only through his own independent African church that the African could start his climb to emancipation. Therefore, the bishop stubbornly insisted that all his emancipation efforts should be rooted in his church (i.e. his commercial venture was to be run by his church, not separately, as the Paramount Chiefs had suggested.)

Blyden had dreamed of seeing a future federation of African states, or at least a huge anglophone state in West Africa, but failed to see it happen. Casely-Hayford had tried his hardest to set up the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) in order to politically unite West Africa in some degree of self-rule, but the plan died with him in 1930, having been crushed by the British and their allied Paramount Chiefs. Marcus Garvey desired a great black empire in Africa—the United States of Africa, of which he in anticipation was the “Provisional President”—but he was all talk and no action as the colonial regimes in Africa began to ban the sale of his *Negro World* periodical out of fear that it would stir up an independence movement. In his decade of mission work on the Gold Coast, Bresi-Ando from his pulpit preached both political *and* religious freedom, risky as it was to do so. Other than that, like the great Pan-Africanists before him, he could not get into politics as the British arm kept the door of “self-rule” firmly locked. Therefore, it was not surprising that in Bresi-Ando’s 1930’s experience, halfway through the decade when his repatriation program died in 1935, the bishop substituted “spiritual liberation” for the elusive political emancipation. He called it “a corrected vision of the fulfilment of his longing” which looked beyond mere nationalism towards a spiritualized “other worldly” liberation⁴¹. In a sense, in this manner Bresi-Ando was like the Pan-African Archbishop McGuire, who also found through Vilatte an “Apostolic Succession” which became for him a spiritual path to independence for the black man⁴².

⁴⁰ Nicolas ZERNOV. *Eastern Christendom* [...], p. 71.

⁴¹ Kwamin Ntsetse BRESI-ANDO. *The Apostolic Succession* [...], p. 12.

⁴² Richard NEWMAN. *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 85.

By upgrading to “Patriarch” in 1935 and adding “Orthodox-Catholic” to his “African Universal Church,” Bresi-Ando did not let go of his Pan-African dream—rather he enhanced it. By spiritualizing his nationalism, and not limiting it to one country, he was creating a new society, a “New Tribe” of the African “Orthodox Catholic” Jacobite spiritual nation. Therefore, as a self-ruling (autocephalous) “Prince-Patriarch” of his own independent “spiritual nation,” Bresi-Ando felt that he was in league with a global family of similar-minded churchly “nations”. He celebrated the inner spiritual liberation that he believed united his own Jacobite AIC with the other well-known, historical “Monophysite” ethnic churches on the continent of Africa—the Egyptian Coptic and the Ethiopian Tewahedo Orthodox. In *his* understanding in 1935, they were all African and Orthodox *together*. Then later, in the 1940’s, when his group of *episcopi vagantes* had left the Jacobite world behind, Bresi-Ando still held onto the “African Universalism” that he had inherited from Garvey via Kofey. His church was not limited to one country, but was for all Africans on the continent, in Florida, and around the world. As the “Catholicos” for the “Catholicate of the South” (i.e. Africa), he wrote in 1949 that he was “Patriarch” for “every part of Africa and of all Africans both in the homeland and in dispersion in other parts of the world”⁴³. Here there is an echo of the Diaspora terminology of Pan-African “black internationalism” and its understanding of one “race” with its “scattered sons and daughters of Africa [...] at home and abroad,” as Mother Laura Kofey said in the Creed of her AUC⁴⁴. Bresi-Ando’s Pan-African vision stayed consistent throughout all of his ecclesiastical decisions and maneuvers, though most people would never recognize him as Africa’s true and “canonical” Patriarch.

While looking to ascend to spiritual heavenly realities, Bresi-Ando always kept his other foot firmly on earth. Never totally forsaking his dream of earthly political emancipation, when the right time arrived after World War II, and the Pan-African movement transformed from Garveyite “black internationalism” into the anti-colonial political “African nationalism” which created all the mid-20th Century new independent nations in Africa, Bresi-Ando caught this wave and became thoroughly mixed up in Nigerian politics. His political associates became the first party leaders

⁴³ Charter, the Guild of Saint Raphael in the Order of Fishers of Men, Instrument of Inauguration, in the Programme, Fourth Anniversary of the Spiritual Healing Revival at the Shrine of the Guild of St. Raphael, Gomoa Fomena, Orthodox Catholic Church, Diocese of Saint Ignatius of Antioch, Ghana, 13th to 15th January 1961, p. 5, File GR2.93.

⁴⁴ Eli B. NYOMBOLO. *African Universal Hymnal*, Jacksonville, FL, Missionary African Universal Church, 1961, p. 64-65, in Richard NEWMAN, *Black Power and Black Religion* [...], p. 138.

of Nigeria and Ghana, their first presidents and first members of the opposition: Kwame Nkrumah, Dr. Danquah, Kojo Botsio, Nnamdi Azikiwe, and Chief Awolowo. His list of political friends bears witness to the reality that Bresi-Ando was a Pan-Africanist.

Summary: Bresi-Ando's all-inclusive Pan-African *synthesis*

Having reviewed twelve (12) main points establishing Bresi-Ando as a Pan-Africanist within the time frame of the 1930's, we have witnessed his definition of African emancipation as an "all-inclusive" *synthesis*. He was in tune with his era, the time when "Pan-Africanism" itself was seen as a broad-based emancipationist ideology. We have seen how the bishop synthesized together various Pan-African ideas—"blackness" (Blyden), "unification, empowerment, liberation" (Du Bois), "black internationalism" (Du Bois, Garvey), "Ethiopian spectacles," pro-African perspective (Garvey), Africanization (Casely Hayford), Ethiopianism, African Independent Churches, AICs (Blyden), Emancipation in all areas of life (Blyden, Casely Hayford, Garvey), repatriation (Blyden, Garvey, Kofey), black-owned commerce (Garvey, Kofey), and religion (Kofey)—while theologically basing it all on a Scriptural foundation from the *Christian Gospel* of "freedom in Christ Jesus the Lord". In this Bresi-Ando followed the African theologian Laura Adorkor Kofey who merged Garveyist "black internationalism" and repatriation ideology with her unique brand of Protestant theology by starting her own independent black church denomination. Bresi-Ando inherited this *Kofey synthesis* when he merged his AIC with hers. However, Bresi-Ando later carried this recipe much further and aspired to connect his church with the non-Western ancient Christianity of the continent, the Orthodox Catholic Church of the Early Church era. Like Kofey, Bresi-Ando *synthesized* his brand of "Pan-Africanism" out of *emancipation* dreams and *religious* convictions—and in doing so proved to be prophetic for his own nation. Bresi-Ando's own *Pan-African synthesis* was a comprehensive merging together of a *complete* program for *soul and body* (religion *and* politics; spirit *and* matter; emancipation of soul *and* emancipation of body). It was summed up in his church's motto: "Eternal life for the soul, and bread to eat for the body. Look for them here."

Marcus Garvey had advocated total emancipation for the Negro in all areas of life—racially, socially, culturally, educationally, commercially, and politically. This present research has shown that these also were the *main areas of focus* for Bresi-Ando's life work. The shoe fits. He was a

Pan-Africanist. The research hypothesis has been *validated*. Pan-Africanism was Bresi-Ando's consistent *guiding vision*. There can be no other conclusion. Throughout the 1930's within the Gold Coast and the Asante, Bresi-Ando tried his hardest to make real every aspect of his *massive* Pan-African dream: "the emancipation of the African in all areas of life: religious, political, social, cultural, economical, and educational"⁴⁵. He wanted it all, on equal terms, via the context of his own AIC, without being a racist, as he was not an exact replica of Garvey. Unlike Marcus, Bresi-Ando was not a racial purist, since he once married a white wife. While adopting most of Garvey's ideas—such as Africa's "redemption", the repatriation "Back-to-Africa" movement, a modified "Africa for the Africans" ecclesiological separatist policy, and "African spectacles" as his "methodological" pro-African vision of life, etc.—Bresi-Ando rejected the pure black color racism of Garvey and Blyden.

**BRESI-ANDO WAS A PAN-AFRICANIST PIONEER,
NOT A SCATTER-MINDED, SELF-ABSORBED OPPORTUNIST
Objective 4 (transversal throughout entire thesis)**

The above listed twelve (12) points have illustrated that Bresi-Ando was a real Pan-Africanist who consistently utilized his "African spectacles" to guide and determine his multitude of various actions taken on the Gold Coast during the decade of the 1930's. He was attempting an all-inclusive approach to life—to be an "authentic" fully liberated African. This leads us to the 4th and final Objective, which was transversal, running through the entire thesis as a whole. It sets the record straight. Bresi-Ando was a *Pan-Africanist pioneer*, not a scatter-minded, self-absorbed opportunist. He was a brilliant multi-faceted activist living far ahead of his day—a man of vision, not of contradiction. Some previous researchers lacked sufficient data to read him properly, and therefore they hastily and prematurely dismissed him. One researcher said that Bresi-Ando was a fraud, a pretend bishop without a flock, when the truth has shown that he had at least 67 parishes in the Gold Coast and Asante alone, not counting those in his Nigerian diocese. Another researcher presented Bresi-Ando as a swindler, raising funds for schools that existed only on paper, but the truth is that he ran *at least* 22 educational institutions, a fact that inspired a very famous African president. This present research has shown the truth that Bresi-Ando was *not* a marginal man, an

⁴⁵ FFN, Rev. Kyriakos K. EDONU. Gomoa Afransi, CR, GH, 31 May 1994, Log 23, p. 1513-1517.

odd dreamer, but was an active Pan-Africanist visionary, a real hero who set up over 100 institutions (combining his Nigerian churches and schools and businesses with those on the Gold Coast and in the Asante) in order to try to bring his vision into reality. The problem was that, as with Marcus Garvey, Bresi-Ando lived several decades before his time. He was a complete visionary, determined to bring a meaningful change to his society—complete liberation—only to be crushed by colonialist policies, lack of means, his pride, the size of his aspirations, and his impatience to have it all now.

Bresi-Ando's short-run failures

In the short run, on the Gold Coast during the decade of the 1930's, Bresi-Ando failed in almost every aspect of the Pan-Africanist dream that he so ardently tried to bring to life. He failed in his repatriation program, failed to keep most of his churches and dioceses alive, failed in his school attempts, failed in his commercial ventures, failed in politics, failed in his attempt to actualize the "Kofey synthesis" of religion and commerce, failed in liturgical reform, failed in catechizing his flock into either Jacobite Monophysitism or Orthodoxy, failed in his relationships with his clergymen, failed in actually becoming a Patriarchal figure for the continent, failed in various aspects of his Africanization policy, failed in most of his marriages, and therefore failed to achieve his Garveyite definition of Pan-African emancipation in all areas of life. And, moreover, he failed to admit or speak of failure.

A prophetic visionary leader ahead of his era

But all this collective disappointment does not mean that Bresi-Ando's life itself was a failure, meaningless, or useless. Rather, like so many great leaders, Bresi-Ando was prophetically ahead of the crowd. A large portion of his failures are attributable—directly or indirectly—to the fact that he was two or three decades ahead of himself, a man *ahead* of his time. He tried hard to have the future *now*. Yet in his day, social and political situations were not yet ripe for his agenda of a fully-emancipated African. Just the same, Bresi-Ando's Pan-African vision for the authentic African was prophetic, giving people the light, illuminating for them their future path. In time, everything that he dreamed of—and worked so hard for—came to pass: independent African-run nations, with African-run churches, schools, and businesses, in a context which allows Africans

the freedom and self-respect to use their African “black spectacles” as they wish. Thus, in the long-run, Bresi-Ando was not a “marginal man”, a freaky failure, but was a true Pan-Africanist visionary, trying to show Africa the road down which it would soon travel. He was just too early. In 1975, when he was doing his research for his article on the late Patriarch, Max Assimeng visited Rev. Edonu and afterwards wrote him a letter in praise of Bresi-Ando.

I must confess that since our meeting, the perspective for my study of the late Bishop has been considerably broadened: I now see Bishop Bresi-Ando not only as a religious leader, but also a great man in the leadership of African economic, political, and cultural emancipation. He was a total African, and my conviction is that no book of African cultural renaissance in the twentieth century can be deemed complete without an appreciation of the immense contribution of the late Patriarch.⁴⁶

Assimeng, as an eminent African academic and sociologist who had studied the lives of many African religious leaders, was in the correct position to offer such a high opinion of Bresi-Ando, calling him “a great man in the leadership of African economic, political, and cultural emancipation. He was a total African.” Perhaps this present research thesis will help noise abroad Professor Assimeng’s conviction that “no book of African cultural renaissance in the twentieth century can be deemed complete without an appreciation of the immense contribution of the late Patriarch.”

Bresi-Ando’s successes

As the truth of Bresi-Ando gets out and circulates, more people will appreciate his success, rather than simply recount his failures. In the course of his personal life, there were many areas in which Bresi-Ando did *not fail*. For example, he did not fail to repent and reform himself. After he moved to Nigeria in 1942, he gave up polygamy and all previous lack of marital commitments, and spent the rest of his life faithful to his last one wife, Joana. In his spiritual life, Bresi-Ando did not fail to become a man of great faith and prayer, as witnessed in his Biafran War miraculous survival story. In his theological life, he did not fail to remain steadfast in his Orthodox theology, as his version of “Monophysitism” was actually still Chalcedonian Eastern Orthodoxy. And more, in the 1940’s he sided with a group of *episcopi vagantes* led by Mar Georgius who repudiated

⁴⁶ J. M. ASSIMENG. Letter to Bishop K. Edonu, 10 June 1975, File GR16.463.

Monophysitism of all sorts, abandoned its limited 3 Council vision of church history, and theologically embraced Orthodox Catholic Chalcedonian doctrine and its 7 Ecumenical Councils. This positioned Bresi-Ando to be in tune with the wave of the future, when after his death his AIC was canonically received into the Eastern Orthodox global communion. Finally, in the arena of Africanization, Bresi-Ando died almost a martyric death, choosing to remain faithful to the pure practice of his Christian religion rather than to use any tribal “medicine” perhaps associated with the worship of local pagan deities.

In the long run, in his life’s greatest work, Bresi-Ando was *not* a complete failure. Rather, he was a big *success*. The preparatory groundwork that made possible the presence in Ghana of the present-day Eastern Orthodox Archdiocese of Accra was dug by the Pan-Africanist motivation of this African churchman who wanted both an independent *and* African expression of authentic Early Church Christianity in his homeland. With a lot of help from his two loyal lieutenants (Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu and Rev. Gregory Labi Odeng), the bishop did not fail to keep his Ethiopianist African independent church—with its “Orthodox Catholic” label—alive and operational until the day it was given a new lease on life when it was received into the Greek/Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria.

Conclusion: Bresi-Ando as forerunner and providential trailblazer

Technically, Bresi-Ando is not to be portrayed as the actual legal founder of the current modern-day Orthodox Church of Ghana in its post-1982 canonical phase. That title belongs to men such as Fr. Kwame Labi, Fr. Kyriakos Edonu, Fr. Gregory Labi Odeng, Godfried Mantey and Opoku Larbi. However, Bresi-Ando should be portrayed rather as the ancestor, forefather, pioneer, precursor, and predecessor of this present canonical Ghanaian ecclesial community.

Bresi-Ando was a forerunner and providential trailblazer who pointed his West African followers in the direction of the Orthodox Church, setting a trajectory and initiating a momentum that was ultimately fulfilled in 1982. He formed his anti-colonial protest movement in the 1920’s and ‘30s and gave it its direction, impulse, and impetus, aiming it towards ancient Orthodoxy on the African continent. Therefore, Bresi-Ando is the actual founder of a former Pan-African anti-colonial liberation crusade which he shaped in the guise of his uncanonical “Orthodox Catholic” AIC, an

independent ecclesial movement that *continued to move* until it arrived in canonical Alexandria a decade after his death. Bresi-Ando gave his followers a (false) *self-identity* as “Orthodox Catholics” that still *guided* and *highly motivated* them long after his departure. He introduced into his Pan-African program the concept of the Apostolic “Orthodox Catholic” Church that had been planted on their continent in the 1st Century. He thought that he was in communion with the ancient Patriarchates of Alexandria and Antioch. He aimed at an Orthodoxy, as he understood it. The finer theological points dividing the Jacobite “Monophysite”/Miaphysites from the “Melkite” Eastern/Greek Orthodox were not truly embraced by him nor by his followers, who in practice ignored any 1930’s “Jacobite” theology (which they did not understand anyway) and simply clung to a humble “Orthodox Catholic” concept and (mistaken) identity.

Like all other First Wave Ethiopianist Pan-Africans, Bresi-Ando—in founding his AIC to liberate the African—was inspired by the blackness, liberty, and long history of the independent black nation of Ethiopia. For Garvey and the other early Pan-Africanists, “Ethiopia” was so idolized that it had become a synonym for “black” and for “African”. However, when Bresi-Ando looked at Ethiopia, he saw more than a political nation of proud black people with an impressive history. He was inspired by their Orthodox faith identity as well. In the 1930’s the Ethiopians were still officially part of the Coptic Alexandrian Patriarchate (until 1959), and were among the Non-Chalcedonian camp of ancient Oriental churches who embraced the name “Orthodox”. Believing (falsely) that he had truly joined their Jacobite/“Monophysite” communion via the Syriacs of Antioch in 1935, Bresi-Ando was completely convinced that he had embraced an Eastern Christianity that was non-European, non-Western, non-colonial, non-Imperial, non-Protestant, non-Roman Catholic, but was “Orthodox” and connected to both modern and ancient Africa, via Ethiopia and Egypt. These concepts defined his Pan-African religious-based emancipationist protest movement, and were carried forward in the hearts and minds of his followers (except for the Monophysitism which was later discarded).

In summary, while Bresi-Ando was mistaken as to his actual canonical status, he did have the *firm intention* that he and his people be “Orthodox Catholic” Africans and be *liberated* from imported European-based, colonial-era, Protestant and Roman Catholic Christianity. After his death in 1970, his Pan-African movement retained his intention, his concepts, and his self-identity as “Orthodox Catholic” and they fixed their canonical error when they eventually discovered it. In

so doing they *stayed true* to the teaching of their trailblazer: “Be Orthodox Catholic. Be part of ancient Christianity on the continent of Africa. Be African. Be independent of imperial Europe.” If Bresi-Ando had not gathered his followers together, nor formed their communities, nor imparted to them those ideas—that guidance, that intention, that self-identity—then they would *never* have joined a canonical Orthodox Patriarchate in 1982 because they would *not have existed*. Without Bresi-Ando there would have been no Ebibirpim Pan-African movement on the Gold Coast, no African Universal Orthodox-Catholic AIC, and no indigenous population rushing in to fill up the largely empty Ghanaian portion of the Eastern Orthodox Archdiocese of Accra in 1982. The present Archdiocese would look very different if Bresi-Ando had not been involved.

Thus, truly there is a sense that Bresi-Ando laid important foundational concepts in the minds and hearts of his Ghanaian followers that served as providential stepping stones to their future status as the Holy Orthodox Archdiocese of Accra. Therefore, Bresi-Ando should be remembered and honored as a *forerunner* and *trailblazer* for his community’s later existence inside the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa.

In the 21st Century, functioning as the canonical Archdiocese of Accra, Bresi-Ando’s transformed church now operates schools of various levels, with an all-Ghanaian priesthood to properly catechize the faithful into the teachings of the Eastern Orthodox Faith. New cement church buildings have been raised up to replace the old mud structures, and new mission parishes have been founded. Despite difficulties and challenges of various types, progress is being made. Liturgical standards have been elevated and doctrinal confusion erased. Bresi-Ando’s *greatest* work—his church—has been blessed by God to survive and live on, *re-born* within the larger contemporary miraculous renaissance of the Alexandrian Patriarchate. It is the story of his lieutenants, Rev. Edonu and Rev. Labi Odeng, and that of the next generation of leaders, Fr. Kwame Labi, Godfried Mantey and Opoku Larbi, that needs to be the juncture where the next phase of research should continue. All the data for this ensuing task has already been collected. Time and energy are all that is required to carry the Bresi-Ando history into the next generation: telling the remarkable account of how his AIC survived his death, connected with canonical Eastern Orthodoxy, and transitioned to become what it is today.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

LIST OF EBIBIRPIM PARISHES OPENED BETWEEN 1932-1942

(in alphabetical order, with start date)

Ashanti Region: 21 parishes

Abotanso (1934)
 Akrokyere (1933/'34)
 Amanfrom (1934)
 Anwanya (1934)
 Asuafo (1934)
 Atwea (1934)
 Bekwai (1934)
 Besoro (1934)
 Bomen (1934)
 Ejisu (1933/'34)
 Jeretiasi (1934)
 Kumasi (1932/early '33),
 Kumawu (1934)
 Kumawu-Pepeasi (1934)
 Kuruwi (1934)
 Nsuta-Chebi (1938)
 Onwe (1933/'34)
 Senfi (1932/early '33)
 Sewua (1933/'34)
 Wonno (1934)
 Woraso (1934)

Central Region: 22 parishes

Agona Abodom (1933)
 Agona Bobikuma (1933/'34)
 Ajumako Abeadzi (?)
 Ajumako Assasan (1936/'37)
 Ajumako Beseasi (?)
 Ajumako Essaman (1935)
 Apam (1932)
 Breman Asikuma (?)
 Cape Coast (1941)
 Ekumfi Gyirankuma (1932?)
 Ekumfi Otuam (1932)
 Gomoa Aboso (1932/'33)
 Gomoa Afransi (1932)
 Gomoa Akropong (1934)
 Gomoa Fomena (1932)

Gomoa Odina (1934/'35)
 Gomoa Odwobi (1932/'33)
 Gomoa Pinanko (1933/'35)
 Gomoa Takwa (?)
 Mumford (1932)

Denkyere (area of CR which borders AR)

Dunkwa-Adwumamu (1939?)
 Dunkwa-Kyekyewere (1939?)

Eastern Region: 19 parishes

Abetifi (1935/'37)
 Abomosu (1933/'35)
 Akim Breman (1934)
 Akuapem Aborodiem (1937)
 Akuapem Asuokyene (by 1938)
 Akyem Adosena (1934?)
 Asakraka (1935/'37)
 Asubone Kokrumpe (1938?)
 Asubone Okragyei (1938?)
 Kankan (1934/'35)
 Kwabeng (1933/'35)
 Kwahudaa (1938?)
 Kwahu Praso (1938?)
 Larteh (1936)
 Mepom (1933)
 Nkawkaw (1938)
 Nkwatia (1935/'37)
 Pepease (1935/'37)
 Twendruase (1935/'37)

Greater Accra Region: 1 parish

Accra (1935)

(old) Brong Ahafo Region: 1

Dormaa (?)

Upper East Region: 2

Bawku (1934/'35)
 Navrongo (1934/'35)

Volta Region: 1

Kpandu (1939)

TOTAL = 67 parishes opened by Bresi-Ando's AIC between 1932 and 1942

List of Ebibirpim Parishes Opened Between 1932-1942
(sorted by both Region and Phase)

First phase: 1932-early 1935

Second phase: late 1935-1942

Greater Accra Region:

45) Accra (1935-1941)

Central Region:

Central Region:

- 1) Apam (1932 to 1946, but name stayed on record until 1956)
- 2) Mumford (1932 to 1933)
- 3) Gomoa Fomena (1932 to the present)
- 4) Ekumfi Otuam (1932 to 1936)
- 5) Gomoa Afransi (1932 to the present)
- 6) Ekumfi Gyirankuma (1932? to 1946/'47, but name stayed on record until 1950)
- 7) Gomoa Aboso (1932/'33 old Nigritian parish, transferred to Ebibirpim, died 1946)
- 8) Gomoa Odwobi (1932/'33 to 1935)
- 9) Agona Abodom (1933 to the present)
- 10) Agona Bobikuma (1933/'34 to 1973, left to join Anglicans)
- 11) Gomoa Pinanko (1933/'35 to somewhere between 1945/'49)
- 12) Gomoa Akropong (1934 to the present)
- 13) Gomoa Odina (1934/'35, died ?, re-started at Odina-Ogua on 06 Feb 1955 to the present)
- 14) Gomoa Takwa (? to late 1940's)
- 15) Ajumako Essaman (1935 to the present)

- 46) Ajumako Assasan (1936/37, died prior to 1945)
- 47) Ajumako Abeamzi (? to late 1940's)
- 48) Ajumako Beseasi (? to late 1940's)
- 49) Breman Asikuma (? to late 1940's)
- 50) Cape Coast (1941 to 1945)

Denkyere (area of CR which borders AR)

- 51) Dunkwa-Adwumamu (1939? to 1945/'46)
- 52) Dunkwa-Kyekyewere (1939? to 1945/'46)

First phase: 1932-early 1935**Second phase: late 1935-1942****Ashanti Region:**

- 16) Senfi (in late 1932/early '33 to 1958)
- 17) Kumasi (in late 1932/early '33 to early 1943)
- 18) Onwe (1933/'34 to 1958)
- 19) Ejisu (1933/'34 to 1958)
- 20) Sewua (1933/'34 to 1958)

(old) Sekyere District (AR)

- 21) Akrokyere (1933/'34 to the present)
- 22) Bomen (1934 to 1939, due to cocoa collapse)

(old) Bekwai District (AR)

- 23) Bekwai (1934 to 1955, departed into schism)

(old) Kumawu District (AR)

- 24) Kumawu (1934 to 1950's)
- 25) Abotanso (1934 to 1939, due to cocoa collapse)
- 26) Amanfrom (1934 to 1950's)
- 27) Besoro (1934 to 1950's)
- 28) Pepeasi (1934 to 1939, due to cocoa collapse)
- 29) Wonno (1934 to 1950's)
- 30) Woraso (1934 to 1939, due to cocoa collapse)

(old) Mampong District (AR)

- 31) Jeretiasi (1934 to 1939, due to cocoa collapse)

(old) Nsuta District (AR)

- 32) Anwanya (1934 to ?, sometime before 1975, perhaps by 1955)
- 33) Asuafo (1934 to 1939, due to cocoa collapse)
- 34) Atwea (1934 to ?, sometime before 1975, perhaps by 1955)
- 35) Kuruwi (1934 to ?, sometime before 1975, perhaps by 1955)

- 53) Nsuta-Chebi (1938 to ?)

First phase: 1932-early 1935**Eastern Region:**(old) Akuapem District (ER)

36) Mepom (1933 to early 1940's)

(old) Akyem District (ER)

37) Akim Breman (1934 to the present)

38) Abomosu (1933/'35 to sometime before 1950)

39) Kwabeng (1933/'35 to sometime before 1950)

40) Kankan (1934/'35 to 1987)

(old) Akyem Kotoku District (ER)

41) Akyem Adosena (1934? to 1950)

Second phase: late 1935-1942**Eastern Region:**(old) Akuapem District (ER)

54) Larteh (1936 to the present)

55) Akuapem Aborodiem (1937 to 1939)

56) Akuapem Asuokyene (by 1938 to early '50s)

(old) Kwahu District (ER)

57) Abetifi (1935/'37 to 1945)

58) Asakraka (1935/1937 to 1942, or before)

59) Pepease (1935/'37 to 1945)

60) Nkwatia (1935/'37 to 1945)

61) Twendruase (1935/'37 to 1945)

62) Asubone Kokrumpe (1938? to 1945)

63) Asubone Okragyei, (1938? to 1945)

64) Kwahu Praso (1938? to 1945)

65) Kwahudaa (1938? to 1945)

66) Nkawkaw (1938 to 1955, departed into schism)

(old) Brong Ahafo Region:

42) Dormaa (? to ?)

Upper East Region:

43) Bawku (1934/'35 to sometime after 1938)

44) Navrongo (1934/'35 to sometime after 1938)

Volta Region:

67) Kpandu (1939 to 1939)

44 parishes opened from 1932-1935

22 parishes opened from 1936-1939
(plus Cape Coast in 1941 = 23 from 1936-1942)**TOTAL = 67 parishes** opened by Bresi-Ando's AIC between 1932 and 1942

APPENDIX B

LIST OF EBIBIRPIM SCHOOLS OPENED BETWEEN 1932-1942

(with dates of opening and closure)

Central Region:

- 1) Apam Ebibirpim Academy (opened 1932-closed 1946)
- 2) Gomoa Aboso Ebibirpim Infant Primary School (an old Nigritian School that was transferred to Ebibirpim in 1932/'33-closed 1946)
- 3) Agona Abodom Ebibirpim School (opened 1933-closed 1935/36)
- 4) Cape Coast Ebibirpim Grammar School (opened 1942-closed 1945)

Denkyere area of CR which borders AR

- 5) Dunkwa-Kyekyewere Orthodox School (opened 1939?-closed 1945/'46)

Eastern Region:

(old) Akuapem District (ER)

- 6) Akuapem Aborodiem Abibipem School (opened 1937-closed 1939)
- 7) Larteh Abibipem School (opened 1936-taken over by government circa 1956/57, but still open today)
- 8) Mepom Abibipem School (opened 1933-closed early '40s)

(old) Akyem District (ER)

- 9) Kankan Ebibirpim School (opened between 1934/'35-closed by early '50s)

(old) Akyem Kotoku District (ER)

- 10) Akyem Adosena Ebibirpim School (opened 1934?-closed by 1950)

(old) Kwahu District (ER)

- 11) Abetifi Abibipem School (opened between 1935/'37-closed 1945)
- 12) Pepease Abibipem School (opened 1935/'37-closed by 1944)
- 13) Nkwatia Abibipem School (opened 1935/'37-transferred to Roman Catholics in 1944, still open today)
- 14) Twendruase Abibipem School (opened '35/'37-died immediately)
- 15) Kwahu Praso Abibipem School (opened 1938?-closed 1945)
- 16) Asubone Kokrumpe Abibipem School (opened 1938?-closed 1945)
- 17) Nkawkaw Abibipem School (opened 1938-closed 1940's, but a government school still uses the building)

Ashanti Region:

18) Kumasi Prempeh Memorial Institute (opened 1933-closed 1942)

(old) Sekyere District (AR)

19) Akrokyere Orthodox School (opened 1934-closed 1944)

(old) Nsuta District (AR)

20) Nsuta-Chebi Orthodox School (open in 1938-closed?)

Greater Accra Region:

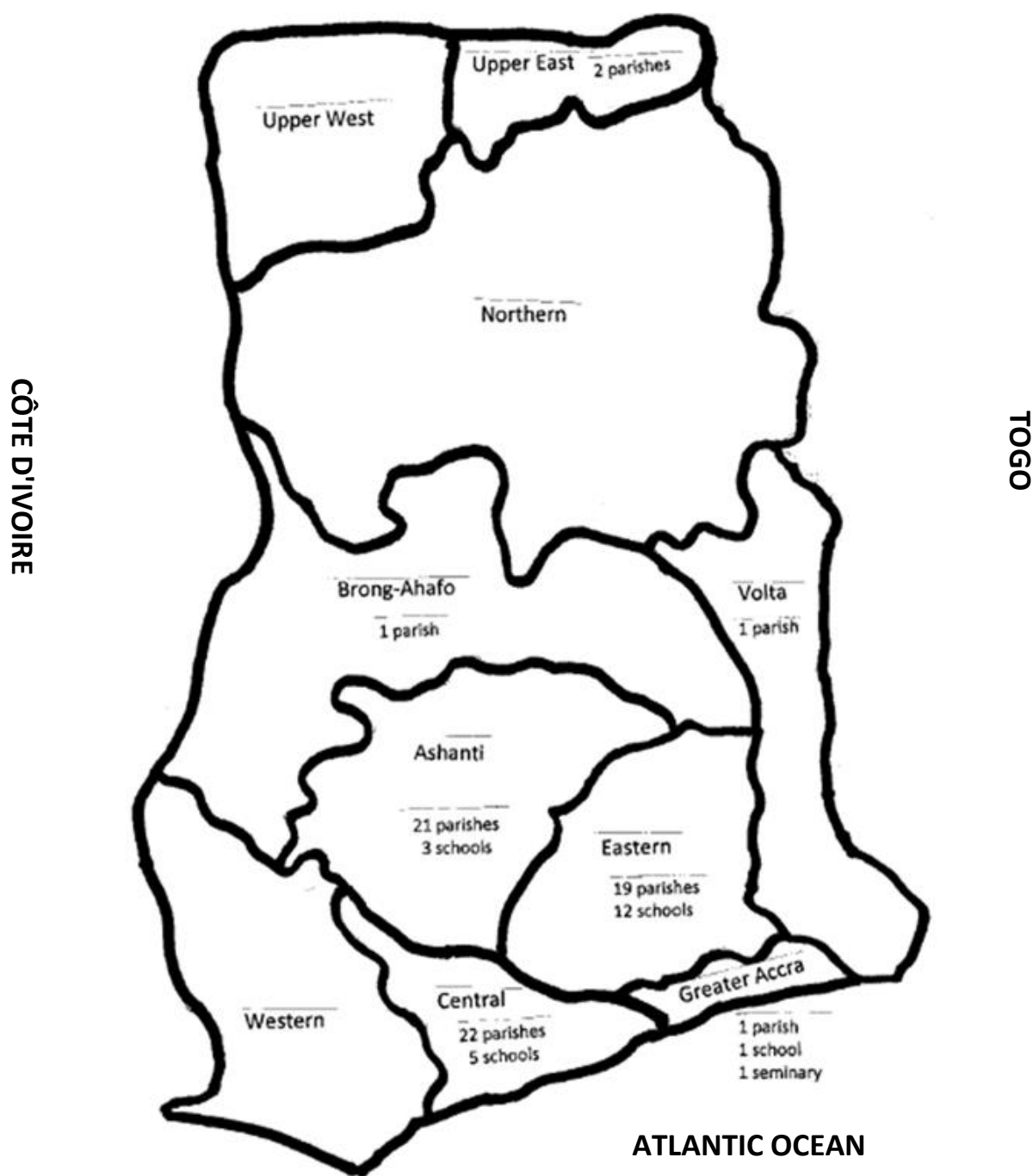
21) Accra Ebibirpim Academy (opened 1936-closed 1939)

22) St. Simon of Cyrene Seminary in Accra (opened 1939-closed 1939)

22 = Total number of educational attempts during Bresi-Ando's decade (1932-1942).

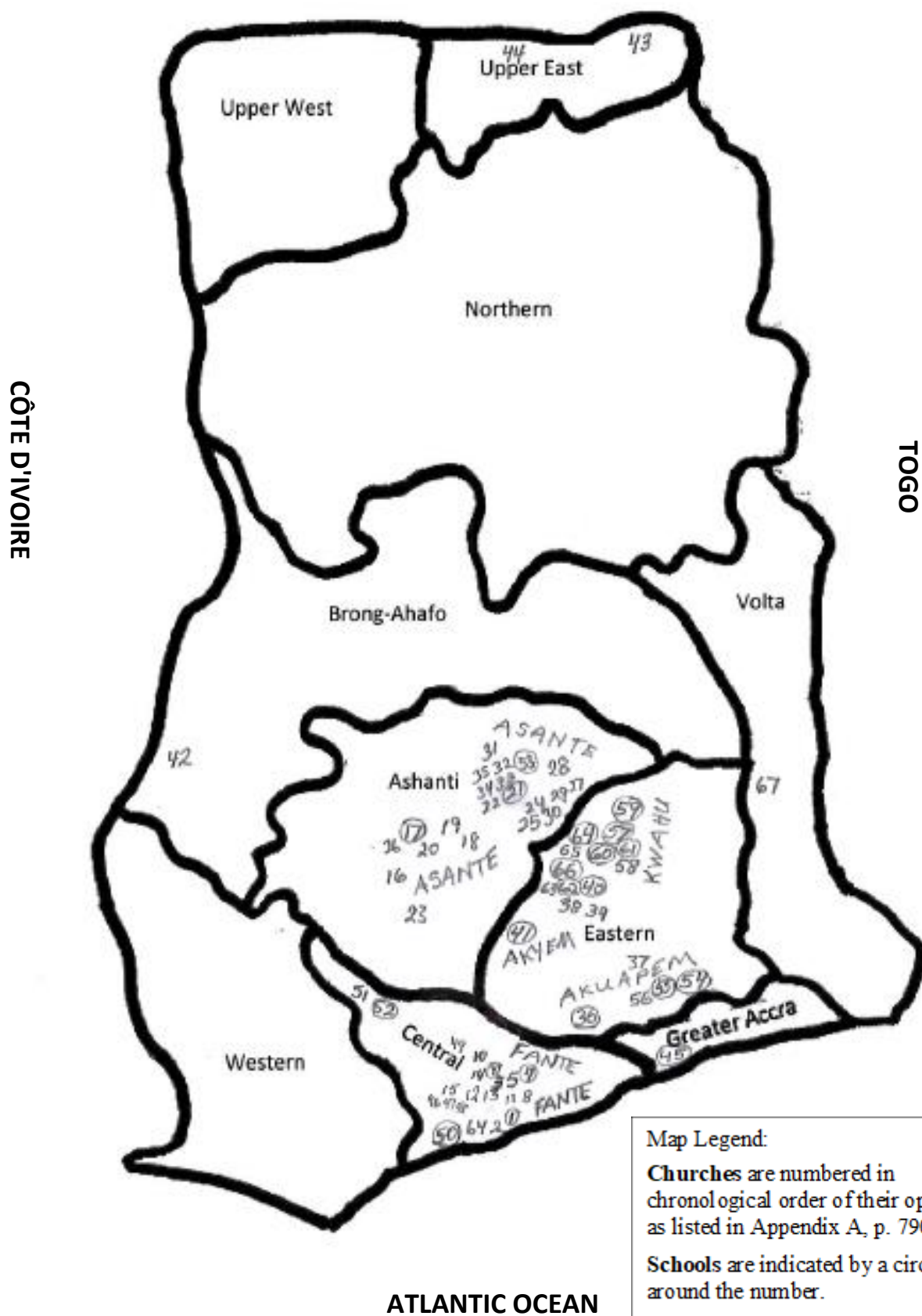
APPENDIX C

MAPS OF EBIBIRPIM PARISHES AND SCHOOLS, 1932-1942



former 10 region map of GHANA

Map of Ebibirpim Churches and Schools, 1932-1942



**Expanded view: showing Ashanti, Eastern, and Central Regions,
and the Asante, Fante, Akuapem, Akyem, Kwahu tribal areas**



Map Legend:

Churches are numbered in chronological order of their opening, as listed in Appendix A, p. 790-792

Schools are indicated by a circle around the number.

APPENDIX D

PHOTOS



(Clockwise)

Bresi-Ando (with white pith helmet) in 1956, visiting Gold Coast from Nigeria

Chief Adams with Patriarch Bresi-Ando, at Fomena, CR, 29 Dec. 1955

Synod of African Universal (Orthodox-Catholic) Church, circa 1935 (Bresi-Ando seated in middle)

Fomena church, parishioners & choir with Patriarch Bresi-Ando, 29 Dec. 1955



APPENDIX E

SELECTED ENTRIES FROM THE “SCHOOL LOG BOOK OF THE APAM EBIBIRPIM ACADEMY, 1933-1946”

Page 1

3rd April 1933

Opened Primary Department, Ebibirpim Academy today with Infant classes and Standard I.

Teachers present, viz:

Mr. Charles Adentwi in Charge of Std. I & Class III

Mr. C. A. Okyere Class I

Mr. J. B. Edonu Class III

(signed) E. Bresi-Ando, General Manager

23rd June 1933

The school vacates to-day for one month – June 23, to July 24

(signed) C. Adentwi, P.T. [Principal Teacher]

24th July 1933

The school is re-opened to-day with the following staff present:

Charles Adentwi (P.T.) in charge of Std. I & Class III

C. A. Okyere “ “ Class I

J. B. Edonu “ “ Class II

(signed) C. Adentwi

Page 2

31st July 1933

Charles Adentwi (P.T.) is transferred to the Prempeh Memorial Institute, Kumasi. Henceforth, Teacher C. A. Okyere is responsible for the school.

(signed) C. Adentwi

4 August 1933

Visited School for introduction of the head teacher Mr. J. E. Addison, and I found the school in good order.

(signed) J. Reynolds, Manager

14 August 1933

I have found it necessary, at the close of certain days during the week, to detain the members of the staff for special instructions as regards their work in the school. This practice aims at developing the efficiency of the school in all its general and important aspects – In instructions, discipline, competition etc, and it is intended to continue as long as its existence will be necessary.

(signed) J.E.O.A. Addison

Page 3

21 August 1933

The school starts turning a certain given portion, of the front of the school building, into a portable decorative garden. This will be looked upon, and will serve as the School garden, until a bigger and a more suitable and convenient one can be available in the future.

(signed) J.E.O.A. Addison

2 October 1933

School starts December Quarter with the following as members on the staff:

Addison Joseph 1304/W/28 2nd class Prelim.

Edonu Job Benj. 02009 Provisional.

Cobbinah Anna std. VII.

(signed) J.E.O.A. Addison

15 December 1933

School vacated for the Xmas holidays to be reopened on the 23rd day of Jan. 1934.

(signed) J.E.O.A. Addison

Page 4

23 January 1934, Tuesday, 8:30AM

The School was re-opened this morning with a very good attendance and the following members of the staff present:

Joseph Addison 1304/W/28 2nd Class

J. B. Edonu 02009 Provisional

Anna Cobbina std. VII.

The school was also extended to Standard Seven, impending the arrival of more certificated teachers who had applied for employment in the school. These teachers were to be expected to arrive during the Month of February.

Text Books

Reading books to be used by Class III up to Std. VII: The New Method Readers, their Companions and Supplementaries.

Arithmetic Harman's Arithmetic 1 to 3 for stds I to III and Potter's books IV to VII.

The school was extended to Std. VII impending the arrival of four more certificated teaches at the end of February.

Carpentry [*sic.*], Tailoring and Gold smithy have been attached to the school, pending the arrival of the teachers to start operating.

Page 5

Messrs Allen Botchey, J. Acquaye and H. K. Sarsah have been taken on the staff, waiting for the arrival of the four more certificated teachers, for their names to be sent together to the Provincial Inspector of schools.

(signed) J.E.O.A. Addison

22 February 1934

Inspection.

(signed) J. S. Dunn

P. I. of Schools [Provincial Inspector of Schools]

Official Report on the Apam Abibirpim [*sic.*] Academy.

The School, which has applied for assistance, was inspected on the 22nd February, 1934.

Staff. For the ten classes, infants I to Std VII, there are six teachers, only one of whom is certificated. The following is a brief history of the staffing arrangements of the school.

The following names were submitted:

Page 6

6th Sept. '32

J. B. Essel	-	Std: 7 Certificate
H. K. Sarsah	-	ditto
M. A. Baiden	-	? ditto
J. A. Arthur	-	failed Std: VII
V. S. B. Quansah		ditto

30th Jan. '33

A. K. Mingle	-	01966 P. L. (Late E C M)
F. A. Botchey	-	01514 P. L. (Late Meth.)

28th Feb. '33

W. P. Ward	-	2/W/G 1 st Class.
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2nd March '33

C. Adentwi	-	1705/W/29 3 rd . Prel.
F. E. Fynn	-	596/C/24 “ “
S. Banson	-	1/3/A 2 nd Class.
C. A. Okyere	-	776/S/1925 3 rd Prel.
J. Amanbrah	-	49/A/W 2 nd Class.
S. Pratt	-	1766/W/29 3 rd Prel.

3rd April '33

J. Addison	-	1304/W/28 2 nd Prel.
J. B. Edonu	-	Std: VII
Anna Kobina	-	Std: VII

15th Aug. '33

J. A. Onayson	-	108/W/21 2 nd Cl: Prel.1 1925
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The present staff consists of:

J. Addison	-	1304/W/28 2 nd Prel.
J. B. Edonu	-	02009 P. L. [Provisional List]
F. A. Botchey	-	01514 P. L.
H. K. Sarsah	-	Std: VII
J. Acquaye	-	Std: 7
Anna Kobina	-	Std: VII

In the meantime the Manager has been changed twice. From the above it will be seen that many teachers have been called but few chosen. Many of these teachers have had a chequered career and their employment in this school has caused much correspondence which is still going on and likely to continue for the Bishop (who was present at the inspection instead of the Manager) states that he has four new teachers arriving at the end of February. To found a school on such a poor staff is neither good management nor sound educational policy. Rolling stones such as these cannot be expected to stay very long in Apam either, and the lack of continuity

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is fatal to efficiency. The present staffing contravenes the Education Rules in a most flagrant way and government cannot consider granting assistance until the staffing arrangements are very much better. The prospectus states that the school is "to be run on lines similar to those of the world renowned Tuskegee Institute in the U. S. A., under competent presidency and assisted by a qualified teaching staff of international fame". If the words "a qualified teaching staff of international fame" are meant to apply to the Tuskegee Institute they are doubtless correct, but if they are meant to apply to the Abibirpim [*sic.*] Academy, even by implication, they are oracularly misleading.

Classes. Against the advice of the Director of Education and the Provincial Inspector of Schools the Bishop has persisted in extending the School to Std VII only a year after its foundation. Extension at this rapid rate shows a complete lack of understanding as to how

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an efficient school should be built up. Had the infant classes first of all been consolidated and extension gradually made as the school's own pupils passed on to higher standards all might

have been well, but to try to create suddenly a complete school shows that the elementary principles of sound education have not been grasped. Moreover Apam is not longer a prosperous town and there is already one well-established school there quite capable of serving the needs of the district. There is not likely to be much need for further educational expansion for some time, and this is another reason why assistance is not likely to be granted.

Eventually a case might be made out for the infants school but that can only be when Government is assured of the stability of the Mission and of its capacity to run efficient schools on sound lines.

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Building & Equipment. These are another example of lack of foresight. In spite of the fact that the intention was to have classes up to Std: VII adequate thought was not given to the question of accommodation. The Senior School is accommodated in the upper storey of a very uncomplete [*sic.*] building. There are no doors or windows and the verandah is dangerous as there is no floor to it, leaving a drop of 12 feet or so to the ground. The classrooms are approached by means of a ladder.

The Junior School building is better and could eventually be made quite suitable. The walls are plastered and white-washed and the place looks cheerful. More windows are needed.

In the Senior School there are 16 dual desks for over 60 pupils. There are two-and-half blackboards for seven classes; one teacher made a valiant effort to improvise a blackboard by holding an asbestos tile in one hand and writing with the other. The walls have been

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decorated with pictures from illustrated papers, but there is little of educational value. There are no cupboards. In the Junior School there are a few small tables with forms, but most of the children sit on benches which have no backrest and no provision for supporting blackboards, writing books, etc. There is only one blackboard for the three classes.

The prospectus reads, "Boarding Departments available for pupils of both sexes. Attractions are many and varied." It is perhaps too mild to describe this as misleading. No such departments were seen by or shown to the Inspector.

The Manager cannot expect assistance until the equipment and accommodation are in a much better state than at present.

Enrolment. There are 63 pupils in the Stds and 56 in the infant classes. Several Senior boys have been admitted without Transfer Certificates whilst it was known that they still owed school fees at their previous school. Such slackness with regard to the observance of

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the rules is not likely to inspire confidence with respect to the more serious side of the school management.

Curriculum. The Bishop has many large and spacious ideas. Unfortunately they have no material backing and are rendered ineffective by lack of foresight and inadequate preparation. This has been seen in matter of staff, numbers of classes, buildings and equipment; it is no less so in the matter of curriculum. The following is a quotation from a letter received from the Manager, “I have pleasure to inform you that we have added to the school this year, branches for instructions in carpentry [*sic.*], Tailoring and Goldsmithy, and arrangements are being made to add also Black smithy and Fitting [*sic.*] as well as Bricklaying and Farming on Scientific Lines.” These branches of instructions may have been added, but unfortunately they have not yet functioned as no qualified instructors are available. Again to quote from the prospectus: “School grounds cover thousands of acres of land unquestionably ‘A1’ for agricultural and other industrial operations on scientific lines”. The truth of this statement is questioned. The school does not even possess even a garden. The Bishop hopes eventually to extend activities to include a Secondary School, and a

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Training College for Teachers, Dispensers and Ministers of Religion.

In fact, subjects are added to the curriculum with a total disregard to whether facilities exist for their teaching, or even whether it is advisable to teach them. The Management would do well to make sure of a little solid achievement before indulging in such extravagant and grandiloquent ideas. The spadework, the slow and patient effort needful to build up a sound educational institution, appears to have [*been*] forgotten in the glory of high-sounding phrases. The Motto of the Schools is “Respice Finem”; it would be much better if a little more attention were paid to the beginning. If this were done, the end could very well be left to look after itself. Even if it were possible to carry out the above plans the Inspector is not convinced that Appam [*sic.*] is the most suitable locality for their development. Appam [*sic.*] is described in the prospectus as “the ancient Metropolis of the extensive state of Gomoah being a most ideal place for more than a thousand and one reasons”. These reasons are not apparent. Contd on Pages 27 & 28

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It is proposed to deal with school work in detail. In a school with such a poorly qualified staff and where class supervision is virtually non-existent, work is bound to be backward. The amount done is very small and the standard could scarcely be worse.

Conclusion: The School is very definitely not worth assistance, nor will it be worth it for a long time, unless indeed there is a very complete change in the way the school is run and in the observance of the Education Ordinances and Rules.

The only sound advice educationally that can be offered to the Manager is that he should make haste slowly, and that the school should be reduced to infant classes only.

These should be properly staffed, and their work consolidated, and when, and only when, they can be

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classed as efficient should expansion be attempted.

The Certificate of the only certificated teacher on the staff was endorsed "satisfactory". This was done because it would have been unfair to penalize him for the very trying conditions under which he was attempting to work.

But the same consideration will not be shown in future.

Candidates for Std VII Examination, 1934, will not be accepted from the school.

sgd. J. S. Dunn,
Prov. Inspector of Schools
C.P. [Central Province]

JSD/EHM

Certified True Copy

15 May 1934

School re-opened today. The Infant School is divorced from the Senior School as from today with Mr. J. E. O. Addison as Headmaster. For the Senior School Mr. J. S. Djorgee is put in charge as Headmaster.

(signed) E. Bresi-Ando
General Manager

15 May 1934

Resumed duties today as Head-Teacher of the Ebibirpim Academy, Senior Department.

Teachers present: J. Sosu Djorgee,

J. B. Edonu,

H. K. Sarsah

(signed) J. S. Djorgee

15 May 1934

Classes arranged thus:

- 1) Johannes Sosu Djorgee ID/A Stds V, VI & VII
- 2) Henry K. Sarsah " III & IV
- 3) Job Benj. Edonu 02009 " I & II

(signed) J. S. Djorgee

16 May 1934

Mr. Robert Nap. Mensah 2497/W/32 engaged and resumed duties today. He is placed in charge of Standards V & VI.

(signed) J. S. Djorjee

30 May 1934

The Manager has supplied seven Note Books and an extra Ex. Book to be used as Visitor's Book.

(signed) J. S. Djorjee

30 May 1934

The Headmaster has supplied to Teachers of Standards (1-4) one to four; four only note Books for Teachers' Notes.

(signed) J. S. Djorjee

9 July 1934

Teacher J. B. Edonu has been transferred to the Junior Dept. to act as a head teacher during the absence of Mr. G. V. Quashie who is on leave of absence. Teacher Sarsah is now in charge of Stds I & II, during the absence of Mr. Edonu & the Headmaster is now in charge of Stds VI & VII.

(signed) J. S. Djorjee

19 July 1934

Mr. J. B. Edonu is reverted to his substantive appointment.

(signed) J. S. Djorjee

20 July 1934

The General Manager has visited and presented to the School eight marking pencils.

(signed) J. S. Djorjee

7 August 1934

I visited the School for Voucher's checking.

(signed) E. Buabin Mansah
Manager

17 August 1934

School vacated today and to be re-opened on 12th day of September.

(signed) J. S. Djorjee

12 September 1934

As reported above, School is in Session today. The attendance is poor.

Teachers present: J. S. Djorjee, Hdmaster

R. N. Mensah

F. A. Botchey

H. K. Sarsah

J. B. Edonu

Messrs. J. B. Edonu and H. K. Sarsah are transferred to the Junior Department. Teacher J. B. Edonu is to act as the Head Teacher.

(signed) J. S. Djorgee
Hmst.

12 September 1934

Visited the School this morning – reopening day. Few boys are in attendance. All teachers present except Mr. Ghansah who, I understand, has obtained permission to be absent from school today. Discipline well maintained.

(signed) E. Bresi-Ando,
General Manager

19 December 1934

The Final Examination completed today.

(signed) J. S. Djorgee
Hmstr.

20 December 1934

Christmas Vacation is given today – and schools will re-open on the 18th of January, 1935.

(signed) J. S. Djorgee
Hmstr.

20 December 1934

Teachers present at the close of the School for the Christmas Vacation:

J. S. Djorgee, Hdmaster.
R. N. Mensah
W. S. Ghansah
J. B. Edonu
H. K. Sarsah

No. Children in the School

Senior and Junior 119

School fees collected £43.13.7

No of times school has been opened during the year [*illegible*]

Average Attendance for the Year:

Infant Boys 44.697	Infant Girls 4.822	Total 49.519
Std Boys 39.396	Std Girls 2.418	Total 41.814

Total Fees marked in the Register:

Standards £28.15.10	Infants £10.17.6	Total £39.13.4
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No of Standard Boys: 52	Girls: 2	Total 54
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No of Infant Boys: 57	Girls: 8	Total 65
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(signed) J. S. Djorgee
Hmstr.

Formulaire de demande d'avis sur la nécessité de soumettre un projet pour évaluation au Comité d'éthique de la recherche

Ce formulaire concerne des projets qui ne constituent pas de la recherche au sens de l'Énoncé de politique des trois Conseils ([EPTC-2, article 2.5](#)), mais qui pourraient néanmoins requérir une évaluation éthique car ils sont faits dans une optique de *scholarship* avec une visée de diffusion externe.

PERSONNES RESPONSABLES DU PROJET

Nom : Andrew J. Anderson

Numéro de téléphone :

Courriel :

Nom :

Numéro de téléphone :

Courriel :

PROJET ET ASPECTS ÉTHIQUES

1. Titre du projet :

Title: "THE 1930's PAN-AFRICANISM OF PATRIARCH BRESI-ANDO AND THE GENESIS OF THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN GHANA" -- Thèse présentée à la Faculté du centre d'études religieux contemporain de l' Université de Sherbrooke comme exigence partielle du programme du Doctorat en études du religieux contemporain pour l'obtention du grade de Philosophiae Doctor (Ph. D.) Originally this research project of mine was initiated as a U.S. Fulbright research project entitled: "THE HISTORY OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH, GHANA." From September 1992 to November 1994 I lived in Ghana, West Africa, as a junior researcher on an U.S. Fulbright Program academic grant from the U.S. Government. As such I was officially affiliated with the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana (Legon campus). All the collection of my raw research data was completed on the field in Africa during this time frame, but no formal written research product was ever produced. (In the attached PDF file entitled, "Letters in Support of the Bresi-Ando Thesis and Research," see the Supporting Document #11: Fulbright Program certificate, May 1994; and Supporting Document #12: 07 December 1992, Letter from U.S. Senator Harris Wofford, announcing the selection of Fulbright recipient Andrew Anderson; and Supporting Document #14: Letter from The Board of Foreign Scholarships, announcing the selection of Fulbright recipient Andrew Anderson for the 1992-1993 academic year.)

2. Date prévue pour le début de la collecte de données avec de personnes participantes :

See the Tables in the attached Excel spreadsheet entitled: "ANDERSON 1992-1994 Fulbright interviewees in Ghana v7". The Tables show the complete listing of Fulbright Interviewees whom I interviewed in Ghana in 1994-1994. Table 1 lists the Interviewees who had a function within the

church. Table 2 lists the Interviewees who were close eye-witnesses but did not have a function within the church.

3. Décrire le contexte et le but du projet :

[Par exemple, décrire le besoin auquel le projet veut répondre.]

Originally (in 1992-1994) my project began a U.S. Fulbright research project entitled: "THE HISTORY OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH, GHANA." My Fulbright research goal was to collect oral histories from the old founding clergymen and lay leadership of the Orthodox Church of Ghana before they die in order to document how their church was founded in their country. No academic in the world had ever attempted such an intensive, in-depth research of this sort on this subject. The need to collect the oral data was dynamic and urgent, as several founding clergymen had already deceased, including the founding hierarch, the late Patriarch Bresi-Ando. Many of those church leaders who remained alive in 1992 were very well advanced in years. Additionally, hard data in the form of written primary sources was also sought out in order to establish the veracity and chronology of the emerging oral history. For this research project I had the formal academic cooperation of the University of Ghana. From September 1992 to November 1994 as a U.S. Fulbright junior researcher I was officially affiliated with the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana (Legon campus). (In the attached PDF file entitled, "Letters in Support of the Bresi-Ando Thesis and Research," see the Supporting Document #19: the 22 July 1992 Letter of Admission as a research affiliate in the Institute of African Studies (Department for the Study of Religions) at the University of Ghana.)

Living in Ghana for two years, I conducted and concluded all my field research work under the leadership of my field research mentor, Dr. Kofi Asare Opoku, Associate Professor in Religion and Ethics, at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana. (In the same PDF file, see Supporting Document #22: 01 March 1993 Letter of Testimony from Prof. Kofi Asare Opoku; and Supporting Document #21: 31 May 1993 Letter of Testimony from Prof. K. N. Bame, Deputy Director of the Institute of African Studies.)

My ten-month U.S. Fulbright research grant (1992-1993 academic year) was extended for an additional 16 months (July 1993 to November 1994) via an American NGO, allowing me the opportunity and funding to officially extend my research affiliation with the Institute of African Studies for a second academic year (1993-1994). (See PDF file -- Supporting Document #20: 11 June 1993 Letter of Extension of Affiliation with the University of Ghana, Institute of African Studies.)

My study abroad was also monitored by the U.S. Fulbright Program, via the Institute of International Education (IIE) in New York, and assisted on the ground in Ghana by the United States Information Service at the U.S. Embassy in Accra, Ghana. (See PDF file -- Supporting Document #15: 06 May 1993 Letter of Testimony, Angela D. Williams, United States Information Service, U.S. Embassy, Accra; and Supporting Document #16: 03 November 1993 Letter of Testimony, Michael Orlansky, United States Information Service, U.S. Embassy, Accra; and Supporting Document #17: 11 June 1992 Theresa Granza, Institute of International Education (IIE), announcing the selection of Fulbright recipient Andrew Anderson for the 1992-1993 academic year.) A photo showing me conducting an interview with my main informant, V. Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, in Afransi, Ghana, appeared in the 1993 Annual Report of the Institute of International Education (IIE). (See Supporting Document #18: 1993 Annual Report of the IIE, page 19.)

My field work was fully completed by November 1994. All the raw data for my research project was compiled during my two years in Ghana: copies of primary sources and church archival materials, letters, log books, old photographs and numerous field interviews.

4. Décrire brièvement en quoi consiste le projet :

Here is the official "Statement of Proposed Study/Research" for which I was awarded the 1992 U.S. Fulbright research grant: (Please see Supporting Document #13: "Anderson's Statement of Proposed Study/Research")

Andrew J. Anderson's 1992 U.S. Fulbright Program: "Statement of Proposed Study/Research":

"There exists a need for the history of the founding of the modern Orthodox Church of Ghana to be researched; it has not yet been committed to writing. Urgent action must be taken to this effect before the founders die and their oral history perish with them. This was enthusiastically indicated by Archimandrite Dimitrios Couchell, Executive Director of the Archdiocesan Mission Center for the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America (whose missionary outreach includes West Africa), upon personal communication with him. He added that the indigenous founding priests, Kyriakos Edonu, Gregory Labi Odeng, and Kwame Labi, should be sought out for their stories. Therefore, the purpose of this proposed study project is to seek out the oral history of the Ghanaian Orthodox Church, to interview its founders, to discover the reasons for forming their church, and to commit this to writing.

The birth of the Orthodox Church of Ghana is part of a larger twentieth century African "people-movement", spanning the African continent from the east coast to the west. Various national Orthodox Churches have developed and continue to develop largely on their own and not in response to foreign missionary activity—in countries such as Uganda, Kenya, Nigeria, Zaire, and Ghana. Historically, Orthodox Christianity has existed in Africa since the days of the Apostles. The Orthodox Churches of Egypt and Ethiopia testify to this fact. However, with the exception of Ethiopia, Orthodoxy has only in this century penetrated the Sub-Saharan regions. Thus today we see Africans returning to Christianity's historical roots within the ancient Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria, Egypt.

This movement in part parallels the national independence movement. Africans were looking for a Church that had not been established by colonialism. Another, even deeper, reason for this movement is the African perception that many Western missionaries often lacked an understanding of their traditional culture, and instead had planted a form of Christianity that did not do justice to the African mindset. Searching for a Church which reflected their culture, Africans are becoming Orthodox.

To discover how this movement is unique in the Ghanaian experience, my studies in Ghana will involve both course work and field research. The University of Ghana at Legon has a strong history department, and faculty members have published on religious-historical topics. Therefore, I plan to enroll in African history courses which will provide background for my project.

The key person to guide me in my field research will be Father Kwame Joseph Labi, perhaps the most important leader in the Orthodox Church in Ghana today. He is a personal friend, as I came to know him while he studied in America. (My acquaintance with Father Kwame influenced my decision to study in Ghana, as did my previous West African experience of growing up in Liberia from age 3 to 10.) Father Kwame Labi's role, along with that of two other founders, Priests Gregory and Kyriakos, will be studied. Additionally, I will seek helpful insight from Mr. Godfried Mantey, a former youth leader in their Church who is currently affiliated with the University of Ghana. I anticipate surveying the physical locations of the various Orthodox communities, speaking with individual Church members and transcribing their stories.

I believe that I have the competencies and background necessary for launching this project. Academically I have taken fourteen courses and have accumulated 39 credits in history (with an additional 16 credits in the other social sciences), having studied political, social and Church matters within global and ecclesiastical contexts. Orthodox Church history is one of my strengths. Concerning research, my interest in Africa and years of contact with African friends in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and America, has led me to spend hours seeking out oral histories, using the informal interview process, on topics of ecclesiastical, linguistic, and political nature. I have also chronicled

current events, submitting articles as a journal correspondent for "The Russian Orthodox Journal," the national publication of the Federated Russian Orthodox Clubs.

As I have indicated in my Vita, I spent my earliest years in West Africa with my missionary parents, which, I feel, will be of some value in this proposed project. Additionally, my friendship with Fr. Kwame Labi and the fact that I share the same Faith as the Ghanaian Orthodox will definitely help open up prospective interviewees to my cause, which will ultimately directly benefit their Church, being a record of its genesis.

The potential benefits of this research will also include an increase in awareness, sensitivity and support for the Ghanaian Orthodox Church on the part of the Orthodox Church in America. Personally, such a study certainly will have a profound impact on my own intellectual and spiritual life. Currently I am studying for ordination in the Orthodox Church while simultaneously completing my B.S. in Education at Marywood College. I may decide to devote a part of my career to the work of the Orthodox Church in Ghana.

Because the academic year in Ghana usually runs from October to June, a departure date of mid-September (September 15) will allow me some time to get settled prior to the beginning of classes in October. This study should run the entire academic year, October 1992 through June 1993.

[noted] I have received acceptance from the University of Ghana at Legon, Ghana"

[End of the Fulbright Statement of Proposed Study/Research]

My Summary of 26 months of field data collection: Pointed in the right direction by a couple of top scholars at the University of Ghana, by the time I had concluded my field study at the end of 1994, I had interviewed 58 individuals (mostly church leadership), accumulated 98 hours of cassette recordings, and gathered 1,614 original primary source documents and 2,184 pages of notes and transcriptions. I had located 73 historical photographs, and had made 1,540 colored prints documenting church communities sites and personalities. Multiple follow-up interviews for fact-checking, cross-verification, and corrections pushed the total number of interviews to 132 by the time the raw data collection was complete. All of this raw data I transported back home to the United States in November of 1994. (See picture of raw research data, Supporting Document #25, which is the last photo in the attached PDF file of Supporting Documents.)

However, other than a simple unfinished draft of a first chapter, the writing aspect of this immense research project was never completed. No academic paper was written. No academic paper was presented. The amount of raw data was daunting and required the professional guidance of a skilled academic for full analysis. Therefore, the research data lay dormant for many years while my life became busy with parish duties as a new Orthodox Priest. The Ghana research project finally came back to life in 2012 when I entered the Doctoral Program of the Faculté de théologie et d'études religieuses at the University of Sherbrooke. Under the guidance of Dr. Pierre Noël, the Fulbright data was analysed and built into its current format as a doctoral dissertation.

5. Résumer les méthodes de collecte et d'analyse des données :

The church leaders, such as Rev. Kwame Labi, V. Rev. Kyriakos Edonu, Rev. Gregory Labi Odeng, and in fact, the entire church leadership of the Orthodox Church of Ghana fully and enthusiastically embraced my theological church history research project. They wanted--and still to this day desire--their church's history to be officially compiled into book form for their posterity. Therefore, the Church archives were opened for me in 1992. I was allowed to photocopy decades worth of official correspondence (at my expense, of course). All pieces of literature from the pen of the late Bishop Bresi-Ando were freely shared with me and copies were made. Even old historical photographs were copied (at my expense). New photos documenting the historical sites of the Orthodox diocese in Ghana were made as I traveled around the country, visiting all the Orthodox communities throughout the course of the two years. Interviews were made of all the living clergy, as well as interviews with

the church lay leaders of important church organizations (such as the "Orthodox Youth Organization," which played a critical role in the history of their church's conversion to Eastern Orthodoxy). Eventually I gathered 98 hours of tape-recorded interviews. For an initial interview, before asking my set of pre-prepared questions, I would ask an interviewee a leading question, and then would let them have enough time to utilize their normal West African story-telling custom. I would not interject with multiple interruptions to break the thread of their interesting tale. In addition to these initial interviews, there were multiple follow-up hand-written interviews. Most interviews were conducted in English, which is the official language of the country. During the follow-up interview process I would cross-examine the interviewee, often asking the same question in different wording three times to ensure accuracy. I then selected the most important interviews and transcribed them by hand while I was still on the field in Ghana. The results of these transcriptions I then re-verified with interviewees for accuracy. As interest grew in my project, more and more hard data was freely brought forward by my informants in order to justify their verbal statements. Church log books (sometimes called "Diaries" by Rev. Kyriakos Edonu) established the truth of facts (with dates!), while also helping me ascertain the emerging chronology of events. I was given permission to photocopy these church and school log books. I wanted to have the most objective history possible. Therefore, I was always cross-checking one clergyman's story against another, and then against the written records. Finally, I wanted eye-witnesses, not second-hand hear-say. I wanted the words of church organization leaders, not the opinions of parishioners. Since the scope of the history was very large--from the 1920's to the 1980's--and my search for historical honesty was at a highest standard, I found that I needed to also interview close witnesses who could give me a more critical point of view. I needed witnesses who could fill in gaps where other clergy and church elders were lacking. So therefore, I interviewed Mrs. Joana Bresi-Ando, the last wife of their church's founder, the late Bishop Bresi-Ando, as well as some of his nephews, along with sons of some deceased senior clergymen. Their enthusiastic input was absolutely irreplaceable and most useful, as it filled out the larger story of Bresi-Ando and his church. Before I left the country in November of 1994, I spent several weeks story-boarding all the facts (taken from the verified transcriptions) and manually placing them into chronological order. An entire six-decade history literally emerged before my eyes as I placed the fact-cards onto the wall. Then, this entire story-board chronology I removed and placed into six notebooks. Everything was done by hand--no electricity nor computer in the village. Then, I sat and read aloud the entire set of notebooks to my chief informant, the former Deputy Bishop (and nephew) of Bresi-Ando, the V. Rev. Kyriakos Edonu, in order to have his final corrections and final approval. After all, it had been Rev. Edonu who had acted for four decades as his uncle's official representative and Deputy Bishop in Ghana, while Bresi-Ando was tending to his other flock in Nigeria. Therefore, when Rev. Edonu spoke of Bresi-Ando, he spoke with the authority of the churchman who had looked after his uncle's Ghanaian church organization responsibly and single-handedly for nearly 40 years. After making all of Rev. Edonu's final corrections, I closed the notebooks and returned to the USA. My field research was completed, transcribed, cross-checked and verified in multiple ways. Fr. Kyriakos said to me: "I have given you my legacy."

Before I left Ghana in November 1994, the originals of the church files and log books and other primary source documents I returned to the Archives of the Orthodox Church of Ghana in Accra. I brought home photocopies, which are safely stored inside my locked home here in Montreal. In addition, Fr. Kyriakos Edonu personally gave me some research samples (i.e. duplicate booklets, personal photographic negatives, etc.) which I treasure greatly. However, I alone possess my research notebooks and transcriptions and cassette tapes and color photographic prints. I am the guardian and protector of this "legacy"--this collection of archival research materials--which I have kept safe and secure for the past 26 years. The U.S. Fulbright program of the early 1990's did not require me to place any of my field study research materials into their hands, nor did they ask me to place any of it onto microfiche in a university or government library. They did not require any research report or product. They only required that I fill out a simple two-page questionnaire asking for my comments on

the results of my field study, cultural challenges, and the sufficiency/insufficiency of the grant funding to meet the cost of conducting field research in Ghana. This form I completed for them. As for Fr. Kyriakos Edonu, the former Deputy Bishop, he entrusted this cache of research materials into my personal care because he truly believed that someday I would put it into book form as a written legacy of the history of his African church community. He had grown blind in his old age and no longer could read or write. So he relied on me to capture his story and to produce a manuscript, which I have done, with the help of the academics at the University of Sherbrooke.

6. Expliquer comment seront recrutées les personnes participantes :

Before I started this research project, I personally knew only one Ghanaian Orthodox clergyman, the V. Rev. Kwame Joseph Labi, the Secretary General for his diocese in 1992. Today he is the most important leading Eastern Orthodox cleric in Ghana and serves as the Archdiocesan Vicar General. He and my late father were classmates together at St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary in New York in 1980. So, when I was guided by Archimandrite Dimitrios Couchell in 1992 to select Ghana as my Fulbright research focus, I of course wrote first to Father Kwame. Then, after being given names by Rev. Dimitrios Couchell, I also wrote letters to several other leading Ghanaian Orthodox clergymen, introducing myself and my Fulbright research project, and seeking their permission to interview them when I would later arrive in Ghana. These letters I mailed in July 1992 from Pennsylvania--and sent them to V. Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu, Rev. Gregory L. K. Odeng, Rev. Jacob N. Sey, and Rev. Daniel B. Aidoo. (See Supporting Documents #3, #4, #5, #6, and #7) (Sadly, except for Fr. Kwame Labi, these men are all deceased now.) When I arrived in Ghana in September of 1992, these same priests verbally gave me permission to interview them, and not only that, but they welcomed me warmly and opened up their homes for me as well. As I travelled around the Ghanaian diocese on research visits, I never had to use a hotel nor did I have a room in the university campus dormitory. I usually was invited to stay in the rectories with the priests and their families. This provided me a level of security and safety. (I did pay for my own food, however, so as not to be a financial burden on these poor people.) Fr. Kwame Labi made sure that I found my way to all the Orthodox communities, but he himself was too busy to sit with me during the interviews. I eventually became proficient in getting around by myself using local modes of transportation. After systematically interviewing all the clergymen, I also interviewed important church lay leaders, such as Godfried Mantey and Emmanuel Opoku Larbi, and others. One person would lead me to another.

A most amazing door opened for me when my contact at the U.S. Embassy volunteered to arrange an interview for me with one of Ghana's most famous retired politicians, Dr. Ebenezer Ako-Adjei, a "Founding Father" of modern Ghana. I needed reputable sources from Ghana's living modern history who could verify the claims being made by the old Ghanaian Orthodox clergymen who stated that Bresi-Ando had been a well-known public figure in the Colony of the Gold Coast during the 1930's. Interviewing nationally famous elder-statemen was the most reputable and convincing approach. Dr. Ako-Adjei in turn introduced me to another super famous Ghanaian politician, Mr. Kojo Botsio, the former right-hand man of President Kwame Nkrumah. (All these men are deceased by now.) Happily, Mr. Botsio had much to say to validate the claims being made by old clergymen about Bresi-Ando. In fact, Mr. Botsio (who himself had personally known Bresi-Ando) grew so interested in my research project that he asked me back to his Accra residence for a follow-up interview during which he arranged for me to meet several more old men who had personally known the late Bishop. They all were from the same home town, Apam, where Bresi-Ando had first started his church and schools in 1932. In Apam I met and interviewed the last wife of the bishop, Mrs. Joana Bresi-Ando (now deceased). Through her, I was introduced to the Ando-Brew side of Bresi-Ando's large family. The Rev. Earnest Ando-Brew, a half-brother to the bishop, was a huge figure in the early history of Bresi-Ando's two Gold Coast dioceses. However, due to church ecclesiastical divisions that had occurred in the late 1930's, Ando-Brew had gone on to lead his own independent African "Orthodox" Church in

competition to his brother. The two were eventually personally reconciled, but Ando-Brew died in 1958 and his break-away diocese dwindled down to one parish. So, I was extremely glad that I was able to fact-check the narrative of the Orthodox Ghanaian clergy by using the reliable eye-witness testimony of Bresi-Ando's wife and his nephews on the Ando-Brew side of the family. This helped build the objectivity of the entire Bresi-Ando narrative.

7. Combien de temps demandera la participation des personnes participantes ?

See the Tables in the Excel spreadsheet at Question 2 for time lengths of interviews.

8. Y a-t-il des inconvénients, autre que le temps pour les personnes participantes?

Oui ☐ Non ☒

Si oui, préciser :

9. Y a-t-il des risques prévisibles pour les personnes participantes ?

[Les risques peuvent être sociaux (ex. : perdre son emploi), physiques (ex. : douleur) ou psychologiques (ex. : revivre un événement traumatisant). Porter une attention particulière aux populations dites captives (ex. : des étudiantes et des étudiants qui dépendent de leur professeure et professeur pour les résultats obtenus dans un cours).]

Oui ☐

Préciser les mesures mises en place pour atténuer ou éliminer les risques prévisibles :

Non ☒

Expliquer ce qui vous permet d'affirmer qu'il n'y a aucun risque prévisible :

[Par exemple, il se peut qu'il n'y ait pas de risque psychologique parce que le sujet traité n'est pas de nature sensible; ou qu'il n'y ait pas de risque social parce que les personnes ne sont pas en situation de vulnérabilité ou encore parce qu'une confidentialité totale est assurée, de sorte que les supérieurs ou toute autre personne en situation d'autorité par rapport aux participantes et participants n'auront accès à aucune information pouvant leur porter préjudice.]

It was very clear from the beginning of my field research that everything had one purpose: to collect the history of the Orthodox Church of Ghana. Bishop Bresi-Ando had died in 1970 and no one had ever written down the story of his founding of his church. Therefore, my research goal was to gather the most objective and historically accurate account as possible. All the Ghanaian Orthodox church leadership (clergy and lay leaders) in 1992-1994 understood my research program and enthusiastically and willingly participated in it. Even to this day the Ghanaian Orthodox clergymen continue to support my research project and the production--and ultimate publication--of this PhD thesis. See the Supporting Document #1, Letter of Authorization (dated 15 August 2020) which is signed by today's contemporary leading Orthodox clergy and lay leaders in Ghana. Plus, see the Supporting Document #2, Letter of Support of Authorization (dated 17 August 2020) by the Ghanaian Orthodox Archdiocesan Vicar General Protopresbyter Kwame Joseph Ayete Labi. He has been backing my research and patiently waiting for the finished product since 1992. Additionally, the late Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria, PETROS VII, supported this history project. He had been the local Archbishop of Ghana in 1992-1994 and we met several times in Africa. He never forgot about the goal of my research, and he considered its long-awaited final publication to be "significant". (See his 16 February 1998 letter, Supporting Document #8, written to me.) Later Orthodox archbishops in Ghana over the years also encouraged me to finish the history book on the Ghanaian Orthodox Church. See Supporting Document #9, the 24 September 2010 email letter from Archbishop Damaskinos of Accra and West Africa in which he encouraged me to finish my "labor of love" by producing a written record of the history of the founding of his archdiocese in West Africa. Finally, in 2012, as I sought entry into the doctoral program at the University of Sherbrooke in order to complete the writing of the Ghana church history book as a doctoral thesis, His Grace Bishop Dimitrios Couchell wrote to Prof. Marc Dumas in support of my academic desire. It is this same Rev.

Couchell who had secured the funding for the second year of my field research in 1993-1994 in his capacity as Executive Director of the Orthodox Christian Mission Center (OCMC), formerly known as the Archdiocesan Mission Center of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America. (See Supporting Document #10, 24 May 2012 letter from Bishop Couchell to Prof. Marc Dumas, a copy of which was provided directly to me by Bishop Couchell.)

10. Est-ce qu'une compensation, financière ou autre, sera remise pour le temps, les déplacements, etc. occasionnés par la participation au projet ?

Oui ☐ Non ☒

Si oui, justifier et préciser quelle forme prendra cette compensation :

11. Est-ce que le projet implique des personnes mineures ou légalement inaptes ?

Oui ☐ Non ☒

Si oui, préciser les précautions prises à cet égard :

12. Les participants au projet peuvent-ils être perçus comme étant des personnes vulnérables ou captives ?

[Par exemple : des élèves ou des étudiants (sous l'autorité de leur enseignante ou enseignant), des employées et employés (sous l'autorité de leur supérieur ou supérieure), ou des personnes vulnérables en raison de leur statut socio-économique, de leur condition médicale ou de leur statut au sein de leur organisation, etc.]

Oui ☐ Non ☒

Si oui, préciser les précautions prises à cet égard :

13. Quelles seront les mesures prises pour assurer le caractère confidentiel ou anonyme des données ?

There is no need to keep the confidentiality or anonymity of the interviewees because this research was done voluntarily and openly by and for the Orthodox Church of Ghana, with the full collaboratoin of their important leaders and close eye-witnesses of the late Bishop Bresi-Ando, in order to capture and write down their collective public oral history of their own organization. Additionally, most of the characters in the historical sketch have long ago passed away, as have most of the interviewees themselves since 1994. The last remaining living interviewees were happy to sign the 15 August 2020 Letter of Authorization (Supporting Document #1) re-iterating their full permission for me to use their interviews for my research and for the production of this doctoral thesis, which they hope to see in print before they too pass away.

14. Décrire comment seront diffusés les résultats du projet :

[Par exemple, présentations dans des colloques ou congrès, articles scientifiques ou autres.]

The first and immediate goal after obtaining the doctorate, Lord willing, is to publish the work as a gift to the Orthodox Church in Ghana. Gift funding for this publication has been already identified. A second goal will be to reduce the biographical chapters (Section Two of the thesis) to a smaller volume, and publish it more widely as an easy-to-read biography of Bishop Bresi-Ando. An

additional chapter or two can be added to this smaller book, as I had to exclude much research data from the doctoral thesis, which focused primarily on the decade of the 1930's. A third goal will be to use the Fulbright research data to produce a separate biography on the life of V. Rev. Protopresbyter Kyriakos K. Edonu, who said to me: "You are going to write a book about me in the future." This work would be for spiritual inspirational reading only, and not for academic purposes. I already have the essential mandate from the Orthodox clergy in Ghana for the production of additional smaller volumes such as these.

15. Est-ce que les moyens de diffusion des résultats risquent de permettre l'identification des personnes ayant participé à la recherche ?

Oui ☐ Non ☒

Expliquer :

16. Est-ce que le consentement des personnes participantes au projet sera demandé ?

Oui ☒ Non ☐

Si oui, préciser et justifier le type de consentement (écrit, oral, implicite, etc.) :

As stated previously, in 1992, before I travelled to Ghana, I wrote to several leading clergymen in Ghana introducing myself and my U.S. Fulbright research project and seeking their permission to interview them. (See Supporting Documents #3, #4, #5, #6, #7 in the accompanying PDF file). When I arrived and met these clerics in person, I received their oral permission to interview them, not a signed form. The U. S. Fulbright Program did not require any signed permission documents from interviewees. This was 28 years ago, before cell phones and the internet with their privacy risks had taken over the world. Additionally, the Fulbright Program did not require me to present to them any written research product when my field study was concluded. Rather, their Final Report was a simple two-page questionnaire asking for my comments on the results of my project, comments on my social and cultural challenges and adjustments, and comments on the sufficiency of the amount of grant funding. Now, on the other hand, the University of Ghana did require that I leave behind a copy of my "finished/unfinished research project" by presenting it to the Director of the Institute of African Studies before leaving the country. (See Supporting Documents #19 and #20.) This requirement I fulfilled. I gave a copy of the unfinished draft of the first chapter of my research to the Institute's Director. I was also required by the University of Ghana to present a field report to the Institute of African Studies/Department for the Study of Religions prior to leaving the country. I was placed on the official roster to present a field report--even unfinished--however at the last minute the University asked me if they could give my presentation time slot to another researcher who desperately needed to make an academic performance. I agreed, as I was not prepared to give a finished report. Now, years later, I have finally finished a dissertation of 800 pages on the subject, which itself has used only a percentage of the raw Fulbright research data that I carried home in 1994. What will I do with all this data? The originals of files and log books, etc., I left safely stored within the Archives of the Orthodox Church of Ghana in Accra. I brought home photocopies. However, I alone possess my research notebooks and transcriptions and cassette tapes and color photographic prints. I am the keeper of this archival material, under lock and key, in my own home in Montreal. Presently I have no plans to put them into a university library on microfiche. If such an opportunity ever presents itself to me, I will have to first seek out the permission of my Orthodox church friends and colleagues in Ghana to see if that would be their wish and desire.

Joindre le feuillet d'information ou le formulaire de consentement le cas échéant.

Si non, justifier :

ENGAGEMENT DES PERSONNES RESPONSABLES DU PROJET :

☒ J'atteste que les renseignements déclarés dans le présent formulaire sont exacts.

Signature de la personne responsable du projet :

Andrew J. Anderson

Date : 01 October 2020

ANNEXE: TABLE OF CONTENTS:

"Letters in Support of Bresi-Ando Thesis & Research -- Andrew J. Anderson"

(This PDF file contains Letters of Authorization and Testimony for use in his PhD thesis of the Fulbright research interviews conducted by Andrew J. Anderson in Ghana in 1992-1994)

1) Letter of Authorization (15 August 2020) for the use of interviews for my thesis, signed by the Orthodox clergymen of Ghana and important lay leaders whom I interviewed in 1992-1994. Many others are now deceased. The interviewees offer their enthusiastic support.

2) Letter of support of authorization (17 August 2020). From the Ghanaian Orthodox Archdiocesan Vicar General, Protopresbyter Kwame Joseph Ayete Labi, who was my interviewee and main research project facilitator in 1992-1994. He offers enthusiastic support.

3) My 20 July 1992 letter to V. Rev. Kyriakos K. Edonu requesting permission for an interview. (He is now deceased).

4) My 20 July 1992 letter to Rev. Gregory L. K. Odeng requesting permission for an interview. (Now deceased, he was the father of V. Rev. Kwame J. A Labi.)

5) My 20 July 1992 letter to Rev. Jacob N. Sey requesting permission for an interview. (He is now deceased.)

6) My 20 July 1992 letter to Rev. Daniel B. Aidoo requesting permission for an interview. (He is now deceased.)

7) My 17 July 1992 letter to Secretary General Rev. Kwame Joseph Ayete Labi. He is still alive and 100% supports this research project.

- 8) 16 February 1998 letter from His Beatitude PETROS VII, the late Patriarch of Alexandria and All Africa, blessing my academic efforts to produce the history of the Orthodox Church of Ghana. (In 1992-1994 he was the local Orthodox Archbishop for Ghana and we met in person in Accra, during which time he learned of my Fulbright research project which I was then undertaking and he gave me his full support.)
- 9) 24 September 2010 email letter from Archbishop Damaskinos of Accra and West Africa. As the local Archbishop in 2010, he was aware of my existing Fulbright Ghana Church research data and he fully backed its use to produce a written record of the history of the founding of his Archdiocese in West Africa.
- 10) 24 May 2012 copy of the letter to Prof. Marc Dumas, University of Sherbrooke, from Bishop Dimitrios Couchell, former Executive Director of the Orthodox Christian Mission Center (OCMC), who fully backed my Fulbright research project in 1992-1994 by providing funds for me to extend my stay in Africa in order to complete my field research for an additional 16 months (July 1993 to Nov. 1994). (Bishop Dimitrios provided me this copy.)
- 11) Fulbright Program certificate. May 1994.
- 12) 07 December 1992, Letter from U.S. Senator Harris Wofford, announcing the selection of Fulbright recipient Andrew Anderson.
- 13) Anderson's Statement of Proposed Study/Research for U.S. Fulbright study abroad, 1992.
- 14) Letter from The Board of Foreign Scholarships, announcing the selection of Fulbright recipient Andrew Anderson for the 1992-1993 academic year.
- 15) 06 May 1993. Letter of Testimony from Angela D. Williams, United States Information Service, U.S. Embassy, Accra.
- 16) 03 November 1993. Letter of Testimony from Michael Orlansky, United States Information Service, U.S. Embassy, Accra.
- 17) 11 June 1992. Letter from Theresa Granza, Institute of International Education (IIE), announcing the selection of Fulbright recipient Andrew Anderson for the 1992-1993 academic year.
- 18) 1993 Annual Report of the Institute of International Education (IIE). Page 19 included a photo of Fulbright researcher Andrew Anderson interviewing the former Deputy Bishop, Rev. Kyriakos Edonu, in Ghana.
- 19) 22 July 1992. Letter of Admission as a research affiliate in the Institute of African Studies (Department for the Study of Religions) at the University of Ghana, from the Office of the Dean of Graduate Studies.
- 20) 11 June 1993. Letter of Extension of Affiliation with the University of Ghana, Institute of African Studies, from the Office of the Dean of Graduate Studies.
- 21) 31 May 1993. Letter of Testimony from Prof. K. N. Bame, Deputy Director, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana.

22) 01 March 1993. Letter of Testimony from Prof. Kofi Asare Opoku, Associate Professor in Religion and Ethics, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana. He was my field research mentor/director. He was openly enthusiastic about my research findings.

23) 03 May 1992. Newspaper article: The Scranton Times, announcing Andrew Anderson as a Fulbright scholarship winner.

24) Photo of Andrew J. Anderson interviewing his chief informant, V. Rev. Kyriakos Edonu in Afransi, Central Region, Ghana. Photo of Andrew J. Anderson interviewing Mrs. Joana Bresi-Ando (wife of the late Bishop Bresi-Ando) and Rev. Daniel Aidoo, in Apam, Central Region, Ghana. (All three are now deceased.)

25) Photo of the results of 26 months of field work in Ghana (Sept. 1992 to November 1994): 1,614 original Primary Sources documents; 98 hours of tape-recorded interviews; 2,184 pages of field notes; 73 reprints of historical B&W photographs; 1,540 color prints of photographs documenting the two years of field research.

Le Comité d'éthique de la recherche rendra son *Avis sur la nécessité de soumettre une demande complète d'évaluation éthique* pour votre projet dans les meilleurs délais.



Comité d'éthique de la recherche
Lettres et sciences humaines
Sherbrooke (Québec) J1K 2R1

Le 30 octobre 2020

M. Andrew Anderson
CENTRE D'ÉTUDES DU RELIGIEUX CONTEMPORAIN (études)
Université de Sherbrooke

M. Pierre Noël
Professeur
École de gestion Management et GRH
Université de Sherbrooke

Objet : Avis du comité d'éthique de la recherche - Lettres et sciences humaines sur la nécessité de soumettre une demande d'évaluation éthique

Messieurs,

Le comité d'éthique de la recherche - Lettres et sciences humaines a reçu votre demande d'avis sur la nécessité d'une évaluation pour votre projet intitulé : *THE 1930's PAN-AFRICANISM OF PATRIARCH BRESI-ANDO AND THE GENESIS OF THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN GHANA*.

Le document suivant a été analysé :

- Formulaire de demande d'avis sur la nécessité de soumettre une demande d'évaluation au comité d'éthique de la recherche (daté du 9 octobre 2020)
- Letters in Support of Bresi-Ando Thesis _ Research - Andrew J. Anderson(1).pdf
- ANDERSON 1992-1994 Fulbright Interviewees in Ghana - v7.xls

À la lumière des informations fournies, le comité s'est d'abord demandé si cette demande relevait du mandat d'un comité d'éthique de la recherche. En effet, selon les termes des notes sur l'application de l'article 2.1 de la deuxième édition de l'*Énoncé de politique des trois Conseils : Éthique de la recherche avec des êtres humains* (EPTC 2) il n'y a pas lieu de soumettre une demande d'évaluation auprès d'un comité d'éthique de la recherche lorsque la recherche implique uniquement une interaction avec des personnes autorisées, dans le cours normal de leur travail, à fournir de l'information au sujet d'organisations, de méthodes, de pratiques professionnelles ou de rapports statistiques et qu'aucun renseignement personnel ne sera recueilli. Toutefois, dans le cadre de votre projet, certaines personnes interviewées étaient des proches des fondateurs de l'Église tout en étant des membres de ladite Église. Le comité s'est ainsi demandé si leur participation correspondait tout de même à l'exemption décrite dans les notes d'application de l'Article 2.1.

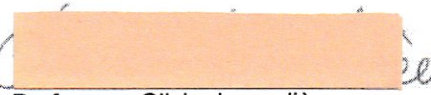
De plus, le comité constate également que :

- le projet de thèse est fondé exclusivement sur une utilisation secondaire de données ayant été recueillies entre 1992 et 1994 dans le cadre d'une recherche réalisée à l'Université du Ghana dans le cadre d'une bourse d'échange étudiant de la Fulbright foundation (USA);
- au moment du recueil des données, une approbation éthique n'avait pas été exigée par la Fulbright foundation ni par l'Université du Ghana;
- les personnes participantes ont donné leur consentement pour prendre part aux entrevues et pour que M. Anderson produise un livre ou autre document sur l'histoire de leur Église. En outre, les dirigeants de cette Église ont fourni en août 2020 une lettre indiquant qu'ils étaient toujours d'accord pour l'utilisation de ces données dans le cadre d'une thèse de doctorat comme ils l'avaient indiqué dans une lettre adressée au professeur Marc Dumas (de l'ancienne faculté de théologie) en 2012.

Par ailleurs, après l'étude de la demande d'avis, aucun problème éthique n'a été identifié par le comité.

Veuillez ainsi utiliser cette lettre en remplacement d'un certificat d'éthique du Comité d'éthique de la recherche – Lettres et sciences humaines de l'Université de Sherbrooke. Cette lettre pourra ainsi être fournie dans le cadre de toute demande en lien avec l'approbation éthique de ce projet (ex. lors d'une publication).

Le comité vous remercie d'avoir porté cette demande à son attention et vous prie d'accepter ses salutations distinguées.


Professeur Olivier Laverdière
Président du comité d'éthique de la recherche
Lettres et sciences humaines

OL/cc